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ZAC

THE

MYTHOLOGY

AND

FABLES

OF THE

ANCIENTS,

Explain'd from

HISTORY.

By the Abbé *BANIER*,

Member of the ROYAL ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS and BELLES-LETTRES.

VOL. I.

Tranſlated from the Original FRENCH.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, at *Buchanan's-Head*, againſt *St. Clement's*-Church in the *Strand*.

M.DCC.XXXIX.

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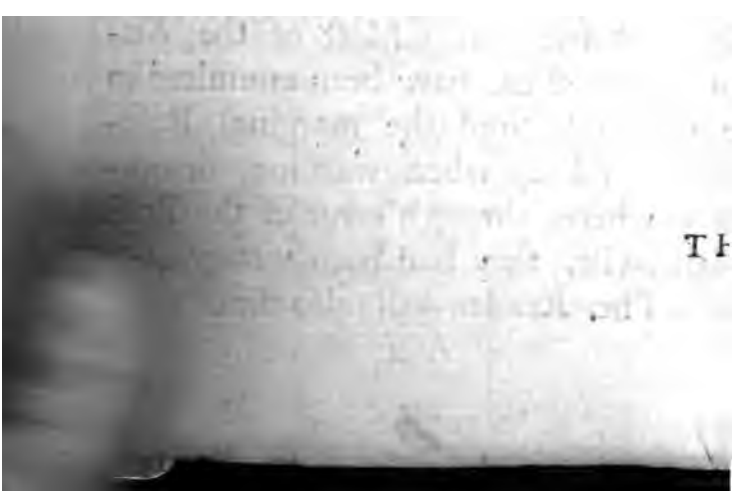
Repair No. 730

DVERTISEMENT.

THE Tranſlator has endeavour'd to transfuſe into our Language the irit as well as the Senſe of his Author, d that in a plain ſimple Style, ſuitable the Original, which is moſtly narra- ve. A diſagreeable Repetition of Words avoided, without a ſcrupulous Nicety vary the Phraſe; when it might have rved no other purpoſe but to betray a ildiſh Affectation. Moſt of the Au- ors referred to, have been conſulted in e Originals, and the marginal Refe- nces fill'd up when wanting, or cor- ted where, through error of the Preſs otherwiſe, they had been wrong quo- d. The Reader will alſo find ſome

few Notes occaſionally added, wh are diſtinguiſhed either by an Aſteri or Croſs, from thoſe of the Autl which are generally marked by Let or Figures.



The AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THOUGH 'tis our happineſs not to live in one of thoſe Ages, when almoſt the whole World was plunged in an Abyſs of Idolatry, yet 'tis far from being unneceſſary to know the Hiſtory of the Pagan Gods and Fables; Mythology, which teaches us to be acquainted with thoſe Gods and Fables, makes ſo conſiderable a Part of the *Belles-Lettres*, that it cannot well be neglected. And indeed, we are daily converſant in the Works of *Greeks* and *Romans*, in thoſe of their Poets eſpecially, which we ſhould often be at a loſs to underſtand, were we not acquainted with the Fables to which they are eternally alluding.

Beſides, every thing concurs to remind us of thoſe ancient Fictions; ſuch as Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Monuments of all ſorts; and to be ſhort, what do the Books of the Antiquaries, and the Cabinets of the Curious contain, but Figures of the Pagan Divinities, Inſtruments uſed in their Sacrifices, and what other Remains we have of the Pagan Superſtition? Our Galleries, our Cielings, our Pictures, our Statues are continually repreſenting to us the ſame Objects: and as if Hiſtory, ſacred and profane, did not furniſh out to us a ſufficient number of important Facts, and ſuch as are capable of inſpiring us with virtuous Sentiments, we borrow our Arguments from *Fable*, in our Dramatick Poetry eſpecially.

Our Theatres are every day reſounding with the Complaints of *Iphigenia* and *Andromache*, the Outrages of *Oreſtes*, the Wrath of *Achilles*, and the unbridled Luſt of *Clytemneſtra*; nor are we aſhamed to own, that we ſee thoſe Heroes and Heroines daily upon our Stage, with new delight, while we can hardly bear a Repreſentation of other Perſonages, that are more proper to awaken in us a noble Emulation.

Thus the Knowledge of Mythology is uſeful, and in ſome ſort neceſſary, inſomuch that one cannot be ignorant of it, but he muſt paſs for a Man of narrow Education, deficient in the more eſſential Branches of polite Learning. But what makes Mythology ſtill of greater Importance, and at the ſame time gives it a juſter Claim to be the Object of our Curioſity, is to conſider, that Fables are not mere Fictions, as I prove in the Introduction to this Work, but that they have a real Connection with the Hiſtory of the firſt Ages, comprehend ſome of their conſiderable Tranſactions, and that moſt of the Gods had been Men, whoſe Hiſtory makes a part of that of the particular Nations, from whom they had divine Honour.

To bring to light this Treaſure of Hiſtory, that lies hid under the Diſguiſe of Fable, is the thing I had principally in my eye, when I entered into the Study of Mythology, and publiſhed a firſt Eſſay upon the Subject, under the Title of, *An Hiſtorical Explication of Fables* (1), which met with a favourable Reception from the Publick; but at the ſame time they ſeemed to wiſh for a Mythology more extenſive, and that went deeper into the Subject. Such a Work, I have been often told by Perſons of good Underſtanding, is wanting in our Language; for not to inſiſt on the antiquated Stile of any thing we have of the kind in *French*, we find none of them done in a ſyſtematical Way; they have not reduced Fables to any Source, nor to any determined time; they have not unfolded the Origin of the

(1) In two Vols. in 12*mo*. Anno 1710. To which was added, a third Vol. *Anno* 1715. There will ſoon be publiſhed a new Edition of it, by *Briaſſon*, for the benefit of Youth, to whom this Abridgment will be of great uſe.

Gods, nor do they diſtinguiſh thoſe Gods, who often the ſame under different Names. In a l, if one meets with ſome Paſſages of Hiſtory in ı, they are buried under a heap of Allegory and rary Moralizing (1). Farther, the Authors of thoſe ts of Mythology, for want of the learned Diſco- s that have ſince been made, followed uncertain les; and we are now better furniſhed than they : for handling this Subject. What Light has been upon it by *Meziriac*, *Bochart*, *Voſſius*, and ſeveral rs? Had theſe learned Men gone on in explain- ll the Fables, as they have done thoſe that had any nection with the Subjects they had undertaken to ain, we ſhould have had no need of a new Mytho- . 'Twas to anſwer what was expected from me I ſet about this Work, which now comes abroad. Diſſertations upon different Subjects of Fable, :h are printed in the Memoirs of the Academy *elles-Lettres*, and the explanatory Notes I have d to my Tranſlation of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes*, are a f that I had it always in my eye.

had reap'd conſiderable Advantage before, in my orical Explication, from the Diſcoveries made by Learned of the laſt Age; and it will eaſily appear ı this Mythology, that I have read them over care- a ſecond time, and that I have made the ſame uſe me other Books, relating to my Subject, that have been publiſhed; eſpecially of the *Critical Reflec- upon ancient Nations*; a Work of deep Learning, re the Author (*), who is compleatly Maſter of all learned Languages, diſcovers no leſs Penetration ı Learning thro' the whole. And indeed whether e engaged in proving the Authenticknes of a pre- s Fragment, ſo as to leave no room for calling it in ſtion hereafter; or in tracing the Original of ancient ions; or, in fine, in reducing moſt of the Fables heir primitive Source, it is always with an uncom-

) See in the firſt Chapter the Judgment I paſs upon the Mytho- s that have preceded this.

) M. *Fourmont* the elder.

mon Erudition, and often by Diſcoveries that had eſcaped other Men of Learning.

Beſides theſe Diſcoveries, being guided in my Enquiries by the Lights of a Society, in whom the deepeſt Learning is united with the moſt judicious Criticiſm, I have equally improved by the valuable Collection of their elaborate Works, and by the learned Converſations in which their Meetings are ſometimes taken up.

With theſe helps, and by a continual Study for ſeveral Years, I have now made this Mythology ready for the Preſs; and in order to adapt it to every one's Taſte, I have avoided, as much as poſſible, thoſe intricate Queſtions, which are commonly diſguſting to the greater number of Readers, and have ſaid no more upon each Subject than what is moſt uſeful and of greateſt concern; and it will be eaſy for the Reader to obſerve, that I have frequently had greater Regard to him than to my own Reputation: For an Author certainly pays him a conſiderable Compliment, when, for his ſake, he ſuppreſſes learned Quotations that come in his way, and which would coſt him but the bare trouble of tranſcribing.

This then is the Method I have followed. When I have recourſe to the Teſtimony of an Author, I generally quote his words, and give a Tranſlation of them; and where this Tranſlation is abrupt, the Reaſoning which goes before or comes after the Quotation, ſufficiently ſupplies the Senſe. I take all poſſible care, to quote thoſe that are more ancient, in preference to others that are later; thus *Homer* and *Heſiod* among the Poets, *Herodotus* and ſome others among the Hiſtorians, are always preferred to thoſe that followed them. Not that I neglect the laſt: They had recourſe to conſult Traditions, or Works that were extant in their own times, and the firſt to be ſure left room for them to ſay ſomewhat more; but I am only ſpeaking now of giving preference to the one above the other. The Poets we have tranſlated to us ſo many Fictions, are ſo [illegible] that, whatever we may ſay of them, the firſt Repreſentors of the ancient Traditions of Greece, and

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her firſt Hiſtorians, ſince it was very late before Proſe-writing was there introduced. To the Poets and Hiſtorians, I have ſometimes joined Medals and Inſcriptions, becauſe theſe are ſo many Monuments to vouch for ancient Tradition.

As for Moderns who have written upon this Subject, I only give their Opinion in general, and ſuch of their Arguments as to me appeared the moſt concluſive. When they have made particular Diſſertations upon theſe Subjects, I have only taken the Subſtance of them, and referred ſuch as may have the Curioſity to read them, to the Diſſertations themſelves.

For what remains, I believe none will be able to reproach me, as if I had uſed the Diſcoveries of others without doing them at leaſt the juſtice to acknowledge it. I always look'd upon Plagiariſm as a very odious Crime: and to be ſure, none would be a greater Plagiary than my ſelf, had I not carefully acquainted my Reader with the Originals whence I borrowed, and whence every Author muſt of neceſſity borrow, who publiſhes ſuch a Work as mine: A Work, which, in truth, brings leſs honour than a new Syſtem; tho' at the ſame time it is generally more uſeful to the Publick. They who will take the trouble to read the firſt Chapter of this Mythology, which is a Continuation of this Preface, will ſee to how many meer Suppoſitions thoſe are obliged to have recourſe, who have attempted to reduce Fables to one general Syſtem. For, in ſhort, tho' every Nation had Fictions of its own, they are not ſo much the Reſult of a well-concerted Scheme, as the Production of human Fancy, that has a continual Byaſs towards the Marvellous.

My Deſign in this Work is to prove, that notwithſtanding all the Ornaments which accompany Fables, yet it is no difficult matter to ſee, that they contain a Part of the Hiſtory of primitive Times; and that neither the Allegory nor Moral were the primary Intention of thoſe who invented them: an Opinion I am ſo far from having alter'd, that my late Studies do but eſtabliſh me in it the more. Not as if there were not

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ſome particular Fictions, where it would be in vain to look for any Footſteps of Hiſtory (*); but in general all of them almoſt have ſome relation to it, or are connected with Events that are ſupported by the beſt Authority of Antiquity.

Mythologiſts formerly thought they had unravel'd the Meaning of a Fable, whenever they had the Art to find out in it a Moral or an Allegory; and this is the Amount of almoſt all their Explanations. The Learned of this Age, from a perſuaſion that the Hiſtory of the Period after the Deluge lies hid under the ingenious Mask of Fable, have ſet themſelves to take off the myſterious Mask which concealed the Truths that were under them from Perſons of leſs Diſcernment. There are times which favour certain Opinions, and this of the Truth of Fables has ſo far prevailed, that from henceforth we muſt either frankly give up all Pretenſions to make tolerable Senſe of them, or reduce them to Hiſtory.

There is however one Objection may be raiſed againſt this Opinion, which at firſt ſight appears very ſolid. How ſhall we reduce to Hiſtory, what the *Greeks*, for inſtance, tell us of their Gods, when theſe very Gods lived in that Period of time which they themſelves call Unknown? What Hiſtory can be drawn from an unknown Period, which would ceaſe to be ſo, if we had any knowledge of it?

That we may ſee where the ſtreſs of this Objection lies, we muſt call to mind *Varro*'s famous Diſtribution of Times, into the Unknown, the Fabulous, and the Hiſtorical. The firſt includes all that happen'd in the World till *Ogyges*; and in this Interval lived the Gods. The ſecond carries you down from *Ogyges* to the Eſtabliſhment of the *Olympiads*; in which ſpace of time appeared the Heroes and Demi-Gods. Laſtly, from the *Olympiads* begins the Date of the hiſtorical Times.

In anſwer then to this Objection, I ſay, in the firſt place, that this Diſtinction had a Reſpect only to the *Greeks*; for thoſe times which they called unknown, were

(*) *See the firſt* Chapter.

ere by no means ſo, either in reſpect of *Aſia* or *Egypt*, here powerful Monarchies ſubſiſted, and a Syſtem of Religion was eſtabliſhed from the moſt ancient times. The *Greeks* were not yet in being, or at leaſt were but a rude and vagrant Multitude, that had neither Laws, Politeneſs, nor hardly any Religion, at a time when the eaſtern Nations were enjoying all the Advantages that accrue from Arts and Sciences.

2dly, Before we will allow this Objection to have any weight, it muſt be proved that thoſe Gods, of whom we undertake to give the Hiſtory, were originally *Greeks*; for it might then be alledg'd, that the *Greeks*, who knew nothing certain as to the times when their Gods, according to them, had lived, were utterly incapable to tranſmit the Hiſtory of them to Poſterity: but thoſe Gods were originally Strangers to them. The Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, that came at ſeveral times to ſettle in *Greece*, brought thither the Religion and Gods of their Country. This is a Truth that cannot be denied; and *Herodotus*, who was inſtructed in the *Egyptian* Religion by their own Prieſts poſitively affirms it. The Gods of the *Greeks* were therefore originally from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, and had been the Objects of religious Worſhip in thoſe two Countries, long before the Colonies I ſpeak of, had arrived in *Greece*. The *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, who had cultivated the Arts and Sciences from the earlieſt Ages, had written the Hiſtory of their Religon; and nothing is more famous in all Antiquity, than the Books compoſed by *Mercury Triſmegiſtus* upon that Subject. It is true, the Language in which they were writ, was a ſacred Language, underſtood only by the Prieſts. But may we not ſuppoſe, that the Leaders of the Colonies, who came in queſt of Settlements in the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean*, the *Archipelago*, and in *Greece*, brought with them ſome of thoſe Prieſts to take care of things that concerned Religion; and that theſe Prieſts inſtructed the *Greeks*, upon their adopting the Worſhip of Gods whom thoſe Strangers were come to eſtabliſh in their Country?

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This Suppoſition will not be deny'd, ſince 'tis agreed, that *Inachus*, who conducted the firſt Colony into *Greece*, communicated to it the Knowledge of that ſacred Language; that is to ſay, the Hieroglyphicks in which it was expreſſed. Even long before the Arrival of that Colony, the *Egyptians* had begun to inſtruct the *Greeks* in Matters of Religion. "The *Pelaſgi*, "who are to be reckoned among the moſt ancient In-"habitants of *Greece*, honour'd Gods, ſays *Herodotus*, "of whom they had no Knowledge, offering up their "Prayers and Sacrifices to them in general. Being "deſirous at laſt to know their Names, they conſulted "the Oracle of *Dodona*, the only one which was then in "*Greece*, where they received Satisfaction from Stran-"gers, who ſerved the Oracle." Now the Oracle of *Dodona*, according to the ſame Author, had been founded by an *Egyptian* Woman, and theſe Strangers who inſtructed the *Pelaſgi*, could be no other than *Egyptians*.

But altho' even ſome of the Gods had derived their Original from *Greece*, or had made a Conqueſt of it, as *Jupiter* and the *Titan* Princes? and tho' upon account of that Conqueſt they had been deify'd in that Period, when the *Greeks* knew not the uſe of Letters; are there not however ſeveral ways of handing down to Poſterity ſignal Facts? Feſtivals, Games, Hymns, Songs, Columns, Mounds of Earth, a Pile of Stones, or, in fine, a Tradition delivered down from Father to Son: By all theſe, the World might have come to the knowledge of thoſe famous Men, who had merited divine Honours: And conſequently it is not impoſſible to know their Hiſtory; and the hiſtorical Explications we give of the Fables, that are intermixed with it, are not without foundation.

Sometimes Events fall out in the World ſo remarkable, that they are not liable to be forgot. Of this kind in old times were the Conqueſts of the *Titan* Princes, who are ſaid in the ſacred Writings to have had dominion over the Earth; and thoſe of *Bacchus* and *Oſiris*: and in whatever way the Remembrance of them

them has been continued to Poſterity, it is certain that the World has not been quite in the dark about them, nor were they invented by *Diodorus Siculus* and other Ancients, who have written their Hiſtory.

That the Pagan Gods were the Jewiſh Patriarchs, as ſeveral learned Men pretend; or that they had been ancient Kings of *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, and other neighbouring Nations, is what I am not now to enquire into: But ſtill it is unqueſtionable that their Hiſtory was known, and that Traditions about them were delivered down to Poſterity, which might be depended upon.

If it is true, after what I have been advancing, that the Fables of the Gods may be reduced to Hiſtory, no body, I preſume, will doubt but the ſame may be done as to thoſe of the Heroes and Demi-Gods, ſince the *Greeks* were able to tranſmit their Hiſtory to us in writing. We need not enquire at preſent how long they continued without the uſe of Letters: this at leaſt is beyond doubt, that they learned it from *Cadmus*, who brought them the *Phenician* Alphabet, as I ſhall prove in its proper place. Now the Heroes of *Greece*, and the Events which gave riſe to their Heroiſm, are poſterior to the planting of that Colony, which came and ſettled in *Bœotia* under the Conduct of that Leader; conſequently they happened at a time when the *Greeks* wanted not helps ſufficient for writing their Hiſtory. The name of the fabulous Times, which *Varro* gives to thoſe Ages when the Heroes appeared, and which (according to *Scaliger*) ought to have been ſtiled the Heroick Times, by no means determines us to believe, that they knew nothing certain about them, ſince the Conqueſts of the *Argonauts*, the War of the *Centaurs* and *Lapithæ*, the Labours of *Hercules*, the two Wars of *Thebes* and that of *Troy*, are Events that cannot be called in queſtion: that learned *Roman* therefore has called them fabulous, for no other reaſon but becauſe the Hiſtory of thoſe Events is mingled with an infinite deal of Fictions, which needs not appear ſurprizing. For if the *Greeks* are ſo often accuſed of having

having ſacrificed Truth to their Propenſity towards the Marvellous, even in their more known and later Hiſtories, how much leſs would they pay a Regard to it, when they were treating of remote Ages, when it was not eaſy to refute them?

Let us ſet this Anſwer yet in another light. The *Greeks* were inſtructed by the Eaſtern People, and particularly by the *Egyptians*, in the Hiſtory of the Gods who lived in that ſpace of time, which *Varro* called the Unknown Times. *Cadmus* taught them the Uſe of Letters, and enabled them to write the Hiſtory of their own Heroes, that is to ſay, the Hiſtory of the fabulous Times. The Works in which it was contained, were probably ſubſiſting in the time of *Homer* and *Heſiod*, who borrowed from thence the Ground-work of their Poems, or at leaſt gathered it from a Tradition which would then be freſh enough. I am perſuaded, that thoſe Poems occaſion'd the loſs of moſt other Works of greater Antiquity; for it has happen'd oftner than once, that one good Book has made thoſe that preceded it be firſt forgot, and then be quite extinct. But as *Homer* and *Heſiod* had not employed all the Traditions that were current in their time, the other Poets who came after made uſe of them; and hence we find ſuch Diverſity of them in *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and other tragical Writers. As for the Proſe Writers, who made hiſtorical Collections afterwards of thoſe ancient Events, ſuch as *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, and ſome others, they have taken their Accounts of them, either from that ſame Tradition, or from Works which were extant in their time, and which had likewiſe been compoſed upon others of greater Antiquity.

Thus it is that the Hiſtory of the Gods and Heroes was delivered down from one Age to another; and this at the ſame time is the Foundation of the hiſtorical Explications of Fables. But let us ſuppoſe for once, that the *Greeks* did not write till very late; that *Homer* was their firſt Author, and that their firſt Production in Poetry was a Maſter-piece, which would be a very extraordinary

inary caſe to be ſure; yet I maintain, that that Poet ould have had ſufficient Materials for his two Poems. *reece* eſteemed nothing more ſacred than the Fables, hich made a part of her Religion; and that they ould be loſt was impoſſible, if I may be allowed the xpreſſion. The Pictures, Statues, Games and Feaſts, ere continually bringing them into remembrance; nd *Athens*, which, according to *Pauſanias*, had ſome of hoſe Statues and Pictures in every Quarter of the City, nd in all the Temples, was able herſelf alone to preſerve the Tradition of them.

Then add to this, that ſome Sages of *Greece*, not ſatisfied with the Informations they had received from the Colonies that had come into their Country at different times, went themſelves into *Egypt*, to fetch new Diſcoveries from thence; ſome ſuch there were who undertook this Journey even before the *Trojan* War, that is in that very time which *Varro* calls Fabulous. *Diodorus*, who had alſo travelled into that Country, is poſitive in aſſert'ng this, and enters into a Detail of the particular Diſcoveries which thoſe Sages had fetched from thence, and afterwards communicated to the *Greeks*. "The Prieſts read in their Annals, ſays this "Author (*a*), that their Country had been viſited by "*Orpheus*, *Muſeus*, *Melampus*, and *Dædalus*, (for I "make no mention of *Homer*, nor of others who "performed the ſame Expedition in the times later "than the *Trojan* War) and there is none of them, of "whoſe Paſſage and Abode in their Country they have "not ſome Marks to ſhew; ſuch as their Picture, or "ſome Work of theirs, or even ſome Place which bears "their Name. They give beſides ſeveral Proofs, to "evince that all thoſe Sages borrowed from *Egypt* "whatever was moſt wonderful in the Sciences they "profeſs'd. *Orpheus*, ſay the *Egyptians*, brought back "from this Expedition his Myſteries, his Orgies, and "the whole Fable of the infernal Regions.

"They ſay, it was *Melampus* who brought from the "ſame

(*a*) L. 1. c. 36.

" ſame Country into *Greece* the Feſtivals of *Bacchus*, " the Fable of *Saturn*, the Battle of the *Titans*, the " Dangers and Diſtreſſes of the Gods, *&c.*"

There is no occaſion at preſent for tracing this Author in the other Particulars he relates upon this Subject; I have taken notice of them elſewhere: But ſtill it is certain, that thoſe Sages gathered ſeveral Informations from *Egypt*, concerning its Religion and Myſteries.

Herodotus agrees (*a*), that this ſame *Melampus*, a Man of eminent Wiſdom and Knowledge, had learned from the *Egyptians*, and afterwards taught the *Greeks*, what belong'd to the Worſhip and Myſteries of *Bacchus*, bating a few Alterations he had introduced out of his own head. There is indeed this difference between theſe two Authors, that *Diodorus Siculus* affirms *Melampus* to have got his Diſcoveries from *Egypt*, whether he had travell'd; whereas *Herodotus* ſays, he had them from *Cadmus*; but that comes to the ſame thing for my purpoſe.

The *Greeks* then had ſufficient means of knowing and tranſmitting to us the Hiſtory of the Gods; and ſtill greater Aſſiſtances for that of the Heroes; and conſequently the Objection I propoſe falls to the ground.

As a Mythology ought to contain not only all that regards the Gods and the Heroes, explain their Fables, and reduce them to their Sources; but as it ought alſo to comprehend the Syſtem of Idolatry, its Riſe, its Advances, and whatever concerns the Pagan Worſhip and Ceremonies, I have taken into this of mine, all theſe different Subjects; and here is the Order I thought fit to range them in.

After I have examined in the firſt Chapter, what Parts of Learning a Mythologiſt ought to be maſter of, and delivered my Sentiments concerning the ſeveral Works we have upon Mythology, I endeavour to prove the Truth of the Fables in the following Chapters: I give account of their different Sources, Claſſes, *&c.* and theſe

(*a*) L. 2. c. 49.

ſe are the Contents of the firſt Book, which is a d of neceſſary Introduction to the underſtanding of whole. The ſecond contains the different Theo- ies of the known Nations; whether *Chaldeans*, *enicians*, *Egyptians*, *Atlantidæ*, *Greeks*, *Indians*, *ineſe*, or Savages of *America*; and here you will what were their Opinions about the Formation of the orld, and about the Origin of their Gods In the ird, I treat of the Riſe and Progreſs of Idolatry: re I ſhew to what exceſs it was carried, and the infi- e number of Gods it adopted. Paſſing from thence the Worſhip of thoſe Gods, I ſpeak of the Victims, crifices, and the Inſtruments they made uſe of in that t of Religion; of the Prieſts, Temples, Altars, con- rated Groves, Sanctuaries or Aſyla, Feſtivals, *&c.* the fourth, which is a Continuation of the third, conſider the Superſtitions that were juſtified by Idola- y; which leads me to ſpeak of the Oracles, the Si- ls, the different ſorts of Divination, the *Auſpices*, *Iruſpices*, *Auguries*, judicial Aſtrology, Magick, refages, Prodigies, Expiations, Forms of Devoting, vocations, *&c.*

In the fifth, I lay open the Opinions of the Philoſo- hers, Hiſtorians, and Poets, about the Nature of he Gods and *Genii*, which the Pagan World intro- uc'd; and after I have divided thoſe Gods and *Genii* nto their different Claſſes, I cloſe this Treatiſe of Idola- try, with ſome general Reflections, that ſerve equally o ſhews its Abſurdity, and the Extremity to which it was carried.

But becauſe it is not enough that I have given an Ac- count of thoſe Gods in general, and it being farther requiſite that I give a more diſtinct Idea and fuller Hi- ſtory of them, I come next to conſider, firſt the Gods of the *Egyptians*, then of the *Arabians* their Neighbours, then of the *Ethiopians*. From thence I go on to thoſe of the *Carthaginians* and other *African* Nations, of whoſe Religion we have any Knowledge; and this is the Subject of the ſixth Book. In the ſeventh, I treat of the Gods of the *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Per-*

ſians, *Cappadocians*, and other *Aſiaticks*; and I carry on my Enquiries even to thoſe of the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, and other People in the North of *Aſia*.

The Sequel contains the Hiſtory of the *European* Deities; thoſe I mean of the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Spaniards*, &c. an immenſe Field, which I have diſtributed into ſeveral Books.

Laſt of all, I come to the Heroes and Demi-Gods; and in order to give a more particular Account of them, I dive into the bottom of the ancient Hiſtory of *Greece*, of the ſeveral Nations by whom it was peopled, and of all the Events that rendered that Country ſo famous; and I have cloſed this Work with an Explication of the Fables that have no Connection with the Facts related in the ſeveral Volumes.

You will find at the beginning of every Volume, a Table of the Chapters, ſhewing more particularly all the Subjects I treat of; and at the end of the laſt Volume, a general Table, which I have endeavour'd to make as comprehenſive as poſſible.

Some Perſons may wiſh I had inſerted into this Work the Figures of the Gods, and I acknowledge they would have conduced to make them be more eaſily underſtood, and frequently have ſaved me long Details; but beſides that they would have conſiderably raiſed the Price of the Book, I thought it might ſuffice to direct to the Books where they are to be found; Books now very common, and well enough known.

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ERRATA.

P. 33. In the Note l. ult. for *Epiſtles*, read *Epitaphs*.
P. 41. l. (21) del. *the Troops of.*
P. 62. l. 4. for 1600, read 1800.

MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK I.

Containing ſome preliminary Queſtions, neceſſary to be underſtood in the Study of Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon a particular Account of Mythology, and an Explication of the Fables it contains, I judg'd it previouſly neceſſary to examine ſeveral general Queſtions; the Knowledge whereof will be of very great uſe to our Readers.

CHAP. I.

General Reflections on Mythology.

THE Knowledge of Mythology is not, to be ſure, ſo neceſſary at preſent, as it appear'd to the primitive Fathers of the Church, whoſe Deſign was to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity upon the ruin of Idolatry, or by learned Apologies to vindicate their Religion from the Calumnies publiſh'd againſt it. They were obliged to unfold the darkeſt Myſteries of Paganiſm, to repreſent it in its blackeſt Colours; they had to anſwer ſubtile Philoſophers, who, in order to clear off from the Abſurdity charged upon their Worſhip, had recourſe to allegorical Explanations, that ſeem to give a plauſible Meaning to their moſt impious

Rites. On the one ſide, were the Works of *Porphyry*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, *Photinus*, and ſeveral other *Platonick* Philoſophers; on the other, the Apologies of the Fathers of the firſt Centuries, *Juſtin*, *Arnobius*, *Theodoret*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, St. *Auſtin*, &c.

Truth at length has triumphed over Error; and if there are ſtill found among groſs and ignorant Nations ſome Remains of the ancient Superſtition, it is not Religion that authorizes them; and they too dwindle away in proportion as the World becomes more enlighten'd.

I am confident however, that the Knowledge of Mythology is ſtill very beneficial. It is a Part of the *Belles-Lettres*, and is of infinite uſe to our underſtanding the Poets, and ſome of the Hiſtorians, who recite the ancient Fables, or make frequent Alluſions to them. We find every where theſe Fables of theirs; and they continue to be the Subject of our Dramatick and Lyrick Pieces, and of our Pictures. Now it muſt be own'd, 1°. That in reading the Poets, where we find theſe ancient Fictions ſo ſkilfully managed, we have a ſtrong Curioſity to penetrate into their Meaning. 2°. That Explanations, when happy and detach'd from moralizing and trivial Allegories, which was the fartheſt length our firſt Mythologiſts went, caſt a great Light upon theſe ancient Authors, and make them much eaſier to be underſtood. And within theſe juſt Bounds I confine the Uſefulneſs of Mythology.

I am not ignorant, that we have already a vaſt number of both ancient and modern Books upon this Subject; and yet I thought we ſtill wanted one more compleat and methodical than any has been hitherto. How far I am in the right, will appear when I come to conſider ſuch of them as I am acquainted with; but I muſt firſt premiſe, that none ought to be diſcouraged by what I have done, from exerciſing their Talents upon the ſame Subject. For I am far from thinking, that I have exhauſted it; and I hope none, who know me, will judge me capable of that mean Jealouſy we are apt

to

to conceive againſt thoſe who put their Sickle to a Harveſt we thought reſerv'd for ourſelves alone: the Field I have been cultivating for ſo many Years, is large enough to admit of many Labourers.

As theſe Reflections might carry me too far, I ſhall confine myſelf in this Chapter to an Examination of theſe principal Heads. Firſt, What Learning a Mythologiſt ſhould be maſter of, and what Books he muſt have read. Secondly, What Advantage he may draw from Syſtems already deviſed for explaining Fable. Laſtly, How he ought to proceed in that Explanation he himſelf makes choice of.

ARTICLE I.

What Learning a Mythologiſt ought to be maſter of.

By Mythology, I underſtand the Knowledge of Fable, and at the ſame time of the Pagan Religion, its Myſteries, Ceremonies, and the Worſhip paid to its falſe Divinities.

'Tis obvious, that one who would be ſkill'd in Fable, muſt have read with care *Homer* and *Heſiod*, more eſpecially the Poets of the Tragick kind, who have drawn from them the Subjects of their Poems, and ſuch as have made Collections of them, either in Verſe, as *Ovid*; or in Proſe, as *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, *Hyginus*, and ſome others.

When a Mythologiſt is throughly acquainted with the Fable, he has, properly ſpeaking, advanced but the firſt ſtep. As Fables are capable of ſeveral Senſes, and are as it were ſo many Veils, under which the Ancients concealed a number of Truths; they who ſet themſelves to explain them, have taken different ſides, each imagining, he diſcovered in them what the Turn of his Genius, or the Plan of his Studies made him deſirous to find out. There the Naturaliſt has perceived the Myſteries of Nature; the Politician, Maxims of Government; the Philoſopher, Morality; the Chymiſt, the Secrets of his Art; and ſo others. Hence ſo many different Syſtems, not ſo much as one of them

capable of ſolving all the Difficulties that occur upon this Subject, as we ſhall ſee in the Courſe of theſe Reflections.

Fables are of ſeveral ſorts. There are the hiſtorical, phyſical, allegorical, and moral ones; and others, which are no more than mere Apologues. The firſt are ancient Hiſtories intermix'd with a great deal of Fiction: theſe I take to be by far the more numerous. The phyſical Fables are ſuch, as were invented by ſome philoſophical Poets; as when they ſaid, the Ocean was the Father of the Rivers; the Moon match'd with the Air, and became Mother of the Dew, and almoſt the whole *Coſmogonies* of ancient Nations, which I am to give account of afterwards. The allegorical ones were a kind of Parables, that had a ſecret myſtical Senſe, as that which we find in *Plato*, of *Porus* and *Penia*, or Riches and Poverty, whoſe Offſpring was Love. The moral Fables, are ſuch as were invented to convey Leſſons of Morality under an inſinuating Veil; as the Story of *Narciſſus*, deſign'd to expoſe the Folly of Self-love, when it exceeds due Bounds. Under the Fables of the moral kind, I comprehend all Apologues, where the Beaſts are commonly the Speakers, to teach Men their Duty, or to cenſure their Faults. There are Fables that ſeem to aim at no other End but to amuſe, as the *Mileſian* Tales, and thoſe of the *Sybarites*. In fine, there are others of a mix'd nature, which are built upon an hiſtorical Bottom, and at the ſame time carry a manifeſt Alluſion either to Phyſicks or Morality.

The Mythologiſt muſt give the greateſt Attention to unfold and penetrate into all theſe Senſes, neither preſuming that a Fable is purely phyſical or moral, becauſe it glances at Phyſicks or Morality; nor yet that it is entirely hiſtorical, becauſe he may diſcover in it ſome Event in Hiſtory: this is a Rock which the Bulk of thoſe who eſſay'd to explain the Fables have ſplit upon.

As for the Knowledge of the Pagan Religion and Myſteries, which are chiefly founded on Fables, what

a vaſt ſtock of Learning muſt a Mythologiſt acquire, before he can be maſter of it? Beſides all the Poets and Hiſtorians, he muſt be particularly well read in the Works of the Philoſophers, who lived at the beginning of Chriſtianity; and in thoſe of the Fathers and Apologiſts for Chriſtianity, who attacked them, or defended themſelves from their Calumnies: the Works I mean of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Euſebius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, *Theodoret*, *Arnobius*, more eſpecially St. *Auguſtin de Civitate Dei*.

I have ſingled out to a Mythologiſt theſe ancient Authors, not as if there was no neceſſity for him to read an infinity of other Works: for a good Mythology, ſuch as would anſwer the Conception I have of it, ought to contain not only the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Pagan Religion, but all the other Branches of this Theology; the Prieſts and their Veſtments, the Temples, the peculiar Attributes of their Gods, the Sacrifices, different Victims, Myſteries, Auguries and Divinations at the Altars, the Oracles, Lots, Games, Feſtivals, Altars, *&c.* And for theſe I am to direct him to the Authors he is to conſult, without pretending however to give him a compleat Liſt of them. For the Temples, Soothſayers and Oracles, he ought to read *Van-Dale*, and the Treatiſe of *Julius Cæſar Bulengerus*; for the Feſtivals, *Faſoldus*, *Caſtellanus*, *John Johnſton*, and *Meurſius*; for the Games with which Religion was mix'd, the ſame *Meurſius*; for the Altars, a Treatiſe upon them by Father *Berthold*; for the Myſteries of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, *John-Henry*; and for the *Bacchanalia* in particular, *John-Nicholas Eggelins*; for thoſe of *Ceres*, or the Myſteries of *Eleuſis*, *Meurſius*, and M. *Le Clerc*, who has reduced him to a clearer Method; for thoſe of *Mithras*, M. *della Torre*, Biſhop of *Adria*; for thoſe of *Atys* and *Cybele*, *Laurentius Pignorius*; for thoſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, *Plutarch* upon that Subject, and the ſame *Pignorius*; for the Oracle of *Dodona* in particular, he may conſult *Herodotus*, the Fragment of *Stephen* of *Byzantium* the Grammarian, with *James Trig-*

landius's Notes, and what the Abbé *Sallier* has publiſh'd in our Memoirs (1); for the *Aſyla*, *John Oſiander*, and the late Abbé *Boiſſi*; for the Lots, the Auguries, and other Methods of Divining, *Bulengerus*; in general for ſeveral Ceremonies and religious Cuſtoms, *Pitiſcus* and *Roſinus*; provided, as *Reineſius* has remark'd, we give no credit to the latter but when he quotes the Ancients; for the Vows and votive Tables, the Treatiſe of *James-Philip Thomaſinus*: With regard to the Oaths, always connected with Religion, the ſmall Treatiſe of *J. B. Hanſenius*; for the Sacrifices and Prieſts, *Merula*. In fine, he may read what *Montfaucon* has collected from theſe and ſeveral other Authors, in his *Antiquity explain'd in Sculptures*: and a great number of other Pieces ſcatter'd up and down in the *Theſaurus* of *Grævius* and *Gronovius*, and in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*.

No doubt it will be objected to me, that we have compleat Mythologies already, and numbers of Authors who have given us laborious Treatiſes on Fable. 'Tis true, and I ſhall now endeavour by a ſhort Examination of theſe Works to eſtimate their Merit. I am not to ſpeak of *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Apollodorus*, nor *Hyginus*, becauſe they have done no more than barely to collect Fables, as *Ovid*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, and others, without giving any juſt Explanation of them. *Palephatus*, who attempted to explain them, is a Guide not to be relied on. *Conon*'s fifty Narrations are hardly of any greater uſe. *Heraclides*, and an Anonymous Author, who has given us two Treatiſes *de Rebus incredibilibus*, have indeed reduced to Hiſtory the Fables they relate; but theſe Works, or rather theſe Fragments, are too ſhort, and cite no Authority for the Facts they advance. The Cataſteriſms of *Eratoſthenes* the *Cyrenian*, a much ſhorter Work than that of *Hyginus*, contains the Hiſtory of the Conſtellations and of ſome Stars; and one who would be acquainted with the poetical and aſtronomical Heavens, muſt give them a reading, as well as the Treatiſe of *Caſius*

(1) Mem. of the Acad. of *Belles-Lettres*, v. 1.

Cæſius or *Bleau*, not neglecting even what the Abbé *Artigant* has done upon the ſame Subject. *Phurnutus*'s Book upon the Nature of the Gods is merely ſtuffed with Allegories, and is of very little uſe to a Mythologiſt. The Work of the Philoſopher *Salluſt* is a very ſuccinct Treatiſe, where you have a mixture of Moralizing and Phyſicks, but nothing inſtructive or particular. As for *Heraclides* of *Pontus*'s Book, one may judge from the bare Title of it, *The Allegories of Homer*, whether we ought to have any great Opinion of the Work. The three firſt Books of *Planciades Fulgentius*, the *Latin* Mythologiſt, are well worth the reading. The Work of *Lactantius Placidus* contains nothing but the Arguments of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes* abridg'd, and that of the Philoſopher *Albricus* the Manner of repreſenting the Gods with their Attributes. What we have now extant of *Ptolemy Hepheſtion*, is but a Summary of the ſeven Books he had compoſed upon Mythology; and all that now remains ſerves but to make us lament the loſs of the Work itſelf. That of *Parthenius* of *Nice* has this to recommend it, that he draws from ancient Authors the fabulous Stories he relates; but it takes in too few of them. The *Metamorphoſes* of *Antoninus Liberalis* are much inferiour in merit to *Ovid*'s; but then he has ſome which the *Latin* Poet wants.

To come now to the modern Mythologiſts, I ſhall ſpeak my Opinion of ſuch of them as I have ſeen. In the Front of them I place *Natalis Comes*, a learned Author, who perhaps had render'd our Labours on the ſame Subject ſuperfluous, if his too great Prejudice in favour of the allegorical and moral Senſe had allowed him to give a little more Application only to find out the Hiſtory of the Fable. Beſides he wanted the Helps, which *Voſſius*, *Bochart*, and others ſince his time, have furniſhed us with by their learned Diſcoveries. The Mythology of *Cartari*, and its Continuation by *Du Verdier*, has nothing very inſtructive, nor well digeſted. The Genealogy of the Gods by *Boccace* has this Peculiarity, that the Author had been

acquainted with, and cites Books, which at preſent are not to be had. The Work of *Lylio Gyraldi* is extremely well done, ſo far as it goes; but beſides that all the Subjects we look for in a Book of Mythology are not to be found there, he has quite overlook'd the Hiſtory couch'd under the ancient Fictions; what he has done better, is the Liſt of the Surnames of the Gods he mentions: it appears to have been compoſed with a great deal of care, though he frequently neglects to explain theſe Names. The Commentary of *Vigenere* on *Philoſtratus*'s Pictures is full of Learning, but has too great a mixture of Phyſicks and Moralizing; and that in a Language which is now grown obſolete.

ARTICLE II.

What Extremes he ought to avoid.

Having conſidered the preliminary Knowledge a Mythologiſt ought to acquire, I ſhall now ſhew him the Errors he ought to ſhun, with reſpect to the Syſtems that have been contrived for explaining Fable: for though there is not one of them that can anſwer all Objections; no general Rules that will ſerve for all Occaſions; yet I am confident, that there is none of them but what ſome Advantage may be drawn from.

Examination of the Syſtems offer'd by the Learned for explaining Fables.

One of the principal and moſt ancient is that of the *Platonick* Philoſophers, who being hard put to it by the Objections of the Defenders of Chriſtianity, whoſe Deſign was to prove the Abſurdity of Paganiſm from that of the Fables it was founded upon, pretended that theſe Fables were but Allegories, that wrap'd up grand Myſteries, and eſpecially that of the different Productions of ſecond Cauſes, animated by the ſame Spirit that had diſintangled and extracted them from the Chaos where they were blended in confuſion: That the Multiplicity of Gods, with worſhipping whom they were reproach'd, were only *Genii*, of an inferiour Order to the firſt Mover, who had committed to them the Government

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of the World; and in fine, that the things, which appear'd either abſurd or obſcene, were only Myſteries under which the Generation of Plants and Animals lay conceal'd.

My Intention is not to tranſcribe here the Anſwers of the Fathers, who demonſtrated to theſe Philoſophers, that the Fables were the true Hiſtories of their Gods, to palliate whoſe Crimes, they had recourſe to ingenious Allegories, when too late; nor am I to inſiſt upon their Replies to the *Stoicks*, who abandon'd the Eſtabliſh'd Religion only by embracing Atheiſm, and owning no other Divinity but an univerſal Spirit, extended like Matter which it animated: This is what *Virgil* (1) has expreſs'd in theſe celebrated Lines.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

This in effect, was the favourite Doctrine of the *Stoicks* (2), of *Strato*, *Protagoras*, *Pliny*, and has ſince been revived by *Spinoza*. But the Syſtem I have been now explaining, though falſe in general, becauſe Fables never were a Work of deep Deſign, nor compoſed with a view to one Whole, does yet explain in a very ingenious manner the Allegories they ſometimes contain; and *Plato* himſelf, the Maſter of the Philoſophers, who framed this Syſtem, explain'd ſome of them upon this Principle.

Some learned Men of the laſt Age have taken another Method to inveſtigate the Senſe of Fable. *Kircher* alledg'd, he had found out the Solution of them in the Explanation of the Hieroglyphicks, or of the ſacred Language of the *Egyptians*; an Hypotheſis falſe in general, and exceeding precarious, by reaſon of our being little acquainted with this myſterious Language; and becauſe the Fables happen not to be all of *Egyptian* Production. However, this Country having been peopled among the firſt, even ſoon after the Diſperſion of the Sons of *Noah*, and there being Fables that appear as old as this primitive Separation, ſince Idolatry with which they are connected then aroſe, nothing conduces

(1) *Æn.* L. 6. V. 126. (2) *Cic.* L. 1. *De Nat. Deor.*

conduces more towards their being underſtood, and to put the Mythologiſt in a way of explaining them, than Knowledge of the Religion and Ceremonies of this ancient People; and therefore it may be of uſe to read the *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* of this learned Jeſuit.

The celebrated *Bochart* thought moſt of the Fables might be explain'd, by the equivocal Words of the ancient *Phenician* Language; but his Hypotheſis would not be tenable, was it to be carried any great length. The Fables were not all invented by the *Phenicians*; nor can we be ſure of underſtanding their Language ſo fully as to ſucceed in explaining thoſe that were. It is certain however, that theſe People were the firſt who carried on Traffick and Navigation. Beſides, it is undeniable, that there have been found in almoſt every Iſland in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, in *Greece*, and as far as the inmoſt Receſſes of *Spain*, Marks of their Reſidence in theſe ſeveral Countries, and Veſtiges of their Religion: conſequently, what Light muſt an Inſight into Languages throw upon the Fables, and what vaſt Aſſiſtance may one derive from the Works of this learned Author? What a world of ingenious Explications has he either given himſelf, or enabled ſo many others, particularly *Le Clerc*, to give?

The Syſtem of thoſe who are for referring all the Fables to Scripture miſunderſtood, or to corrupted Traditions, is certainly falſe when taken in general. There are a world of things in the Fables, that have no manner of Connection with the Facts recorded in the ſacred Books; nay more, theſe Books were in the cuſtody of a People jealous of their Religion, far from being communicative, much deſpiſed, and but little known till the Conqueſts of *Alexander*. However, we may be eaſily convinced, by reading the Works of Pere *Thomaſſin*, *Huetius*, the Author of *Homer Hebraizing*, *Daniel Clazenius*'s Book, intitled, *Theologia Gentilis*, the *Compariſon of Fable with Scripture*, and ſtill more by peruſing the Reflections of M. *Fourmont* the elder upon ancient Nations, that one may have

he good fortune to diſcover, among theſe ancient Fic-ions, ſome Remains of the *Hebrew* Traditions. But o give here my Opinion upon this Subject, there is ot one of the Authors I have been naming, but has one to an Extreme. Dangerous it is for a Perſon to llow himſelf to be dazzled by the firſt Glimpſes of leſemblance that ſtrike the Sight; this is a Rock hich Men of Parts have ſplit upon. If the late Biſhop f *Avranches* had contented himſelf with ſaying, that here was no difficulty in tracing ſome Affinity between *Moſes* and the *Mercury* of the *Greeks*; ſuch an Affinity s might indeed very naturally be found between two Perſons, either in Character, or ſome one of their Actions, he had merited Praiſe for running the paral-lel between them; but to ſuffer the Charm of this Diſ-covery to tranſport him into an Opinion, that the Le-giſlator of the *Hebrews* had been the Model of almoſt all the *Pagan* Gods, as alſo his Siſter *Miriam*, or his Wife *Zippora*, of all their Goddeſſes; this is one of thoſe Sallies, into which Men are ſometimes carried by too much Learning. (*a*)

That the Pagans had been informed of the Travels both of *Abraham* and *Moſes*, is a Fact that could eaſily be proved; but that theſe Travels, and the Prodigies that accompanied them, were intended by the ancient Poets in the Hiſtory of *Jaſon*, and of the *Argonautick* Expedition, is an Hypotheſis, which all the Efforts of a modern Author have never been able to render pro-bable (1).

In like manner, however, certain it is, that Truth did not riſe out of Error, but that Truth itſelf, by being miſunderſtood, gave riſe to that multitude of Fa-bles, by which almoſt the whole World has been ſe-duced for many Ages; and conſequently, however they may deſerve Praiſe who have ſearch'd into the Boſom of Error itſelf for a Diſcovery of this ancient Truth, yet we cannot chooſe but blame them for car-rying

(*a*) See the fourteenth Source of Fables, C. 5. where this Thought is explain'd at more length.

(1) *Compariſon of Fable with Scripture*, T. 2.

rying their Conjectures too far: for inſtance, when they advance, that one may find Traces of the Myſtery of the Trinity, either in the Works of *Plato*, as *Juſtin*, *Euſebius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and ſome others have imagin'd; or in the hieroglyphical Figures of the *Iſiack* Table (1), according to others; or in the Divinities of the ancient *Germans*, as *Cluverius* alledges; or in the three principal Gods of the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Brama*, *Vichnou*, and *Routren*; or in the three-headed Idol of *Japan*; or in fine, in that of *Peru*, named *Tanga-Tanga*, which, according to *Acoſta*, ſignifies *One in three, or three in one*; what is this but an Affectation of learned Singularity, at the expence of that very Truth they value themſelves on ſearching after? Would God reveal this ineffable Myſtery to theſe People in a clearer manner than he had done even to the *Hebrews?*

That all the Inhabitants of this Globe are ſprung from one common Stock, is a Truth we are oblig'd by Religion to believe; that ſome of them, even after a long Separation, preſerv'd the Memory of thoſe ſorts of Events which are not liable to be fogot, ſuch as the Deluge; this too is a thing hardly to be queſtion'd, notwithſtanding the different manner in which People moſt remote from us have told the Story to their firſt Diſcoverers: but to think to find among them Remains of our Myſteries; a viſible Conformity in their Manners to thoſe of our primitive Patriarchs; to ſuppoſe they had a Notion, and that pretty exact, of the Orgies of *Bacchus*, the Myſteries of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, the Fable of *Jaſon* and *Medea*, &c. this is one of thoſe Extravagancies they muſt unavoidably fall into, who, the moment they are ſtruck with ſome faint Appearance of Probability, begin by forming a Scheme, and afterwards endeavour to eſtabliſh it upon forc'd Compariſons.

The Syſtem of thoſe, who reduce Fables to ancient Hiſtory, though disfigur'd by the Poets, who were the firſt Hiſtorians; a Syſtem that appears moſt reliſh'd at this day, and which I have been encourag'd

(1) See *Montfaucon*'s Antiq. Vol. 2. B. 2. C. 1. to

to embrace, by the Succeſs of ſome learned Men of the laſt Age, who have ſo happily explained ſome particular Fables, even this would have its Inconveniences, was one to reduce all to Hiſtory; ſince it is certain that ſome Fables are no more than pure Allegories, either upon ſome Virtue, or Vice, or elſe on ſome of the Productions of Nature: others, whoſe foundation is in Hiſtory, tho' the Ancients have choſe to tranſmit them to us allegorically, as in the Fable of *Niobe*'s Children, who were cut off by the Contagion that raged in *Thebes*, and are ſaid poetically to have been ſlain by *Apollo* and *Diana*, becauſe they attributed Death, if it was ſudden or occaſioned by Peſtilence, to *Apollo* for Males, and to *Diana* for Females, as may be ſeen in an hundred Paſſages of *Homer*; and all from an Opinion that contagious Diſtempers were owing to the Influences of the Sun and Moon, repreſented by the Arrows of theſe two Divinities.

This Syſtem, taken with theſe and ſome other Reſtrictions, is the moſt rational, and will be found moſt ſatisfactory, when apply'd to Particulars: but then we muſt not attempt to explain all the Circumſtances of every Fable, and if we would explain them to the purpoſe, we muſt take them from the Poets of greateſt Antiquity, ſuch as *Homer* and *Heſiod*, where they are much more ſimple, and expreſs more naturally the Facts to which they refer; and that ſometimes, without all thoſe Ornaments that were ſuperadded to them by After-ages, either to make them more venerable, becauſe they were a part of Religion, or more ſurpriſing, becauſe it is natural for Man to delight in the Marvellous. Several Examples of this might be given, but I ſhall content my ſelf with that of *Bellerophon*, whoſe Hiſtory is very fully told in the *Iliad* (1), without making the leaſt mention of the Horſe *Pegaſus*, who is ſaid by later Authors to have been broke by *Minerva* for the uſe of this Hero. This ancient Poet ſays as little of the *Centaurs*, according to the Idea they had of them in After-times: He repreſents them indeed as a Race of brutal Savages,

(1) L. 6. v. 221.

Savages, but by no means Monſters, Half-men and Half-horſes: If I am not miſtaken, *Pindar* was the firſt who painted them in that form.

I don't ſay that a Fable was not invented in the time of theſe ancient Poets, becauſe they have it not. They neither had occaſion nor intention to mention every one: but all I plead for is this, whenever they relate a Fable, ſuch Circumſtances as they want appear to be the Invention of after-times: Thus for inſtance, *Heſiod* tells us, that *Jaſon* had by *Medea*, *Medus*, without ſaying any more; whence I conclude, the Circumſtance of *Medus*'s being the Father of the *Medes*, to have been only added to this Fable after his time. *Heſiod* could never ſay ſuch a thing, ſince the *Medes*, who only begun to appear about 750 Years before Chriſt, could not poſſibly be known to a Poet who liv'd 900 Years before this Æra. When the ſame Poet ſpeaks of *Maia*, one of the *Pleiades*, and Mother of *Mercury*, he ſays nothing of the ſix other Siſters, who together with her formed the Conſtellation of that Name; much leſs would he mention the ſeventh, named *Merope*, who, as the later Poets tell us, is never to be ſeen, becauſe ſhe alone had matched with a Mortal, while her Siſters had been married to Gods. This Phyſical Fable, whereby we are taught that this Star has been ſunk for a long time in the unfathomable depths of Æther, and which is told both by *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, was undoubtedly neither known to *Homer* nor *Heſiod*.

Another Rule to be obſerved by ſuch as adopt the Hiſtorical Syſtem, is ſtill to bear in mind that Fables are a Whole ill-match'd, which was never a Work of Meditation, invented at one time, in one Country, or by the ſame Perſons. This Reflection I made in the Preface to my Tranſlation of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes*. I proved too in my Explication of Fables, that neither *Egypt* nor *Phenicia* had given birth to them all, altho' the greater number came from thence; that many of them were invented in *Greece* and *Italy*, and others of them but of modern Invention: ſuch was that of *Æneas*'s Ships, transformed by *Cybele* into Sea-Nymphs; a Fable which

which *Ovid* has copied from *Virgil*, nor are we able to trace this Tradition higher than the time of *Auguſtus*.

I add, it is eaſy for one to fall into miſtakes; ſometimes a Fable may be look'd upon as modern, when it is of great antiquity; and thus for preventing miſtakes in examining it, he muſt try, if poſſible, to diſcover its Original: and as to that, I take the Names of the Perſonages of theſe Fables to be very proper to mark out the Country where they had their birth. Whenever theſe Names are related to the Languages of the Eaſt, we may be ſure they are the Product of *Egypt* or *Phenicia*. When they are *Greek*, as thoſe of *Daphne*, the *Heliades*, the *Myrmidons*, *Alopis*, *Galanthis*, one may take it for granted that the Fables concerning theſe Perſonages are of *Grecian* Extraction; and in fine, when the Names are *Latin*, ſuch as *Carmenta*, *Flora*, and *Anna Perenna*, we may conclude, the Fables delivered concerning them to have been invented in *Italy*. As a Confirmation of this Rule, theſe laſt Fictions are never to be met with out of the *Latin* Territory, nor the others out of *Greece*.

But this Rule too has its inconvenience; for if, becauſe *Matuta* and *Portumnus* are *Latin* Names, we ſhould infer that the Fable about them had its riſe in *Italy*, we ſhould be in a miſtake; ſince we find it in *Greece* under the names of *Leucothoë* and *Palemon*, and this ſame *Palemon*, *Selden* has fully made out (1) to be the *Melicertus* of the *Phenicians*. Thus it is, one may ſometimes diſcover the Original of Fables, and their Tranſportation from *Egypt* or from *Phenicia*, into *Greece*, *Italy*, and other Countries; for perhaps there is not one where they have not been found.

We muſt not however imagine, that theſe People I now named had invented all of them: *Aſia minor*, the *Iſles*, *Greece*, the *Gauls* and *Spain*, were undoubtedly peopled by the Deſcendants of *Japhet*, from the earlieſt Ages; and theſe as well as others had a Religion and Fables of their own, when the firſt *Phenician* and *Egyptian* Colonies arrived amongſt them: and if theſe Colonies introduced thither their Gods and Worſhip, the

(1) Synt. de Diis Syriis.

others

others were not behind in their turn to communicate to them the Knowledge of Divinities they had worſhipped before a Stranger had come amongſt them. *Hamon* and *Belus*, for example, were the leading Deities of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, as *Jupiter* was the greateſt of the Gods of *Greece*. We find however in the earlieſt Antiquity, that *Hamon* and *Belus* had alſo the Appellation of *Jupiter*; which could be the Effect of nothing elſe but that Communication of Religion I have mentioned.

The People who adopted foreign Divinities, in proceſs of time made ſo conſiderable Alterations in the Worſhip they paid them, and even in their Names, that it was frequently impoſſible to know their true Original; inſomuch that Colonies were no longer acquainted with their own Gods when they met with them in Countries, where their Worſhip had been introduced by others before them, and never dream'd but the Deities worſhipped there, were different from theirs; which to be ſure occaſioned no ſmall Confuſion in the ancient *Mythology*. Some learned Men of the laſt Age (1) have in great meaſure cleared up this ſo eſſential an Article. They have, for example, found out that the *Theutat* of the *Gauls*, the *Hermes* of the *Grecks*, and the *Mercury* of the *Latins*, were the ſame with the *Thot* or *Thaut* of the *Egyptians*; that the *Belenus* of the *Celtæ*, the *Apollo* of the *Grecks*, and the *Mithras* of the *Perſians*, were the *Oſiris* and *Orus* of the ſame *Egyptians*; that *Diana* and *Lucina* were their *Iſis*; and the *Alilat* of the *Arabians*, the *Aſtarté* of the *Syrians*, and the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Greeks*, were the Planet we call the *Heſperus* or *Evening-Star*. Some, even Authors of Learning, among whom we may reckon *Bochart*, Father *Thomaſſin*, *Cumberland*, *Voſſius*, M. *Huet*, M. *Fourmont*, and others, think they have found out theſe ancient Gods in the Patriarchs; *Saturn* in *Noah* or *Abraham*; *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, in *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and ſo of others: But this Article ſtill requires to be more fully conſidered, and perhaps we ſhall be able in the courſe of this Work, to diſcover a Reſemblance, or rather

(1) *Bochart*, *Selden*, *M. le Clerc*, *Perizonius*, and ſeveral others.

rather an Identity, between the eight or twelve great Gods, mentioned in *Herodotus*, and thoſe of the *Greeks* and other Nations.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Manner how one ought to proceed in the Explanation of Fable.

Before I put an end to theſe Reflections, it will not be amiſs to ſhew thoſe for whoſe uſe they are deſigned, in what manner they are to proceed in explaining the Fables. To underſtand them fully, it is neceſſary firſt to examine from the Contexture of the Fable, whether it exhibits the Idea of ſome hiſtorical Fact, or whether it be only an Alluſion to ſome of Nature's Operations, or to ſome Virtue; and the moſt ſimple Reflection is often ſufficient to unfold this Myſtery. Whenever the Fable appears to be Hiſtorical, we muſt firſt clear away any Circumſtances that are out of Nature: A Poet in deſcribing Events, does not tell them ſimply and as an Hiſtorian would do, but intermixes Machinery, *Ambages Deorumque miniſteria*, as *Petronius* has it. We muſt then ſet aſide this Interpoſition of the Gods, and aſcribe either to Valour, Prudence or Addreſs, what the Poet attributes to *Mars*, *Minerva*, or *Mercury*. We muſt alſo examine in what Language the Fable to be examined is written, and we ſhall often find a meer Ambiguity in that Language has given riſe to the Fiction; of this *Bochart* furniſhes us with numbers of Examples. It is impracticable, nor could it be of great uſe to explain all the Circumſtances of the Fables, moſt of which were the late Invention of Poets as they had occaſion to uſe them; ſo that we muſt take them from the moſt ancient Poets, where they are commonly more ſimple, as has been already remarked. It is alſo neceſſary to be acquainted with the Ancients, to ſee if the Fact contained in the Fable, be connected with ſome other Incident in Hiſtory; for then it will be eaſy to ſtrip it of the Marvellous. The Expedition of the *Argonauts*, for example, and the Labours of *Hercules*, are hiſtorical Truths:

With how many fictitious Embelliſhments have they been ſet off? The moſt perplexing Difficulty in the way of a Mythologiſt conſiſts in unravelling the Intricacy of different Opinions about one and the ſame Fable, which is told in ſo many ways, and ſo different from one another, that it is impoſſible to reconcile them all.

Let us ſuppoſe, for inſtance, we were to examine the Partition of the World among the three Sons of *Saturn*; at firſt we ſhall be aſtoniſhed at the diverſity of Sentiments there is among the Learned about this Subject.

The Hiſtorians (1) we ſhall find delivering quite oppoſite Traditions, tho' of equal Antiquity. While the bulk of them ſhall ſuppoſe this Partition to have really happened, others will give a relation of Facts that deſtroy it. We ſhall be told, for example, that *Neptune* came out of *Libya*, and *Minerva* from the Banks of the Lake *Triton* in the ſame Country; ſo that they could have nothing in common with *Jupiter*, to whom they could not ſo much as be Relations. The firſt thing is to examine theſe different Traditions, and abandon ſuch as appear contradictory, and inconſiſtent with Facts for which we have the Authority of good Authors.

This is the Method, which has been obſerved by our beſt Mythologiſts, and I know none of them has adopted this Fable, without having firſt enquired what might have given riſe to it. The moſt Judicious, ſuch as *Gerard Voſſius*, *Marſham*, *Bochart*, and Father *Thomaſſin*, are of opinion that the Partition of the World among the Sons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, was the Original of the Tradition of the ſame Partition among *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; and conſidering it in this light, they have not been wanting to draw very curious Compariſons, between the three fabulous Princes, and the three Sons of the Patriarch. However, theſe ſame Authors vary amongſt themſelves in tracing the Reſemblance between them, and where the Compariſon is the ſame, the Perſons compared are different. After all,

(1) See *Diodorus Sic.*

all, what Similitude can be found between *Shem* and *Jupiter*, *Ham* and *Pluto?* The only rational Inference one could draw from the Opinion of theſe great Men, is not, that the two Families, which cannot be confounded without receding from all the Ancients, make but one; but barely the Truth of this Propoſition, that the *Greeks* often embelliſhed the Hiſtory of their fabulous times, with that of the Eaſtern Nations, whence they derived their Original.

The Empire of the *Titans*, according to the Ancients, was exceeding extenſive. Theſe Princes were poſſeſſed of *Phrygia*, *Thrace*, a part of *Greece*, the Iſland of *Crete*, and ſeveral other Provinces, to the inmoſt Receſſes of *Spain*. To theſe *Sanchoniathon* (1) ſeems to join *Syria*; and *Diodorus* (2) adds a part of *Africa* and the Kingdoms of *Mauritania*. I am not now to enter upon the Proofs of this Fact, which is very fully diſcuſſed in Father *Pezron*'s Treatiſe upon the Origin and Antiquity of the Language of the *Celtæ*. I ſhall only ſay here, that this learned Man contends that the Diviſion which was made of this vaſt Empire, came in after-times to be taken for the Partition of the World: that *Aſia* remaining in the hands of *Jupiter*, the moſt potent of the three Brothers, made him be looked upon as the God of *Olympus*, a celebrated Mountain where he had his Reſidence, and which was afterwards taken for Heaven it ſelf: that the Sea and Iſlands, which fell to *Neptune*, occaſioned their giving him the Title of God of the Sea: and that *Spain*, the extremity of the then known World, thought to be a very low Country in reſpect of *Aſia*, and famous for its excellent Mines of Gold and Silver, falling to *Pluto*, occaſioned him to be taken for the God of the infernal Regions.

A Mythologiſt ſhould ſtate and carefully canvaſs theſe different Opinions, to enable the Reader to judge of them; and he may determine himſelf in favour of that which appears to him the moſt probable, and ſupport it if he can by new Arguments, without giving himſelf much trouble about the Objections that may be raiſed

(1) In *Euſeb.* Præp. Evang. (2) L. 3.

againſt him. For one may venture here to affirm, that nothing ſtronger will ever be advanced to diſprove theſe three *Titan* Princes to have been Brothers, than what may be ſaid in defence of it.

CHAP. II.

In which 'tis proved that Fables are not mere Allegories, but comprehend ſeveral ancient Facts.

FABLES are to be no otherwiſe accounted of than ſo many beautiful Veils, under which the Truths of ancient Hiſtory are concealed; and however they may be diſguiſed by the great number of Ornaments mixed with them, it is not abſolutely impoſſible to unfold the hiſtorical Facts they contain. I grant there are ſome Circumſtances, in the Fables which were merely of Poetical Invention; but there is a deal of Probability that they had a true Foundation (*a*): and tho' we are not to take all that they have ſaid of their Gods and Heroes in the literal Senſe, yet it would be as wrong to reject it altogether, and the rather that they frequently ſpeak of Perſons whoſe Deeds we have recorded in Hiſtory; which gives *Pauſanias* (1) occaſion to ſay, "In "every Period of time, ſingular and extraordinary E- "vents, in proportion as they were remote from the "Memory of Men, ſo much the leſs did they retain the "air of Credibility, thro' their fault who built Fables "upon the foundation of Truth."

I know the Poets have ſometimes gone the length even of inventing the Perſonages they deſcribe; but it is eaſy to diſcover theſe, and to be ſure no reaſonable man judges of *Saturn* or *Neptune*, as he does of *Fortune* and of *Deſtiny*. There is no impoſſibility to diſtinguiſh amongſt all theſe Poetical Perſonages, the real from the figurative or allegorical. Learned Men have done it before me, nor did St. *Auguſtin*, *Lactantius*, and *Arnobius*

(*a*) Non enim res ipſas geſtas finxerunt Poetæ, ſed geſtis addiderunt quemdam colorem rebus. *Lact. de falſa Rel.* lib. 1. c. 12.
(1) In Att. c. 2.

bius judge this Article unworthy their Conſideration, believing they did no ſmall ſervice to Religion, by ſhewing to the World that the ancient Pagan Divinities had been no other than Men. I own, for my part, if there was nothing in all the Fables of the Poets but ſome Allegories, I don't ſee what great value we ought to have for their Works: nothing to me would appear more inſipid. Whereas, if it is true that they comprize ancient Facts, their making uſe of ſuch numbers of Fables has nothing at all ſurprizing; it gives us even a better opinion of the Genius of the *Greeks*, ſince we ſee that in ſpight of their invincible byaſs towards Fictions, they did not however feed themſelves with Tales of mere Invention (*a*); and tho' they have embelliſhed their Narratives, yet we know at leaſt that they contain ſeveral Truths of Importance. Accordingly it is certain that the greateſt Men of Antiquity, have always had a high Idea of the Poets, whom they looked upon as the earlieſt Hiſtorians. *Strabo* ſays (1), the Hiſtorians came nearer to the Character of *Homer*, in proportion as they were more ancient: which makes *Caſaubon* ſay (*b*), that in reading *Herodotus*, he thought he was reading *Homer* himſelf. Shall we believe in good earneſt, that *Alexander* would have held this Poet in ſuch eſteem, had he looked upon him only as a mere Relater of Fables? and would he have envied the happy Lot of *Achilles* in having ſuch a one to ſing his Praiſes? Where had been the ſenſe of wiſhing for an Hiſtorian, who inſtead of deſcribing the true Atchievements of that Prince, would have wrote none but fabulous ones? He well knew, that amidſt thoſe Fictions brought in by the Poet, to give a colouring to the Ground of his Hiſtory, he preſerved the Character of his Hero in perfection. *Pauſanias* is of the ſame opinion with *Strabo*, as well as *Polybius*, *Herodotus*, and ſo many others. We know how *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who is ſo grave and ſo judicious an Author, explains the Adventures of *Æneas*

(*a*) See M. le Clerc Bibl. choiſ. Tom. 2. (1) Lib. 2.
(*b*) Notæ in Strabon. lib. 1. Ac mihi quidem perſæpe Herodotum cum lego, Homerum *aliquem videor* legere.

and the other *Trojans*. Nor are we ignorant that *Titus Livius*, in the Fables that relate to the Antiquity of *Rome*, brings back the Gods to Men, as in that about the Birth of *Romulus*, his Education, *&c.* Does he not reduce to Hiſtory the Voyages of *Antenor* and *Æneas*, the Wars and Victories of the laſt, and his Apotheoſis? Is not the Subject of the *Æneid* conſidered by him in the ſame light as *Polybius* and *Strabo* had done the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*? When *Cicero* is enumerating the Sages, does he not bring in *Neſtor* and *Ulyſſes*? would he have given mere Phantoms a place among them? Has he not explained the Fables of *Atlas*, *Cepheus*, and *Prometheus* (*a*)? Are we not taught by him, that what gave occaſion to feign that the one ſupported the Heavens on his Shoulders, and the other was chained to Mount *Caucaſus*, was their indefatigable Application to contemplate the Heavenly Bodies? I might bring in here the Authority of moſt of the Ancients: I might produce that of the primitive Fathers of the Church, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and ſeveral others, who looked upon Fables to be founded on true Hiſtories; and I might finiſh this Liſt with the Names of the moſt Illuſtrious of our Moderns, who have traced out in ancient Fictions, ſo many Remains of the Tradition of the primitive Ages.

But, ſay you, would not this be granting enough, to allow Fables to comprehend the Philoſophy and Religion of the Ancients? I grant we have ſome Allegories mixed with them, which point that way; but ſtill it was the primary Intention of the Poets, to comprize in their Fables the Hiſtory of their Heroes; and we wander from their true Scope, when we confine our Views entirely to the Allegory. Is it really credible, that when they tell us *Bacchus* was clapped into *Jupiter*'s Thigh, they only meant to let us know, that Wine, of which that God is the Symbol, muſt, in order to ripen, have a moderate Heat, as there is in that part of the

(*a*) Nec vero Orbem Atlas ſuſtinere, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo, nec Cepheus ſtellatus, niſi cœleſtium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad hanc Fabulam conduxiſſet. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5.

the Body? That the Combat of the Gods in *Homer* ſignifies no more than the Struggle of our Paſſions, or the Conjunction of the Planets in the ſame Point of the Zodiac, according to the Reveries of ſome Scholiaſts? That *Vulcan* is only repreſented lame, becauſe Fire without Fewel, goes out, *Deficit, claudicat* (*a*)? Is it to be thought, that when they tell us how *Jupiter* decreed upon *Pluto*'s carrying off *Proſerpine*, that ſhe ſhould be ſix Months in Hell, and ſix Months with her Mother *Ceres*, they deſigned only to inform us that the Grain is lodged ſix Months in the Earth, and ſix Months out of it (*b*)? That they have made up a match between *Jupiter* and *Juno*, only becauſe *Jupiter* is the Air, and *Juno* the Earth; and *Jupiter* by ſending Showers upon the Earth, makes it fertile? That the bad underſtanding betwixt this married Couple, and the Jealouſies of *Juno*, teach us nothing elſe, but that the Air put into commotion raiſes Storms which work ſuch havock upon the Earth (*c*)? For my part, it is what I ſhall never be perſuaded of, and I doubt not but *Homer* would be not a little ſurprized, was he to come into the World and know all that is attributed to him; in truth, would he cry out in the Words of the ingenious Author of *The Dialogues of the Dead* (*d*), I was ſuſpicious enough that ſome People of wonderful Penetration, would diſcover things that never came into my head: As it requires no great Cunning to make a Prophecy which ſome time or other ſhall hit on an Event, ſo it is a mighty eaſy thing to make a Fable that may chance to be turned to an ingenious Allegory. And if he ſhould be ask'd, whether it was really ſo that he had wrapped up deep Myſteries in his Works, he would ingenuouſly acknowledge, he had not thought upon it; but, that knowing there was a ſtrong Sympathy between Truth and Falſhood, and that the Mind of Man does not always ſeek after Truth, he thought fit to borrow the Diſguiſe of Fiction, to make Truth be the more

(*a*) St. *Auguſtin*, after the ancient Poets.
(*b*) Salluſt L. de Diis & Mundo (*c*) *Euſebius* after *Plutarch* explains it in this manner. (*d*) Dialogue of *Homer* and *Eſ.*

reliſhed. It is no new thing to make Authors ſpeak what they never thought; and if we muſt have recourſe to Allegories, all we ſhall learn from it is, according to the Remark of a learned Modern (1), that the firſt Inhabitants of *Greece* made their whole Wiſdom conſiſt in expreſſing trivial things in a very obſcure manner. Who knows not that Rain makes the Earth prolifick? And yet according to the Patrons of Allegory, they could not tell us this, till of the Earth and Air they had made their *Jupiter* and *Juno*, whom they afterwards came to worſhip as Gods. The Ancients proceeded in a way of honeſt Simplicity; as they knew little about Virtue and Vice, when they reckoned their firſt Kings among their Gods, they recorded their Actions good or bad, as formerly; and after repreſenting *Jupiter* ſtriking the *Titans* with Thunder, they transformed him to a Goat, or a Satyr, to enſnare ſimple Shepherdeſſes.

But, it will be ſaid, are there not things we meet with in the Poets that can only be underſtood allegorically? Are they not every moment taking *Jupiter* for the Air, *Ceres* for the Corn, *Bacchus* for Wine? *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus. Manet ſub Jove frigido Venator*, &c. In like manner, when we read in one of *Nævius*'s Verſes, *Coquus dedit Neptunum, Venerem, Cererem*, is not this his Meaning, *The Cook provided Fiſh, Herbs, and Bread?* as *Juſtus Lipſius* explains it (2). When they tell us, the *Ocean* is the Father of the Rivers, the *Sirens* are the Daughters of *Achelous*, &c. is not this evidently allegorizing Nature? It is ſo; but this is by no means the ancient ſtate of Fables: Their *Bacchus* is conſidered as a conquering Prince; *Jupiter* as a King in *Crete*, renowned for his Conqueſts; *Ceres* as a Queen of *Sicily*, who taught her People Agriculture; and ſo for others: and it was only in after-times that they affixed to theſe ancient Fables, an Idea of the Elements and of univerſal Nature; which only proves that there is a great deal of Allegory intermixed with them, which is not denied; and this to be ſure is the very thing that makes their Explanation ſo difficult, the Poets

(1) M. le Clerc. (2) Nat. Lat. l. 2. c. 1.

Poets paſſing at once from Hiſtory to Phyſicks. Thus we are to look upon thoſe Allegories, as ſo many Metaphors and figurative Ways of ſpeaking, that were added to denote the Characters of the Perſons ſpoken of. The Arrival, for example, of *Cecrops* in *Greece*, the Laws he introduced, and the Care he took to poliſh the Inhabitants of *Attica*, are hiſtorical Facts, which one might tell in the natural way; and poſſibly they that wrote them firſt, blended no Fiction with them; however they gave out afterwards, that *Cecrops* was compounded of two Natures (*a*), the upper part of his Body that of a Man, and the other that of a Serpent: an Allegory teaching us, that this Prince ruled over two Nations; the *Egyptians*, a People juſtly denominated Men from their ſweet and refined Manners; and the *Greeks*, who in their fierce unpoliſhed Nature bore a reſemblance to the Serpents, that dwelt like them in Dens and Foreſts. Thus every Fable almoſt has two Parts, the one hiſtorical, and the other metaphorical. *Atlas*, for example, was a Prince given to Aſtronomy, who made uſe of the Sphere in ſtudying the Motion of the Stars; here is the Hiſtory, which they thus expreſs; he carried the Heavens upon his Shoulders, and this is the Parable. *Proteus* was a Prince of great Wiſdom and Foreſight, Eloquence and Cunning, this was his Character: it is happily enough expreſſed, by ſaying he turned himſelf into a great many Shapes. *Dedalus* was the Inventer of Sails inſtead of the Oars that were formerly in uſe, and he happily made his eſcape out of the hands of *Minos*; this is the matter of fact: to inform us of it, we are told in a figurative Stile, that he had made himſelf Wings on which he flew away; a lively Expreſſion that finely marks the Swiftneſs of a Ship under ſail.

The Poets, to gain Admirers, have interwoven theſe amuſing Fictions into the Hiſtories they choſe to relate. Something of this Diſpoſition is natural to Men, eſpecially to the Eaſtern People, from whom we have moſt of the Fables: this Temper ſtill prevails amongſt them; and

(*a*) *Geminus de corpore is Ovid's* Expreſſion for it.

and we ſee from their Books ſo full of Parables, that they remain at this day what the *Greeks* were in the moſt fabulous Times.

But if on the other ſide the Poets thought themſelves obliged to invent Fables that they might divert their Readers, yet they very well knew that we have no great Love to be fed with mere Chimæras. Thus it became neceſſary for them to ſeek ſome Foundation for theſe Fictions: and the Hiſtory of the World ſupplying them with Events of an extraordinary and wondrous nature, which with a few Ornaments had all the Charm of Fable; what could hinder their making choice of them, to be the foundation of their Works, rather than invent Tales, with which one could not chooſe but ſoon be cloy'd?

Strabo's judicious remark upon the Voyages of *Ulyſſes*, where *Homer* has interſpers'd ſo many Fables, is a good confirmation of what I have been ſaying. "When we have ancient Hiſtory before us, ſays "that Author, we muſt examine in this Light what "is ſaid by them, who maintain that *Ulyſſes* reach'd "the Seas of *Italy* and *Sicily*, as *Homer* has ſaid, "and by others who deny it; for each of theſe "Opinions has ſomething good and ſomething bad, "and it is poſſible for one to be in the right, and "alſo in the wrong, on either ſide of the Queſtion. "One is in the right to believe that *Homer* from a "Perſuaſion of *Ulyſſes*'s having actually ſailed to all "thoſe Places, has laid the Foundation of his Fable "in a Subject undoubtedly true; though he has han-"dled it in the poetical Way, that is, by mixing it with "Fiction; for Tokens of his Voyages are to be ſeen "in thoſe Seas. But one would be in an error to "take for circumſtantiated Hiſtory all the reſt of the "Fiction, as his Ocean, his infernal Regions, his "Metamorphoſes, the horrid Form of *Scylla*, the "*Cyclops*, and ſo forth. He who ſhould contend "that all theſe Articles are ſo many Hiſtorical Truths, "would be as little worth the refuting, as one who "ſhould maintain that *Ulyſſes* really arrived at *Ithaca*, "juſt in the manner it is told by *Homer*." Both

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the one and the other of theſe Opinions are ridiculous; we are to hold the mean, and ſelect what is hiſtorical from among the embelliſhments of Fiction. Thus to conjecture right upon this Subject, two Extremes are to be avoided. The Ground of the Fable muſt be conſidered as ſomething hiſtorically true, and at the ſame time all the Ornaments believed fictitious: This Principle muſt be deeply rooted in the Mind, that Fables are not wholly of the nature of Fictions; that they are Hiſtories of the Times furtheſt back, which have been diſfigured, either through the Ignorance of the People, the Artifice of the Prieſts, or the Genius of the Poets, who have always preferred the Gaudy and Sparkling to the Solid. But the queſtion is, how to clear up all this? One is liable to miſtake for Truth what is nothing but a Fiction; and the only Circumſtance, perhaps, that has Truth in it, ſhall paſs for Fable. Have we any Rules whereby to diſtinguiſh right in the Caſe? Undoubtedly we have: The firſt thing to be done is to clear the Fable of all that appears in it ſupernatural, all that pompous Apparatus of Fictions, which are glaring and obvious. Thus, in all the Battles that *Homer* deſcribes, whenever he brings his Gods into the Field, let them forthwith be ſet aſide; the Part he aſcribes to *Miſerva*, is to be attributed to Prudence and the good Conduct of the Generals; to the Valour of *Hector*, what he places to the account of *Mars*; Chance it is rather than *Pallas* that brought *Ulyſſes* to an interview with *Nauſicaa*, *Alcinous*'s Daughter, and by the myſterious Cloud, with which he was ſhrouded by the Goddeſs, we are to underſtand the Darkneſs of the Night, under whoſe Protection the King of *Ithaca* entered the Town of the *Pheacians* without being diſcovered. We are not to think that *Priam* was really conducted by *Mercury* into the Tent of *Achilles*, as *Homer* deſcribes it; but only that this King ſet out by Night to recover *Hector*'s Body from the *Greeks*, declaring upon his Arrival he had come with Gifts to mitigate the Conqueror of his Son. When you ſee

a Hero carry'd off the Field by a Goddeſs, you are only to fancy this an Allegory to hide his Flight. If the Poets ſpeak of Giants whoſe Head touch'd the Heavens, repreſent to yourſelf a Race of Men monſtrous by reaſon of their Crimes, rather than any enormous Height of Stature. If we are told that *Hercules* with his Hands ſeparated the two Mountains *Calpé* and *Abyla*, which lying between *Africa* and *Spain*, had ſtopt the Courſe of the Ocean, and that the Sea forthwith ruſh'd in with violence upon the Land, and formed that vaſt Gulf we call the *Mediterranean*; you may believe that in the time of ſome *Hercules*, (for there were ſeveral of them) the Ocean opened a Paſſage to itſelf, with the aſſiſtance, perhaps, of an Earthquake, and got between *Europe* and *Africa*: and then you will not be far from the Truth, and may boaſt of having found out the firſt Key to the Fables.

But you will ſay, when we have thus diveſted Fables of whatever is out of Nature, is all the reſt true? Not ſo neither; before we can judge of that, we muſt, if poſſible, conſult the ancient Hiſtorians; and where they fail us (for they don't always record ſuch ſorts of Events) we muſt have recourſe to Medals, Inſcriptions, and other antique Monuments; and where none of theſe are to be had, we muſt go to the Etymology of Words, and ſearch into the antient Languages for unravelling moſt of thoſe ancient Fictions. We muſt examine with attention, what may have given riſe to them: Sometimes an equivocal Word in a Language the Poet did not underſtand, has led him to broach a Fable, while, according to his Taſte, he preferred that meaning which had ſomething of the Marvellous, before the other, where nothing offered but what was natural. It is true, one detracts a great deal from the Beauty of theſe Fictions, by explaining them; as ſoon as they come to be ſtript of their Ornaments, they produce the ſame effect with a Piece of Perſpective in a Theatrical Decoration; they *muſt not* be look'd at too near. It gives one

pain

pain to find the Conqueſt of the Dragons which vomited Fire, and the ſubduing the brazen-footed Bulls that kept the golden Fleece, turn out to be nothing but a falſe Key which *Medea* gave *Jaſon* to carry off her Father's Treaſures, which a good Wall with double Gates render'd inacceſſible. Accuſtom'd as we are to form to ourſelves the Idea of a great Hero, whenever we hear *Hercules* mention'd, it ſurprizes us to ſee all the Glory of ſo many illuſtrious Actions given away amongſt ſome Merchants that traded in different Countries, where they ſettled a few Colonies: To ſee in *Ganymede* whom *Jupiter* carried off, and *Hyacinth* whom *Apollo* ſlew, only two young Princes, the one ſtolen away by a King of *Lydia*, and the other killed by an Accident: In the Wings of *Dedalus* and *Icarus*, a Ship under Sail: In all the Changes of *Achelous*, only frequent Inundations; and in the Combat of *Hercules* with the God of that River, a Dyke that was raiſed to hinder its overflowing. I ſhall make it appear that the *Minotaur* with *Paſiphae*, and the reſt of that Fable, contain nothing but an Intrigue of the Queen of *Crete* with a Captain named *Taurus*; and the artifice of *Dedalus*, only a ſly Confident: That *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, thoſe two formidable Monſters that devoured Paſſengers, were only two Rocks near the Iſland of *Sicily*, where Ships were in danger: That the frightful Monſter which ravaged the Plains of *Troy*, meant only the Inundations of the Sea; and what occaſion'd their ſaying, the fair *Heſione* was expoſed to this Monſter, was, becauſe ſhe was to be given to him, who put a ſtop to theſe Inundations: That it was not really *Jupiter* who transformed himſelf into a Shower of Gold, but *Prætus* who corrupted the Fidelity of the Keepers, to get Acceſs into the Tower where *Danae* was ſhut up: That the Fable of *Bellerophon* who combated the *Chimæra*, barely informs us that this Prince defeated ſome Troops of the *Lycians*. Inſtead of repreſenting *Hercules* encountring the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, we ſhall ſhew you a Man that drained a marſhy Country. That *Jupiter* thunder-

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ing againſt the Giants, is a Prince that quells a Sedition: *Atlas* bearing Heaven upon his Shoulders, a King that ſtudy'd Aſtronomy with a Globe in his hand: The Golden Apples of the delightful Garden of the *Heſperides* and their Dragon, Oranges watch'd by maſtiff Dogs. Truth, let it be ever ſo ſimple, ought to appear more lovely, and give greater delight when diveſted of Ornaments, than when ſet off with all that marvellous Dreſs it wears in the the Poets (*a*).

CHAP. III.

Diviſion of the Fables.

I Find among the Poets ſix kinds of Fables (*b*); Hiſtorical, Philoſophical, Allegorical, Moral, Mix'd, or invented merely for the ſake of the Fable.

The firſt are ancient Hiſtories, mix'd with ſeveral Fictions; ſuch are thoſe which ſpeak of *Hercules*, *Jaſon*, &c. inſtead of telling us in the ſimple way, that the latter went to recover the Treaſures which *Phrixus* had carried to *Colchis*, they have given us the Fable of the Golden Fleece.

The Philoſophical Fables are thoſe which the Ancients invented as apt Parables to wrap up the Myſteries of their Philoſophy; as when the Ocean is ſaid to be the Father of the Rivers; the Moon to have married the Air, and become the Mother of the Dew.

The Allegorical were likewiſe Parables where ſome Myſtical Senſe lay concealed, as that in *Plato* about *Porus* and *Penia*, or Riches and Poverty, whoſe Offſpring was Pleaſure.

The Moral Fables are thoſe they have contrived for the conveyance of ſome Precepts of Morality, as that which

(*a*) Melius eſt quodcunque verum, quam omne quod ex arbitrio fingi poteſt.

(*b*) The Word for Fable in Greek is Μῦθος, as much as to ſay, Diſcourſe by way of Eminence.

which tells us (1) *Jupiter* ſends the Stars upon this Earth in the day-time, to take notice of the Actions of Men: ſo the Fables of *Æſop*, and in general all Apologues.

There are alſo mix'd Fables, which are made up of Allegory and Morality, but have nothing Hiſtorical, ſuch is the Fable of *Até*, related by *Homer* (2). *Até*, according to this Poet, was *Jupiter*'s Daughter; her Name marks her Character, and her Inclinations; accordingly ſhe thought upon nothing but doing miſchief. Odious as ſhe was to Gods and Men, *Jupiter* ſeized her by the Hair of the Head, and threw her down head-long from the height of Heaven, whither he made an Oath ſhe ſhould never enter more.

'Tis eaſy to ſee the Poet, under this Fable, deſign'd to repreſent the pronenеſs we have to Evil, or Evil itſelf, under an Allegorical Figure; for having deſcrib'd this miſchievous Imp, who, according to him, traverſes the whole Earth, with an incredible Celerity, doing all the miſchief in her power; he adds, that her Siſters, likewiſe *Jupiter*'s Daughters, whom he calls Λιται, *Prayers*, come always after her to repair, as far as lies in their power, the Evil done by her; but being lame, they move far ſlower than their Siſter: as much as to ſay, Men are always more forward to ſin, and more in earneſt, than when they exerciſe Repentance, and make Reparation.

The Fables invented merely for the ſake of Fable, have no other end, but to divert, as that of *Pſyché* (3) and what we call the *Mileſian* Tales, and thoſe of the *Sybarites*.

Fables of the Hiſtorical kind, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed, becauſe mention is made in them of People we know elſewhere. Such as are compoſed for Amuſement are likewiſe eaſy to be diſcovered, by the ridiculous Stories they tell of unknown Perſons. The Senſe of the Moral and Allegorical Fables is obvious; as for the Philoſophical ones, they are full of Proſopopœias that animate Nature:

(1) Plaut. Prol. de Rud. (2) *Iliad.* 19. (3) See *Apuleius*'s Golden *Aſs*.

Nature: There Earth and Air are hid under the borrowed Names of *Jupiter* and *Juno*.

Generally ſpeaking there are very few Fables in the ancient Poets, but contain ſome Paſſages of Hiſtory; it is only they that came after that have added to them Circumſtances of pure Invention. When *Homer*, for example, ſays, (1) *Æolus* gave *Ulyſſes* the Winds ſhut up in a Bag, whence his Companions let them out; this is a cover'd Piece of Hiſtory, which informs us that this Prince foretold *Ulyſſes* what Wind was to blow for ſome days, and that the Shipwreck he ſuffer'd, was owing entirely to his neglecting to follow his Counſel. But when *Virgil* adds (2), that the ſame *Æolus*, at *Juno*'s Requeſt, raiſed a terrible Storm, which drove *Æneas*'s Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, it is a mere Fable founded upon the Opinion of *Æolus*'s being God of the Winds. Thoſe Fables too which we have called Philoſophical, were at firſt Hiſtorical, and it was after their invention they were join'd with the Idea of natural Things: Hence thoſe mix'd Fables, if we may ſo call them, comprehending an Hiſtorical Fact, and a Piece of Natural Philoſophy, like that of *Myrrha* and *Leucothoé*, changed into the Tree that bears Frankincenſe, and that of *Clytia* into the *Heliotrope*.

But before we enter upon an Explication of the Fables, it will be proper to lay open their Sources, and examine into their Origin; which ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Conjectures about the Origin of Fables.

Firſt Source of Fables, Vanity.

VANITY has undoubtedly been the firſt Source of Fable (*a*); Men not having been always pleaſed with Truth in its own beautiful Simplicity, began to think it needed foreign Ornaments to ſet it off. Thus, they who firſt deſcribed

(1) Odyſ. l. 10. (2) Æn. l. 1.

(*a*) See the Propoſal of a Book upon that Subject, publiſhed by *Father Tournemine* in the Journals of Trevoux, An. 1720.

ed the Actions of their Heroes, intermixed a
id Fictions with them, whether it was their
on to raiſe them to higher Eſteem, or the more
ully to incite others to Virtue by ſetting great
ples before them. But little did they know the
: of true Virtue, ſince, to attract our Love, it
e repreſented in Patterns we can imitate, whereas
rawn by them were quite inimitable. I add, they
ar from underſtanding wherein conſiſts diſtin-
l Worth, ſince they have inadvertently intermix'd
Accounts of theſe pretended illuſtrious Actions,
ich derogating Circumſtances, as take from their
s all the Merit, which might otherwiſe have accrued
em. If *Perſeus* kills *Meduſa*, he ſurprizes her ſleep-
f he reſcues *Andromeda*, he has *Mercury*'s Wings.
erophon vanquiſhes the *Chimæra*, he is mounted
aſus. *Achilles* is clad in Armour forged by *Vul-*
nd is invulnerable too. *Jaſon* kills the Dragon,
t till he has a Potion given him by *Medea* to lay
onſter aſleep; and *Theſeus* is beholden to *Ariadne*'s
d for getting out of the Labyrinth. We may
ide with Mr. *Boileau*, 'Tis Truth alone makes
, nothing can charm when Truth is wanting;
mpire is univerſal, nor can even Fable pleaſe
ut her (*a*).

: us come to a ſecond Source. Before *Second Source*
e of Letters was introduced, ſignal *of Fable.*
ts and glorious Deeds had no other Monuments
ie Memories of Men, or at moſt, ſome Hiero-
icks, whoſe ſenſe was always ſo undetermined as to
every thing they pleaſed (*b*); ſo that to perpetuate

D the

Rien n'eſt beau que le vrai, le vrai ſeul eſt aimable;
Il doit regner par tout, & meme dans la Fable.

There were ſome other means beſides of preſerving Hiſtory;
the Feſtivals eſtabliſhed for perpetuating the Memory of ſome
Event. Of this we ſee ſeveral Examples among the *Hebrews.*
of Stones raiſed upon the ſame Occaſion, as was done by *Jo-*
ſhua he had paſſed thro' *Jordan:* Pillars, like thoſe of *Hercules,*
us, and *Seſoſtris:* Songs and Hymns, ſuch as we find not only
Books of *Moſes,* but alſo in what we are told concerning the
of *Orpheus, Linus,* and *Homer:* Seals and Intaglias, as are the
part of our Antiques. Laſtly, after the Invention of Letters,
tions, Epiſtles, Memoirs, &c.

the Memory of illuſtrious Atchievements, the Fathers related them to their Children; and as the Cuſtom is never to ſay things to young People in a ſimple way, they intermixed in their Narratives, Circumſtances that ſerved to imprint them ſtrongly on their Minds. They had the ſame way of acting towards Strangers. Thus the Memory and Imagination of Children were filled with high Notions, and they coming in courſe to relate the ſame Stories, added ſtill ſome other Circumſtances to them. When in after-times theſe Stories came to be put in writing to fill up their Annals, or when they had occaſion to make them the Subject of their Poems, finding no other Monuments or Memorials but this confuſed diſtorted Tradition, they were obliged to make uſe of it; and by this means they have eternized Fables, by transferring them from the Memory, where they had been depoſited, into Monuments which were to laſt for Ages. And wou'd to God this had only been the Diſeaſe of the earlier Ages, when for want of Letters and Chronology, ſo few things were accurately known; but by a kind of Contagion, it communicated it ſelf even to the moſt famous Hiſtorians, who in writing the Hiſtory of great Men, have often intermixed the moſt monſtrous Fables, without the leaſt Explication. What might poſſibly miſlead them is this, and I offer it as the third Source:

Third Source, falſe Eloquence of Orators. It was an ancient Cuſtom to praiſe their Heroes after their Death, and upon their feſtival Days, in ſtudied Panegyricks, where the young Orators, whoſe Genius they wanted to prove by theſe firſt Eſſays, gave themſelves full liberty to feign and invent, believing this would gain them a Character for ſprightly Genius's. Thus they made it their buſineſs to repreſent the Heroes, not what they had been, but ſuch as they ought to be, according to the chimerical Notion of Greatneſs they had form'd to themſelves. They eſpecially never failed to exalt them to Heaven, and confer Divinity upon them without the leaſt reſerve; this was the Title to Nobility moſt ſought after in early times. Theſe Orators, far

from being blamed, were praiſed for their fertile Invention; their beſt Performances were preſerved; they frequently learn'd them by heart; and if they were Verſes or Songs, they ſung them in publick. Out of theſe Memorials they afterwards compoſed Hiſtories: the Hiſtorian himſelf was not ſorry to be the Publiſher of extraordinary Things, which were warranted only by theſe relations. *Diodorus* (1) tells ſomething like this of the *Egyptians*, with reſpect to their deceaſed Kings: He ſays, the whole Kingdom went into Mourning, and that they ſung the Praiſes of the Dead in Verſe; theſe funeral Pieces no doubt were preſerved by the Prieſts, who made uſe of them in writing the Hiſtory of theſe Princes. The *Greeks*, great Imitators of the *Egyptians*, practiſed this Method, not only towards their Kings, but likewiſe towards thoſe who had planted Colonies, or brought any Art to perfection amongſt them. It is eaſy to conceive that this Practice muſt have introduced numbers of Fables into Hiſtory; for what is not a lively wanton Imagination capable of, when licenſed to roam unconfined over the wide Field of flattering Ideas?

If one was to attempt, even now-a-days, to compile a Hiſtory of our own Heroes from moſt of their Panegyricks, or their funeral Sermons, it would be no leſs fabulous than thoſe of Antiquity, except in the point of Deification. I am not at all ſurprized that ancient Hiſtory ſhould be ſo full of Fables, when it was writ upon ſuch precarious Memorials; but I am aſtoniſhed to ſee the ſottiſh Vanity of the *Roman* Hiſtorians, who have ſo often given into the Fabulous, either to flatter their Emperors, or that they might not come ſhort of the *Greeks* in the Marvellous, or to ſhew the viſible Protection of the Gods over their great Men. Hence thoſe frequent Apotheoſes, that multitude of Prodigies they relate ſo gravely, and what elſe of the ſupernatural kind their Hiſtories are full of. I forgive the credulous *Valerius Maximus*, and *Dion Caſſius*, too if you will, for juſtifying, as they have done, the Prodigies they rehearſe: but I think it hardly pardonable in *Titus Livius*, and

(1) *Lib. 1.*

ſtill leſs in *Pliny*, who for all his being ſo ſceptical, had not always the Courage to reject ſome things, that might juſtly have been condemned, even by one of a more religious turn than he. And yet they too may plead ſome kind of Excuſe for themſelves; they lived under a Religion that gave a Sanction to thoſe fabulous Adventures, and at a time when it was of dangerous conſequence to attack popular Prejudices in any manner whatſoever. But 'tis quite pitiful in *Sandoval* and the other Hiſtorians in the Reign of *Charles* V, in *Mezeray* himſelf, and M. *de Perefixe*, without reckoning the Hiſtorians of the Holy War, to ſee them relating, as it were by concert, Miracles, which were disbelieved even by the Vulgar. I know well enough, it is the part of an Hiſtorian, to uſe *Montagne*'s Phraſe, to *couch* in writing what he finds in the Records whence he borrows; but I know as well that he ought alſo to give his own Judgment about it: for in truth, the fabulous part adds nothing to the Glory of great Men; the only purpoſe it can ſerve is, to ſink the Credit that is due to true matters of fact. Thoſe great Men, whoſe Deeds have been recorded by the Perſons we were ſpeaking of, had they not enough of perſonal Merit, without ſuppoſing Nature put to the expence of producing extraordinary Operations to do them honour?

Fourth Source, the Relations of Travellers. Hiſtory has likewiſe ſuffered a great deal from the many fabulous Relations, that have been introduced by Travellers and Merchants. People in that way of life are often ignorant, and almoſt always Lyars; thus it was eaſy for ſuch to deceive others, who had been firſt deceived themſelves. When one is returned from ſome diſtant Country, he muſt have a great many fine things to ſay about it; had he nothing to tell but what is common, he himſelf would think his time had been very ill ſpent, and others would be apt to make the ſame judgment. Why, ſay they, run ſo many hazards, why travel ſo far in queſt of People made like ourſelves? If this be all, he had e'en as good have ſtaid at home. Thus, nothing they thought could compenſate the Fatigue of

a tedious Voyage, but to propagate the Opinion of their having ſeen Things wondrous and aſtoniſhing; and being themſelves impoſed upon by the People they had been among, who for the honour of their Country were ſure to embelliſh its Hiſtory, they impoſed upon others in their turn by their romantick Stories. It is hard for one who is ſure of being believed, to reſiſt the Charm of telling Wonders and Rarities. Of all People in the world, the *Egyptians*, whoſe Theology was all a Myſtery, and their very Language a Quibble, were moſt guilty of impoſing upon Strangers.

It is a Cuſtom received in all Countries: for this, we need but ſee how many Fables the Natives of *America* and the *Indies* gave out to their firſt Diſcoverers. The Merchants made uſe of the Natives as Guides and Guards, in Places where they came either to eſtabliſh Colonies, or a Correſpondence; they needed their Aſſiſtance eſpecially againſt the wild Beaſts which ſwarm'd in the Woods: theſe had often Occaſion to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Valour; and hence I don't doubt, came the *Hercules's*, and the other Subduers of Monſters and Avengers of Wrongs, of whith fabulous Hiſtory is ſo full. It was, I doubt not, upon thoſe relations of Merchants and Travellers, the Poets founded the *Elyſian Fields* in the charming Country of *Betica*, or in the *Canary Iſlands*; hence alſo we have thoſe Fables which give Monſters to ſome Countries, and Harpies to others, which intimate that there were Nations covered with eternal Darkneſs, others that lived under ground, others that had but one Eye, or who were of a Giant-like Form; that the Sun and Stars went every Evening to bed in the Ocean, and numbers of ſuch like Fictions built upon ſome exaggerated Relations (*a*).

Fifth Source, the Poets, Painters, and the Stage.

Let us proceed to a fifth Original. The Poets and Painters are undoubtedly the Perſons by whom Fables have been moſtly produced in the World:

(*a*) Conſult what *Strabo* has upon this Subject, l. 15. p. 1033, and 1038.

——Pictoribus atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas (1).

As they have always aimed at pleaſing more than inſtructing, they preferred an ingenious Falſhood to a known Truth. If a Poet had occaſion to flatter, or conſole a dejected Prince upon the loſs of a Son, it was but giving him a place amongſt the Stars or among the Gods, as *Lactantius* has it (*a*,: ſuch as had been Lovers of the *Belles-Lettres*, were conſidered either as Sons or Favourites of *Apollo*. This was the reaſon why *Hyacinth* paſſed for the Minion of that God; and becauſe he was killed by the ſtroke of a Coit which the Wind unluckily turned aſide, they feign'd that *Boreas* in a fit of Jealouſy was the Author of that Accident. Succeſs juſtified the happy Raſhneſs of the Poets; their Works were read with pleaſure, and nothing in them pleaſed ſo much as Fiction: they laid it down as a Maxim in Poetry, never to tell a thing in a natural way. The Shepherdeſſes were Nymphs or Naiads; Ships became ſometimes flying Horſes, as in the Story of *Bellerophon*; and ſometimes Dragons, as in that of *Medea*: The Shepherds were all Satyrs or Fauns; Men on horſeback, *Centaurs*: every Lover of Muſick, an *Apollo*; and every Phyſician, an *Eſculapius*: your fine Singers, all ſo many *Muſes*; and every Beauty, a *Venus*; lewd Women were *Sirens* and *Harpies*; every celebrated Huntreſs, a *Diana*: Oranges, muſt be Apples of Gold; and Arrows and Darts, Lightning and Bolts of Thunder. They went farther: for finding they were Maſters of painting and characterizing Perſons and Things as they pleaſed, to ſhew that their Art lay chiefly in Fiction, they made it their particular Study to contradict the Truth; and for fear of agreeing with the Hiſtorians, they changed the Characters of the Perſons they ſpoke of. *Homer*, of a faithleſs Proſtitute has made his prudent chaſte *Penelope*; and *Virgil*,

(1) Hor. Art. Poet.

(*a*) Accederunt autem Poetæ, ut compoſitis ad Voluptatem carminibus, ad calum eos, id eſt ad Heroas, tollerent; ſicut faciunt *qui apud reges non malos panegyricis mendacibus adulantur.* *Inſt.* l. 1.

f a Traitor to his Country, has given us the *Pious* of a Renegado who loſt a Battel againſt *Mezen-*nd with it his Life, he has made a Conqueror demi-god. The ſame Poet has made no ſcruple ıonour a Princeſs of ſtrict Virtue (1), and to di-er of the Reputation ſhe had for Chaſtity and ge, to give her an infamous Paſſion, and a Cow-capable of Deſpair. All of them have conſpired ce *Tantalus* paſs for a Miſer, and have ſet him e front of ſuch in the Center of Hell, where ers a cruel Puniſhment, in proportion to his A-; he who, as *Pindar* relates it, was a moſt re-Prince, and a very generous Man.

it was not merely Inclination to ſooth and flatter, id the Poets under a neceſſity of Forgery and Lyes; vere often obliged to it by the Meanneſs of their ts. What they had to ſay would frequently have ow and vulgar, unleſs they had artfully brought ething fictitious and ſupernatural. If one were to an Analyſis of their Poems, they might be re-to almoſt nothing: there are numbers of Mer-and Soldiers, who have gone thro' many more onal Dangers, than either *Æneas*, *Ulyſſes*, or *A-*

.

ıat would the *Æneid*, *Iliad*, or *Odyſſey* be, was for the eternal Interpoſition of the Gods, and tual mixture of Truths of ſmall concern, with oſt intereſting Fictions? A Man (2) ſaved from ountry's Ruin, in company with other Exiles, it a few Ships, embarks, arrives in *Thrace*, in *Ma-* and ſome of the *Archipelago Iſlands*; after ſtay-me time in *Crete*, he goes on to *Sicily*, where g paſſed the *Fare* of *Meſſina*, he arrives at length y by the mouth of the *Tiber*, where he firſt killed ival, and then married. Another (3) is abſent his native Home for many years; in the mean his Family-affairs are all in diſorder, his Eſtate is dered away, his Wife and Son are haraſſed; at ı he returns, after having undergone ſome Dan-

Dido. (2) *Æneas.* (3) *Ulyſſes.*

gers, finds out ſome of his Domeſticks who had perſevered in their Duty, and with their Aſſiſtance ſets all again to rights by deſtroying his Enemies. Another (1) having fallen out with *Agamemnon*, withdraws to his Tent; the *Trojans* take advantage of the Miſunderſtanding between the Generals, gain the ſuperiority, beat the *Greeks*, force their Entrenchments, ſet fire to their Ships; *Patroclus* borrows the Armour of *Achilles*, and kills *Sarpedon*: *Hector* avenges the Death of his Friend, and kills *Patroclus*; then *Achilles* leaves his Tent, drives the *Trojans* back to their Walls; and having forced them to enter the Town, finds *Hector* alone, kills him, and drags his dead Body round the Tomb of his Friend, to whom he performs magnificent Funeral-Rites. Here you ſee the three fineſt Poems we have now extant, founded on very ordinary pieces of Hiſtory, and ſupported by the merit of Heroes of no extraordinary Character; thus, their Authors were obliged to furniſh numberleſs Fables to bear them out, and to embelliſh the Truths they blended with them. Inſtead of ſaying, for example, *Ulyſſes* arrived incognito at *Alcinous*'s Houſe, *Homer* (2) makes him be conducted by *Minerva*, who covers him with a Cloud. *Virgil*, who faithfully imitates the *Greek* Poet, brings *Æneas* and *Dido* together after the ſame manner, under the Conduct of *Venus* (3). If the Delights of the Country of the *Lotophagi* detain *Ulyſſes*'s Companions too long, we are told, it was the Fruits of that Iſland made thoſe who eat of them loſe all remembrance of their native Home (4). Do they loiter at *Circe*'s Court, giving a looſe to Riot and Debauchery? this pretended Sorcereſs is ſaid to have transform'd them into Swine. We are not to be told ſimply, that *Ulyſſes* was expoſed to a great many Storms; he muſt likewiſe ſuffer the addition of *Neptune*'s Reſentment, who takes this way to avenge his Son *Polyphemus*. What Myſteries, what Preparations before *Achilles* kills *Hector*! his Mother brings him the Armour of *Vulcan*'s Manufacture, ſhe had dipt him in *Styx* to make him invulnerable. *Minerva*

(1) *Achilles.* (2) Odyſſ. l. 16. (3) Æn. l. 1. (4) Odyſſ. l. 9.

nerva takes the Form of *Deiphobus*, to impoſe upon *Hector* by the imagined Aſſiſtance of his Brother *Jupiter* (1) takes the Scales, weighs the Deſtinies of thoſe two Heroes; and ſeeing *Hector*'s ſink down as far as Hell, he abandons him, and *Achilles* takes away his Life. Nothing is done among them but by Machinery; forevery purpoſe they employ the Power of ſome Deity. "There every Method of inchanting us is practiſed, "all Nature aſſumes a Body, and looks, and lives, and thinks: every Virtue becomes a Divinity; *Minerva* is Prudence, and *Venus* Beauty. "'Tis no longer the Exhalations that produce the "Thunder, it is *Jupiter* armed, to affright Mortals; "the Mariners behold a threatning Storm ariſe, 'tis "angry *Neptune* chiding the Waves. *Echo* is no "longer a Sound that reverberates in the Air, it is a "Nymph in Tears bewailing her *Narciſſus* (*a*)." Boileau's *Art of Poetry.*

Thus it is the Poets adorn their Subjects, and fill them with ſprightly and ingenious Images. You need not be apprehenſive of their ſaying in a ſimple way, that [redacted] the two *Aloidæ*, thoſe proud Giants who made war upon *Jupiter*, increaſed their Forces by new Levies; they'll ſay, theſe Giants themſelves grew a Cubit every day (2). *Homer*, inſtead of deſcribing how after the bloody Battel that was fought upon the Banks of *Xanthus*, the Channel of the River having been choaked up with dead Bodies, the Water overflowed its Banks and flooded all the Plain, till they took theſe Bodies out of the Water, and kindling a Funeral-Pile conſumed them to Aſhes; inſtead of this, the Poet

(1) Il. l. 23.

(*a*) Là pour nous enchanter tout eſt mis en uſage,
Tout prends un corps, une ame, un eſprit, un viſage:
Chaque Vertu devient une Divinité,
Minerve eſt la Prudence, & Venus la Beauté.
Ce n'eſt plus le vapeur qui produit le Tonnere,
C'eſt Jupiter arme pour effrayer la terre
Un orage terrible aux yeux des Matelots,
C'eſt Neptune en courroux qui gourmande les flots,
Echo n'eſt plus un Son qui dans l'air retentiſſe,
C'eſt une Nymphe *en pleurs qui* ſe plaint de Narciſſe.
Deſpreaux Art. Poet.

(2) *Hom. Odyſſ. l. 11.*

Poet (1) images that the River feeling himſelf oppreſs'd in his Channel, complained of it to *Achilles*, and not receiving ſatisfaction from that Hero, he ſwelled againſt him, and purſued him with ſo much Rapidity that he had certainly drowned him, if *Neptune* and *Minerva*, commiſſioned by *Jupiter*, had not given him promiſe of a ſpeedy Satisfaction. The ſame Poet, when he would let us know that the Inundations of the Sea, ſome time after the Retreat of the *Greeks*, demoliſhed the famous Wall they had rear'd up during the Siege of *Troy*, to ſcreen themſelves from the attacks of the Enemy, ſays (2), that *Neptune* provoked by this Enterprize of the *Greeks*, aſked permiſſion from *Jupiter* to beat it down with his Trident; and having engaged *Apollo* in his quarrel, they laboured in concert, to overturn the Work. If the *Pheacian* Veſſel which had carried *Ulyſſes* to *Ithaca*, is ſhipwreck'd in the return, we are ſure to be told that *Neptune* was ſo angry, that the Ship had been made uſe of to carry *Ulyſſes*, that he turned it to a Rock (3). If *Turnus* cauſed *Æneas*'s Fleet to be burn'd, *Virgil* brings *Cybele* into play, who transforms theſe Veſſels into Sea-Nymphs. Wherever any fine Building was to be ſeen, ſuch as the Walls of *Troy*, the Towers of *Argos*, and others, it was always the Gods who had been their Architects;

———*Cerno Cyclopum ſacras*
Turres, Labore majus humano decus.

Senec. in Thyeſt. Act. 3.

We are not ſimply told that *Ulyſſes* was wiſe and prudent; they take care he ſhall have *Minerva* to be his Guide.

Inſtead of relating how *Æneas* at the beginning of the Spring being on the Coaſts of *Sicily*, was driven by a Storm from that Iſland, there is brought upon the ſtage an incenſed *Juno*, *Æolus*, the Winds, *Neptune*, &c. An Hiſtorian would tell us, without any Figure, that *Beroe* incited the *Trojan* Matrons to burn their Fleet, for fear of ſeeing them expoſed to new Hardſhips: a Poet ſhall play off that Part by the Machinery of the Goddeſs *Iris*, under the ſhape of that *Phrygian* Lady (4). If

(1) *Il. l. 21.* (2) Il. l. 9. (3) Odyſ. l. 14. (4) Æn. l. 5.

If a Prince in Hiſtory is an able Stateſman and Politician, the Poets give him many Heads; if he be valiant, he is a Man with many Arms; if he be crafty and deſigning, they make him aſſume various Shapes. Inſtead of ſaying that *Nauplius*, upon information of the Approach of the *Grecian* Fleet, cauſed Fires to be kindled to draw them in towards the Rocks that encompaſſed his Iſland, by which means they were loſt; a Poet uſes the Interpoſition of the Goddeſs *Minerva*, who thus avenges upon *Ajax*, the Indignity he offered to *Caſſandra* in her Temple. When they would tell us that a Hero, impatient to know his Deſtiny, uſes ſome piece of Conjuration, after the Faſhion of the Times, the Poet makes him go down to Hell; and allowing his Imagination to take its full ſwing, he broaches a thouſand Fables. In a word, thro' the whole of their Works we may remark a premeditated ſubverſion of the Laws of Truth; and inſtead of that Air of Simplicity it requires, they have adopted Tranſport and Fury, according to the Character given them by *Petronius*, to tell their Story like Men poſſeſſed of a prophetick Enthuſiaſm, and full of Fury from the God by whom they are agitated (*a*).

The Theatres.

We may add, that the Theatres ſerv'd to introduce a great many Fables: it is on the Stage the liberty of diſguiſing Truth reigns triumphant: the Imagination and Senſes are ſtruck in a far more lively manner, when an Author has Skill to carry on his Plot at the expence of Truth, than if he ſhould repreſent it juſt as it happened. *Paſiphae* in love with a Captain named *Taurus*, had never made the ſame impreſſion on the Theatres of *Greece*, where ſhe was mortally hated for the ſake of *Minos*, as the repreſenting her enamour'd of a Bull whom *Neptune* had produced from the Sea. It affects one much more to ſee *Andromeda* or *Heſione* expoſed to Monſters, than to Pirates; and

(*a*) Non enim res geſtæ verſibus comprehendendæ ſunt, quod longè melius Hiſtorici faciunt; ſed per ambages, Deorumque miniſteria, & fabuloſum ſententiarum tormentum præcipiendus eſt liber ſpiritus, ut potius *furentis animi vaticinatio* appareat, quam religioſæ *orationis ſub teſtibus fides.* *Petr. Sat.*

and *Dido* in deſpair for the loſs of a Lover, ſtabbing herſelf to the Heart, makes much ſtronger Impreſſion upon us, than if ſhe killed herſelf for the loſs of a Husband, according to the true Hiſtory. Thus Men have placed a Merit in lying with Art, in inventing by certain Rules, in feigning Actions, Converſations, Sentiments; and Fable has mounted the Theatre as her Throne.

Painters and Sculptors. In fine, the Painters working upon Poetical Fancies, may be reckoned inſtrumental in propagating ſome Fables; and to them, perhaps, we owe in part at leaſt, the Exiſtence of Centaurs, Sirens, Harpies, Nymphs, Satyrs, and Fauns, which they have painted from the Portraitures of them given by the Poets, or from ſome Relations of Travellers and Fiſhermen. They have even frequently promoted the Credit of fabulous Stories, by repreſenting them with Art; a thing ſo true, as I ſhall take notice afterwards, that the Pagans owed the Exiſtence of many of their Gods, to ſome fine Statues, or Pictures well done.

A ſixth Source, the Plurality, or Unity of Names. As it frequently happen'd that one and the ſame Perſon had ſeveral Names, a Caſe very common among the *Eaſtern* Nations; in proceſs of time, they who came to read their undigeſted Hiſtories, and inconſiſtent Adventures, miſtook them for different Perſons. Hence that multiplicity of Heroes; the Actions and Travels of one were diſtributed among ſeveral; by *Mercury*, for example, was deſign'd *Thaut* in *Egypt*; *Teutat* among our ancient *Gauls*; *Hermes* among the *Greeks*; *Pluto* is the *Dis* of the *Celtæ*, the *Adès* of the *Greeks*; the *Summanus* of the *Latins*; the *Soranus* of the *Sabines*. And as ſometimes the Hero or God was not known in one Country, but under one ſingle Name, and they knew little about his Exploits elſewhere; when they came to read of other Adventures, other Names, or other Qualities than thoſe they had heard of, they never queſtioned but the Perſons ſpoken of were different; hence that prodigious Number of *Jupiters*, *Mercurys*, &c. Sometimes again we have

have this Practice inverted; and when the Caſe was, that ſeveral Perſons went under the ſame Name, they aſcribed to one what belong'd to many, and the Adventures of all were crouded into the Hiſtory of him who was beſt known. Such is the Hiſtory of *Hercules* of *Thebes*, where they have foiſted in the Actions and Travels of the *Phœnician Hercules*, and ſeveral other Heroes of the ſame Name. Such likewiſe is the Hiſtory of *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, where they have amaſs'd the Adventures of ſeveral Kings of *Crete*, who bore the ſame Name, which was common to their ancient Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* or *Ptolemy* was in *Egypt*, or that of *Cæſar* among the *Roman* Emperors.

A ſeventh Original, Ignorance in Philoſophy.

Ignorance in Philoſophy, and eſpecially in Phyſicks, has alſo given riſe to many Fables; that Curioſity, which is ſo natural to Men, has always determin'd them to ſeek after the Cauſe of aſtoniſhing Events (*a*); and in the barbarous Ages, when ſo little Advancement had been made in the Knowledge of Nature, they had recourſe to groſs and ſenſible Repreſentations: They gave Life to every thing, to the Rivers, the Fountains, the Stars: here was an admirable Expedient for ſhortening their Enquiries, ; nothing is more eaſy than to refer effects, whoſe Principles are unknown, to ſome living Cauſe. They proceeded, through length of time, to deify Objects they at firſt repreſented only in human Form: The Sun was worſhip'd under the name of *Apollo*, and the Moon under that of *Diana*. A dread of their Influences, which are thought to extend to all Things here below, was certainly the cauſe of their Deification, and of that Worſhip which was introduced in order to appeaſe their imaginary Reſentment. The Prieſts inſtituted for that purpoſe, invented Stories, and publiſh'd Apparitions of their pretended Deities, to keep up thereby a gainful Worſhip. They made People believe, for example, that *Diana* had fallen in love with *Endymion*, and that the cauſe of her Eclipſes, was owing to the Interviews ſhe had with her

(*a*) *See F. Tournemine's Propoſal, Loc.* cit.

her Gallant on the Mountains of *Caria*; but as ill luck would have it, theſe Amours could not laſt for ever, and this put them upon the hard ſhift of accounting for her Eclipſes another way. They gave out that Sorcereſſes, eſpecially thoſe of *Theſſaly*, (where poiſonous Plants were more common, by reaſon of the foam *Cerberus* had dropt there, when he was brought from Hell, according to another Fable) had power by their Enchantments to draw down the Moon to the Earth (*a*).

In like manner, as they were unacquainted with the Cauſe of the Winds, they believed it was boiſterous Deities raiſed ſuch Commotions in the Earth and Sea; and to check their daring Inſults, they ſet over them a ſuperiour Deity; *Æolus*, for Reaſons to be given in his Hiſtory, was appointed their King (1).

Every River and Fountain had alſo a tutelar Deity; and whether it was the Rivers got the Names of the firſt Kings who inhabited in the Country, thro' which they ran, or whether it was the Kings were named from them, as we ſhall hear afterwards; in a courſe of Years they came to be confounded together, and they made a Divinity of the Prince, for the ſake of the

(*a*) The Origin of this Fable came from one *Aganice*, Daughter of *Hegetor*, a *Theſſalian*, who having learn'd the Cauſe and the Time of Eclipſes, whenever any was to happen, gave out, that ſhe was going by her Enchantments to draw down the Moon to the Earth; directing at the ſame time the *Theſſalian* Women to join with her, in making a hideous Noiſe, to cauſe her to re-aſcend to her Orb. Accordingly, whenever they perceived the beginning of an Eclipſe, they raiſed a clattering din with Kettles and other Inſtruments, to hinder the Yellings and Prayers of the Sorcereſſes from being heard.

Cantus, & e curru Lunam deducere tentat,
Et faceret, ſi non æra repulſa forent.

As *Tibullus* has it, L. 1. El. 6. The *Indians* and *Chineſes*, at this very day, believe the Cauſe of Eclipſes, is owing to a Dragon's going about to ſwallow up the Moon; and ſome of them roar hideouſly, to cauſe him to let go his hold, while others plunge into the Water up to the Neck, to ſupplicate him not to devour her wholly. Were we to trace back this Cuſtom to its Source, we ſhould find it derived from *Egypt*, where *Iſis*, who was the Symbol of the Moon, was honoured with a like Noiſe of Kettles, *Timbrels*, *Tabors*, &c. See *Nic. Friſchlin.* V. 3. Aſtr. p. 454.

(1) *Virg. Æneid.*

the River. Had they occaſion to talk about *Iris*, or the Rainbow, whoſe Nature they knew nothing of, they forg'd a Divinity of it; its Beauty made it paſs for the Daughter of *Thaumas*, a poetical Perſonage, whoſe Name ſignifies *Marvellous*; and becauſe, in all appearance, they had learn'd from the traditional Accounts of the Deluge, that God had ſet forth the Rainbow as a Token of Reconciliation, hence they look'd upon their *Iris* as the Meſſenger of the Gods, and of *Juno* eſpecially, becauſe the Rainbow declares the Diſpoſition of the Air, which that Goddeſs repreſents. The very Name of *Iris* was given her, if we will take *Plato*'s word for it (*a*), to point out her Employment.

Thus were form'd ſeveral Phyſical Divinities, and ſo many Aſtronomical Fables, as we ſhall ſhew in the Sequel. What wretched Philoſophy this was! But it was the beſt they had; and when it came of courſe to the Poets turn to embelliſh thoſe groſs Ideas, with all the Ornaments their Muſes ſo fertile in Invention could furniſh them with, Men became ſo fond of conſidering Nature only under theſe captivating Images, that it was a conſiderable time before they ſo much as dream'd of carrying their Diſcoveries to any greater length. What is worſt of all, Religion was concerned in this Syſtem; every new Divinity brought in a load of Ceremonies; and ſuch as pretended to ſee with their own Eyes, were look'd upon as Impious. Thus the unfortunate *Anaxagoras* was puniſh'd with Death, for having taught that the Sun was not animated, and that it was nothing but a Maſs of Iron about the bigneſs of the *Peloponneſus* (*b*). From the whole, we may

(*a*) He derives this Name from ἴειν *Nunciare*. The Learned *Voſſius* traces its Derivation from *IR* or *HIR*, *Angel* or Meſſenger. *Pauſanias* ſays it comes from ἔρις *Diſcord*. Becauſe *Iris*'s Meſſages had a Tendency to Diſcord and War, as thoſe of *Mercury* to Peace and Quiet.

(*b*) Vid. General Dict. in Anaxagor. *Diogenes Laertius* ſays of him δοκεῖκς κρινῆσαι διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον. The Word μύδρος ſignifies a huge Stone, a Maſs of Iron, and ſometimes is applied to any inanimate, or inſenſitive Being.

may conclude, that they are in the right, who thought a part of the ancient Philoſophy was couch'd under their Fables; but then they muſt needs own it was a Philoſophy of a groſs nature, and a Syſtem founded on the report of the Senſes, and ſuch as might have enter'd into the Imagination of a Clown.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of our Enquiry into the Origin of Fables.

Eighth Source, the Settlement of Colonies and Invention of Arts.

ALL Mankind having periſhed by the Deluge, except *Noah* and his Family, it muſt have been a very conſiderable time before the World was repeopled; nor is it a thing to be doubted, as we ſhall ſee by and by, but the Countries moſt adjacent to the Place where the Ark reſted, were the firſt inhabited. Thus *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, were peopled long before the *Weſtern* Climates. They who came firſt into *Greece*, lived there in a State of Ignorance and aſtoniſhing Rudeneſs, without Arts, or Laws, either written or traditional, their Cloathing the Leaves, and their Food the Herbs of the Field, the Rocks and Caverns ſerved them for Lodging, and their only Care was to ſhelter themſelves from the wild Beaſts that repleniſhed the Woods. They had hardly any other Conveniences of Life, but ſuch as they became maſters of, by waging War with the brute Animals. One who is ever ſo little read in the Poets, and acquainted with Antiquity, will be at no loſs to find out the firſt Inhabitants of *Greece* from this Deſcription (1).

When Strangers came amongſt them from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, People of Politeneſs and Learning, as the times then were, they endeavoured to ſoften the ſavage Temper of that barbarous Nation, whether that they might by this means diſcover the Riches of their

(1) *See Diod.* Sic. l. 2.

their Country, or prevail on them to allow ſome Colonies to be ſettled amongſt them for carrying on Commerce. In courſe they communicated to them their Cuſtoms, their Diet and Dreſs; they taught them to eat wild Cheſnuts and other Fruits, inſtead of the Herbs they lived upon, frequently with the no ſmall hazard of their Lives; and this, by the way, gave riſe to the Fable, which intimated, that they had been taught to eat Acorns; a thing falſe in itſelf, for Acorns are in no caſe fit for human Nouriſhment; and yet we meet with this Fiction in all the ancient Traditions. The ſame People taught them next to clothe themſelves with the Skins of the Animals they ſlew; they ſhewed them how the Earth by culture was capable to produce Fruits much fitter for Food than thoſe it yielded of itſelf; thus they accuſtom'd them by degrees to Agriculture, and ſowing of Grain. To their Huts ſcattered here and there through the Fields, ſucceeded firſt Villages, then Towns: They abandon'd their brutal way of living without the Laws of Marriage, and brought the Duties of that State under Regulation; the neceſſity of diſtinguiſhing their Grounds, ſoon fixed their Land-Marks. This Faſhion of wearing Skins appearing too homely, they learnt to ſtrip off the Wool, and dreſs it for uſe. This Reformation appeared ſo admirable; that they thought they could never carry their Gratitude far enough towards the Perſons who had been the Inſtruments of bringing it about: They took them for Men commiſſion'd by Heaven; and accounted them Gods.

Such without doubt were the firſt Gods of the *Greeks:* Hence have ſprung all the Fables of *Lycaon*, *Phoroneus*, *Cecrops*, and the reſt, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to explain them in their proper Place; and to give but a few Examples at preſent, this is what gave riſe to the Fable of *Prometheus*, his having form'd a Man of temper'd Clay, becauſe in truth it was he who civilized and gave Laws to a rough and barbarous Race; an Hyperbole allowable on ſuch an Occaſion, ſince he truly made the Man by form-

ing his Mind to Reaſon: Juſt ſo, *Apollo* for his ſurpriſing Skill in Muſick and Medicine, came to be conſider'd as the God of theſe Arts; *Mercury* for the ſame reaſon was the God of Eloquence; *Ceres* the Goddeſs of Corn; *Minerva* of Manufactures in Wool; and ſo of the reſt.

As their Religion was accommodated to every corrupt Byaſs and Inclination of the Heart, they made no great difficulty about altering, adding, or retrenching their Syſtem, new Ceremonies were eaſily brought about, and the Reaſons they founded them upon were wholly fabulous. The Prieſts by trumping up Stories of their own, found a way to change a Worſhip that was quite barren of Emoluments, for another more profitable, nor were they ever very ſcrupulous on that head. So ſoon as they lighted upon any new Deity, they vied with one another in raiſing Altars to his Honour, and they ſtrove together who ſhould tell the moſt Wonders about him; and as it brought conſiderable Reputation to a Country to be the Birth-place of a God, every one contended for his being a Native of theirs; they counterfeited Memoirs ſtuffed with Fables; Impoſtors ſupported the Credit of pretended Apparitions invented by the Prieſts, and inſerted by the Poets into their Works: Hence that Syſtem, ſo monſtrous and ſo full of Fables, which Pagan Theology ſets before us.

A ninth Source, Ambition to have the Gods for their Anceſtors.

Add to theſe, that the great Men of thoſe Times were commonly acted by a fooliſh Ambition, of being thought deſcended from Gods: To be Heroes, nothing leſs would ſatisfy them, than to have *Jupiter* or *Apollo* for their Anceſtors; and we may be ſure there would be Genealogiſts to be found then, full as complaiſant as at preſent, ſo that they were at no great loſs to get the Branches of their Family ſet out, where the Stock was ſome God: Accordingly almoſt all the ancient Pedigrees were much in this manner; *Jupiter* was the Founder of the Family, after him came *Hercules*, &c.

Many of the Learned in the laſt Age, and ſome

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in the preſent, have alledged, that moſt of the Fables derived their Origin from the Sacred Books not well underſtood, and that the Traditions of the choſen People preſerved in *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, and the other adjacent Countries, adulterated in proceſs of time, had given riſe to a vaſt many Fables. They add farther, that Colonies having come from the Countries bordering upon *Paleſtine*, and ſettled in the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean*, and in *Greece*, had brought thither theſe Traditions thus disfigured, and that they were ſtill more vitiated afterwards by the additional Fictions of the Poets; in fine, that the Patriarchs, eſpecially thoſe who lived after the Deluge, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Eſau*, *Moſes*, and ſome others, were the firſt Gods of the *Pagan* World; and that their illuſtrious Atchievements, their Conqueſts, and Laws, had influenced the People to deify them. Among theſe learned Authors, we may reckon the famous *Bochart*, *Gerard Voſſius*, *Huetius*, *Thomaſſin*, &c.

Tenth Source, Sacred Scripture miſunderſtood.

It is agreed, that *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were well known, not only in *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, but likewiſe in ſeveral other Countries; that the laſt eſpecially having carry'd his Conqueſts a great way into *Paleſtine*, ſpread ſuch a terrour over the Coaſts of *Syria*, that ſeveral, it is thought, ſhip'd themſelves off with their Goods for foreign Parts, rather than come under his Dominion; that ſome of them came as far as the Confines of the Ocean, where, as we are aſſured, they ſet up Pillars with this Inſcription, (*a*) *Nos hi ſumus qui fugerunt a facie* Joſue *filii* Navæ *prædonis*; We are the Perſons that fled for ſhelter from that Robber *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun* (*b*).

It is likewiſe certain, that *Inachus*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, and ſome others, came out of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, and introduced their reſpective Colonies into *Greece*, and the neighbouring Iſles; and

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(*a*) Procopius in Vandal. *The Criticks* find ſeveral Marks of Impoſture *in this Inſcription.*

(*b*) *See* 1. *Bochart Geogr. Sacra.* 2. Voſſ. de Idol. 3. Huetius *Demonſt.* 4. *Thomaſſin. Lect. des Poetes.*

probably, having their Heads full of the Exploits of thoſe great Men, they would rehearſe them to the Inhabitants of the Country, and the *Greeks*, fond of the pompous and ſupernatural, would be ſure to make uſe of them for embelliſhing the Hiſtory of their Heroes in after-times. As a Proof of it, the Accounts of *Hercules* eſpecially, and *Bacchus*, are thought to agree in many Things with the Hiſtory of thoſe famous *Iſraelites*. Accordingly, very curious Parallels have been drawn: A celebrated Prelate has even gone the length of confounding all the Heroes in Fable with thoſe of the Bible, and finds in *Moſes* alone the Origin of *Apollo*, *Priapus*, *Eſculapius*, *Prometheus*, *Tireſias*, *Typhon*, *Perſeus*, *Orpheus*, *Janus*, *Adonis*, and numbers of others; and in *Zipporah*, *Moſes*'s Wife, or in *Miriam* his Siſter, almoſt all the Goddeſſes, as *Aſtarté*, *Venus*, *Cybelé*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, the Muſes, the Deſtinies, *&c.* (1). And another learned Author even alledges that *Homer*, in his Poems, has given a Hiſtory of the Scripture-Heroes under borrowed Names (2).

In fine, ſome years ago this very ancient Opinion has been revived by two Authors, who have carried it yet farther than any I have named. The firſt is *M. de Lavaux*, in a Piece entitled, *Compariſon of Fable with Sacred Hiſtory*; who, to give greater Weight to his Opinion, quotes two of the Fathers, and ſome eccleſiaſtical Writers, by whom it was maintained before him; theſe are *Juſtin*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Minutius Felix*, *Cyril*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *St. Auguſtin*, *Theodoret*, *St. Athanaſius*, *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and others. The ſecond is M. *Fourmont*, of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, in his Critical Reflections upon the Hiſtory of ancient Nations. As this learned Academick underſtands ancient Languages to the bottom, he is the Man who has enlarged moſt upon this Subject; and he has applied, with ſuch exactneſs, to the Patriarchs, the Characters of the firſt Men drawn by *Sanchoniathon*;

(1) Read the 4 Prop. of *Huetius*'s Demonſt. Evangel.
(2) See the Book intitled *Homer Hebraizing*.

Sanchoniathon; He finds ſo great affinity between their Names, and thoſe given them in Scripture, and their Characters and Actions ſo nearly reſembling what is ſaid of them by *Moſes*, that it is often pretty difficult to hold out againſt his Arguments. Farther, ſays he, in his Preface, can one be blamed for following a multitude of Authors, all of them eminent either for Knowledge or Piety; and for endeavouring to find in the Patriarchs the Gods whom the Pagan World revered, *Saturn* in *Noah*, *Pluto* in *Shem*, *Jupiter Hammon* in *Cham*, *Neptune* in *Japhet*, as *Bochart* has made out; *Belus* and *Jupiter* in *Nimrod*, as others have maintained; *Minerva* in the Idea we have of the Trinity, which is the Opinion of Father *Tournemine* the Jeſuit; *Apollo* in *Jubal*, with Father *Thomaſſin*, and ſo of the reſt? Beſides, continues he, nothing is more advantageous to Religion than this Opinion; in the ſame way *Huetius* delivers himſelf upon the Subject (*a*).

However great an Eſteem I have for theſe great Men, I can never be induced to think that any wrong uſe the Poets could make of the Old Teſtament, was capable of producing ſuch a Heap of Fables, as is alledged: For, in the firſt place, the *Jews* were a People greatly contemned by their Neighbours, little known to diſtant Nations, and extremely jealous of their Law, and their Ceremonies, which they concealed from Strangers, as being Profane in their eyes, even at a time when they were obliged to live among them. In like manner, granting the Miracles wrought by God in *Egypt* in the time of *Moſes* to have been publiſhed, yet it is very unlikely that they who reported them to the *Greeks*, would have any great Value for a Man who muſt have been ſo odious to them; I make no doubt but they gave the preference even to their own Magicians: or rather, would they not do all that in them lay, to cut off the very Memory of a Man who had plagued them ſo much?

(*a*) Quo argumento vix validius ullum aut ſplendidius, ex genere eorum quæ *ratio ſuppeditat, ad ſanciendam* Scripturæ Sacræ dignitatem *reperio, quæ, &c. Demonſt. Evang.* p. 4. c. 3.

further, than we borrow'd Ancient History, and the most authentick Monuments which mention the Heroes of Greece, let us know their Names, their Parentage, and the Place of their Nativity, to believe upon the Authority of a few trifling Etymologies, or some slight Traces of Resemblance, that they were only copied from Moſes? Might not several similar Events have happen'd in different places? Might not *Agamemnon* have thought of sacrificing his Daughter *Iphigenia*, under the apprehension of losing the Command of a fine Army, without any necessity of confounding this Event with *Jephte*'s Sacrifice, whatever Resemblance we may find between the two Princesses in their Name (*a*) and the Time when they lived (*b*)? The same may be said of *Deucalion*'s Deluge, of *Minerva* ſpring from *Jupiter*'s Brain, and some other Fables, that seem to have an affinity with Scripture Truths. Is it impossible to see the same Events return upon the Theatre of the World? Will there not always be Sacrifices made to Ambition? Will not Murders, Parricides, *&c.* be seen every day? So true it is, that one perfectly acquainted with the History of past Ages, would see a variety of Things recur, which have already come about more than once. After all, if there be an affinity between Fables and the History of *Moſes*, or of *Sampſon*, it is only to be considered as a remnant of Tradition, which nothing has been able to deface. There is no denying, for instance, that the Remembrance of the universal Deluge, preserved among all Nations, has contributed to the embellishing of *Deucalion*'s; that some Circumstances have been borrowed from *Noah*'s History, to that of *Saturn* and his Children, who lived shortly after; especially with respect to the Division of the World, as also in some other things: but to think almost all the Fables may be accounted for by that pretended Abuse of *Moſes*'s Books, is to grope in the dark.

Are

(*a*) The Daughter of *Jephte* was called *Jephthaeh*, the Name which *Moſes* gave to the Daughter of *Agamemnon*.

(*b*) The Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* happened in the time of *Jephte*.

Are Men really in earneſt when they tell us, the Transformations of *Proteus* were invented merely from what the Scripture ſays of *Moſes*'s Rod (1)? That *Mercury* was taken for the Meſſenger of the Gods, and the Confidant in their Amours, from nothing elſe but the Story of *Canaan*'s Curioſity, which drew down *Noah*'s Curſe upon him (2)? That the Hiſtory of the Muſes has no other Foundation but the Corruption of *Moſes*'s Name; and that they aſcribed to them the Invention of Dancing and Muſick, only becauſe *Miriam*, whom the *Greeks* might poſſibly call *Muſa*, ſung a Song to a Dance (3)? That the Fable which ſpeaks of *Mercury*'s conducting the Souls into Hell, is founded upon *Moſes*'s cauſing the Earth to ſwallow up *Dathan* and *Abiram* (4)? That *Euriſtheus* perſecuting *Hercules*, is *Moſes* giving *Joſhua* the Management? That *Vulcan* falling from Heaven, is *Moſes* coming down from the Mount? That *Hercules*'s Combat with *Achelous*, is the Paſſage over *Jordan?* That *Prometheus* looſed from Mount *Caucaſus* by *Hercules*, is *Moſes*'s praying upon the Mount while *Joſhua* is defeating the *Amalekites* (5)? If one was to refine upon every minute Reſemblance, I too might ſay, that the Dog which knew *Ulyſſes* upon his return to *Ithaca* (6) is the ſame with that of *Tobit*, which careſſed his young Maſter upon his return to *Raguel*? That *Achilles*'s Diſcourſe to his Horſe, (7) is in imitation of *Balaam*'s Converſation with his Aſs (8)? That the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, is but a diverſify'd Relation of *Abraham*'s Journeyings, and thoſe of the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart (9): That the Story of *Philemon* and *Baucis* is that of *Abraham* and *Sarah*; or of *Lot* and his Wife (10): That the Fable of *Niobe*, is a Copy of *Job*'s Afflictions (11): That of *Laomedon*, and of the Gods who built *Troy*, the Hiſtory of *Laban* and *Jacob* (12): That the Story of *Orion*, is drawn from

(1) See *Huet.* Loc. cit. (2) *Bochart* Phaleg. l. 1. (3) *Huet.* Loc. cit. (4) Id. ib. (5) Id. ib. (6) Odyſſ. l. 7. (7) Il. l. 19. v. 404 (8) *Num.* 22. (9) *Compar. of Fables*, T. 1. p. 155. (10) Id. T. 2. 47. (11) *Id.* T. 2. p. 59. (12) *Id.* Tom. 2. p. 151.

that of *Jacob* and *Sarah*; and ſo a world of others I could name, which however is no ſuch eaſy matter to prove.

Farther, if there be ſuch a perfect Conformity between the Heroes of the Bible and thoſe in Fable, why do our moſt celebrated Authors differ among themſelves? Why is *Mercury*, according to *Bochart*, the ſame with *Canaan*, and in *Huetius* the ſame with *Moſes*? How comes the one to tell us *Hercules* is *Sampſon*, and the other that he is *Joſhua*? The one that *Noah* is *Saturn*, and the other that he is *Abraham*? This variety of Opinions is a ſtrong Preſumption againſt the Hypotheſis of theſe learned Moderns: It muſt alſo be own'd that however ſtudied thoſe Compariſons be, of which their Books are full, there are ſtill ſome things there that are but mere Suppoſitions, to ſay no worſe. Should a learned Author, who, in examining the Annals of *China*, had found a conſiderable Reſemblance between one of their Emperors and one of our Kings of *France* in Name, Diſpoſition and Manners, take it into his head, that either the King of *France* muſt have been Emperor of *China*, or the *Chineſe* Monarch King of *France*, I would fain know what reception he might expect from the World.

There is nothing ſo arbitrary as the Etymologies of Names we may often read of, and the Interpretation of them is wholly in the power of Fancy. I am of opinion, that *Orpheus* and others travel'd into *Egypt*, in that very Period when the *Iſraelites* dwelt there; but at the ſame time, I believe they got more Information from thence in the pernicious Science of Magick, or at leaſt in the vain Superſtitions of that idolatrous People, than in the Knowledge of the true God, whatever ſeveral of the learned, after S. *Juſtin* (1), have thought on that head; and beſides, we have nothing remaining of this *Orpheus*. In what, I pray you, do thoſe who travel into foreign Countries take care to be informed, if it is not in their Religion, Laws, and Cuſtoms? Do they not conſult

(1) *Cohort. ad Græcos.*

conſult their Prieſts and Doctors, rather than thoſe of a People under captivity, hated, perſecuted, and withal not very forward to reveal their Myſteries to Strangers? I don't indeed deny, that thoſe ancient Poets were acquainted with ſeveral Truths, as the Unity of the Godhead, the Immortality of the Soul, the Puniſhments of Hell, the Rewards of Paradiſe; Truths which notwithſtanding that Apparatus of Fictions, with which they are dreſſed up, are conſpicuous in ſeveral places of their Works: But are we therefore to believe they borrowed them from our inſpired Writings? Are they not rather the precious remains of Tradition, which nothing can deface; Sparks of Reaſon and Nature's Light, which are, to uſe *Tertullian*'s Words, *the Teſtimony of a Soul naturally Chriſtian? Teſtimonium Animæ, naturaliter Chriſtianæ* (1). In a word, they are the Seeds of eternal Truth, that remained rooted in the Mind of Man, in his primitive State of Innocence, and had the God of Nature for their Author as well as the Sacred Books. *Non multum refert an a deo formata ſit Animæ conſcientia, an literis Dei* (2).

We may add, that Fables having taken their riſe but a few Ages after the Deluge, when there was ſtill a recent enough Tradition of what had happened, even before *Noah*; it is pretty probable that they who followed them, would be ſure to adopt ſome ſtrokes of thoſe antient Truths. Thus the *Chaos*, the Golden Age, and ſo many other Fables, are copied from the account *Moſes* gives of the Creation, the State of Innocence, and the happy Society primitive Mortals lived in. But as to thoſe numberleſs Circumſtances, wherein *Thomaſſin* (3) and after him the Author of *Homer Hebraizing*, find *Moſes* and that ancient Poet agreeing together; I am of opinion, they would not have ſeen quite ſo many, unleſs they had been favourably diſpoſed to find them. Let us then leave *Greece* in the poſſeſſion of her Heroes and Heroiſm, and content ourſelves with ſaying, that however there are ſome Fables whoſe Original is owing to that Pagan

(1) *Tert. de Teſt. Animæ.* (2) Idem ibid. (3) Art. des Poet.

gan Practice of perverting Scripture and Tradition; yet the number of ſuch is not ſo great, as is commonly believ'd.

'Tis indeed undeniable, that *Sanchoniathon* alludes to the Hiſtory of the firſt Race of Men, tho' he has quite diſtorted it, as I hope to ſhew, when the Fragment of that Author we have preſerved by *Euſebius*, comes under Conſideration: But this Author, who liv'd before, or not long after the *Trojan* War, and who was not known in *Greece* till *Philo* of *Byblos* tranſlated him in the Time of *Hadrian*; was he Preceptor to *Heſiod* and *Homer*, in whom we find all the Depth of the *Grecian* Mythology? It is own'd likewiſe, that the *Greeks* had the Knowledge of their Gods from the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies that ſettled among them; but the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs muſt have been conſiderably obſcured in the time of *Inachus*, *Cecrops* and *Cadmus*, Idolatry having been propagated through the *Eaſt* ſeveral Ages before. We ſhall however take care, as occaſion offers, to give the Opinion of theſe learned Men, that the Reader may be able to judge for himſelf what ſide of the Queſtion to take; for 'tis his Inſtruction we ſeek after, without intending to byaſs him in favour of one Hypotheſis more than another.

Eleventh Source, Ignorance of ancient Hiſtory. A more plentiful Source of Fables, and more favourable to their Introduction, is the Ignorance of Chronology and ancient Hiſtory. As it was very late before they came to have the uſe of Letters, eſpecially in *Greece*, ſeveral Ages paſſed, during which they had no other way of preſerving the Memory of remarkable Events but by Tradition, or at beſt by ſome Monuments, which in time became very ambiguous. Even when they began to uſe writing, their firſt Compoſitions were not connected Hiſtories, but Encomiums, Songs, and Genealogies, ſtuffed with Fables, which the Prieſts took pains to dreſs up in the manner already hinted (1); inſomuch, that nothing was to be found but Confuſion

(1) See the firſt Chapter.

ſion over all; and even ſuch as were inclined to ſee farther into the Hiſtory of Antiquity, after tracing back about three or four Generations, found themſelves in the Labyrinth of the Hiſtory of the Gods, where they were every moment ſtumbling upon *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Cœlus*, and *Telius*. The *Greeks* eſpecially had no farther account to give of their Original; this was the limiting Point of their whole Tradition, even among Perſons of better Underſtanding. As for others, they innocently gave out, that their Anceſtors had ſprung from the Earth like Muſhrooms, or Piſmires in the Foreſt of *Egina* (*a*), or from *Cadmus*'s Dragon's Teeth. However, as they were fond of being thought ancient, like moſt other Nations, they forged a fabulous Hiſtory of imaginary Kings, Gods and Heroes, that never had a being: And when they wanted to ſpeak of the early times, about which they had got a few hints from the Colonies that had ſettled among them, they only ſubſtituted Fable in the room of true Hiſtory. If the Creation of the World was the point in queſtion, out came the Fable of a *Chaos*: If it was about the firſt Inventors of Arts, inſtead of *Adam* and *Cain*, who were the firſt that cultivated the Ground, they aſcribed the whole Honour of the Invention to *Ceres* and *Triptolemus*; *Pan*, according to them, inſtead of *Abel*, was the firſt that led a paſtoral Life; to *Apollo* was given the Invention of Muſick, whereas it is *Jubal*'s by right: *Vulcan* with his *Cyclops*, paſs'd for him who had taught to forge Iron and Metals, in place of *Tubal-Cain*: *Bacchus* with them, was the God of the Vine, which *Noah* dreſs'd; ſubſtituting at every moment their modern Divinities, in room of the ancient Patriarchs, whom we learn from Scripture to have been the firſt and true Inventors of Arts. They were mere Children, as *Ariſtotle* taxes them, whenever they had occaſion to ſpeak of remote Times. They were even ſo weak as to believe, that it was their Colonies had peopled all

(*a*) ——— *Qui rupto robore nati,*
Compoſitique luto nullos habuere parentes. Juv. Sat. 6.

all the other Countries, and deriv'd the Names of ſuch of them as they knew, from the Names of their Heroes. Thus *Europe* was derived from *Europa* the Siſter of *Cadmus*; *Aſia* from the Mother of *Prometheus*; *Africk* from the Daughter of *Epaphe*; *Armenia* from *Armenus*; *Media* from *Medus*; the *Perſians* from *Perſeus*; and ſo others: not knowing that ſuch Names were given to Places at their being firſt inhabited, as denoted the Qualities of the Country or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People who came to it, as the learned *Bochart* proves (1). Thus *Europe* got the Name from the Whiteneſs of its Inhabitants; the *Celtæ* were ſo called upon account of their light-colour'd Hair; the *Latins*, becauſe they were addicted to Magick; the *Leſtrigonians*, on account of their ſavage Nature; the *Cretans*, for their Dexterity in handling the Bow; the *Thracians*, from their Nobility. Sometimes too, the Number of Animals found in a Country, gave occaſion to its getting a Name that bore an Alluſion to them. Thus that of *Spain* was taken from the Rabbits it was full of; the Iſland of *Rhodes*, from the Serpents; the Town of *Lyons*, from the Ravens; the Iſle of *Icarus*, from the Fiſh: ſometimes alſo the Names were derived from the Woods and Foreſts with which a Country was covered, as the *Pyrenees*; or from the Paſture-Grounds, as the *Parnaſſus*: in fine, from the Fruits found in them, as *Sais*, in *Egypt*, from the Olive-Trees that grew there in abundance: *Portugal*, from its great number of Almond-Trees: or ſometimes from the Vulcano's that iſſued from the Mountains, as *Mount Ætna*; and ſo of others.

The ſmalleſt Ambiguities gave riſe to a Fable. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Lycurgus*, tells us, upon the Authority of an Ancient, that *Apollo* having given ſome *Cretans* a Dolphin for their Guide, they came to *Phocis*, where they built the Town *Cyrra*: we plainly ſee they had been conveyed thither in a Ship named the Dolphin. So that it is not among the *Greek* Writers, we are to ſeek for the Origin of ancient Nations, nor other Monu-

(1) In his Chan.

Monuments of Antiquity; they did nothing but copied from the *Egyptians* and other Eaſtern People, who had themſelves filled their ancient Hiſtory with Fables.

Whenever they had occaſion to find out the Origin of Towns and the Founders of them, it was always ſome Hero, a Son of ſome of their Gods. The City of *Cypariſſa* in *Phocis*, was inviron'd with Cypreſſes, whence it had the Name; and that of *Daulis* in the ſame Country, was encompaſed with Trees (1), whence its Name was borrowed. Theſe Originals were too ſimple, they choſe rather to have recourſe to one *Cypariſſus*, and to the pretended *Daulis* a Tyrant, who gave their Name to theſe two Cities. *Lycoreus* had built that of *Lycoreus* upon the *Parnaſſus*, which had got its Name from the many Wolves that were there. We might add here an infinite number of other Examples, but theſe may ſuffice for what I have juſt now advanced.

'Tis therefore in the ſacred Scripture that the Truth of Antiquity muſt be ſought after: The profane Hiſtorians commence only at the time of *Ezra*, that is, the laſt of the ſacred Hiſtorians, unleſs you take in the Author of the *Maccabees*. *Homer* himſelf, and *Heſiod*, their moſt ancient Poets, and their greateſt Divines too, lived not till a long time after the War of *Troy*. As for *Dares* the *Phrygian*, *Dictys* of *Crete*, and ſome others, granting they were not fictitious Authors, as they really are, they muſt have lived but about the time of the *Trojan* War, a Period correſponding to the time of the *Judges*; and would ſtill have been much later than the Events recorded by *Moſes*. So that the *Greeks* were far from being inſtructed in the Hiſtory of the Times a little farther back, and their Hiſtory never had any ſhew of Probability, till the time of the *Olympiads*, before which, *Varro* owns, there is nothing to be ſeen in it but Confuſion and Chimæras.

But to clear up this whole matter, and to aſcertain the time when Fables aroſe, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſorts of Time; the Times unknown, the Fabulous, and the

(1) *Euſtath. upon the ſecond Book of the Iliad.*

the Hiſtorical (1). The firſt, which are as it were the Infancy and Nonage of the World, comprehend what had paſſed from the *Chaos*, or rather from the Creation, to the Deluge of *Ogyges*, that fell out towards the 1800th Year before Chriſt. The fabulous Times take in a Series of Events from the Deluge until the firſt *Olympiad*, where the hiſtorical Times begin. It is proper to remark, that this famous Diviſion made by *Varro*, has a regard only to the *Greek* Hiſtory; for not only the *Iſraelites*, but even the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, had ſome knowledge of the earlieſt Times, by means of Tradition and Annals, tho' often daſh'd with Fables: but here we have to do only with the *Greeks*, who had but a very confuſed Knowledge of the firſt Ages of the World; and 'tis within the compaſs of the ſecond Period that we are to place the Origin of that prodigious number of Fables we find diſpers'd thro' their Poets. It muſt however be acknowledged, that all the Ages of the fabulous Period, were not equally fruitful in Fables and Heroiſm: without doubt, the one that has furniſhed us with the greateſt Stock of them, was that of the Siege of *Troy*.

That famous City was twice taken; the firſt time by *Hercules*, and 30 or 35 Years after, that is to ſay, the Year before Chriſt 1282, by the *Grecian* Army, under the Conduct of *Agamemnon*. At the time of its being firſt taken, we ſee upon the ſtage *Telamon*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Jaſon*, *Orpheus*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and all thoſe other Heroes of the Golden Fleece. At the ſecond Siege appear the Sons or Grandſons of the former, *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Achilles*, *Diomede*, *Ajax*, *Hector*, *Paris*, *Æneas*, &c. and in the time which interven'd between theſe two Epochs, happen'd the two Wars of *Thebes*, where appear'd *Adraſtus*, *Œdipus*, *Etheocles*, *Polynices*, *Capaneus*, and numbers of others, the eternal Subjects of poetical Fables. Happy Age for Poems and Tragedies! Accordingly the Theatres of *Greece* have a thouſand times reſounded with theſe illuſtrious Names. To which we may add, that thoſe of *France*

(1) Ἄδηλος, Μυθικὸς, Ἱστορικός. See Cenſorinus.

France yet ring with them every day; inſomuch that the Heroes of our own Age, who often deſerve the Name better than thoſe of Antiquity, dare not appear there but under borrow'd Names. Nor is this the thing that ſurprizes moſt; no, 'tis to ſee the Divinities of Pagan Faſhion introduced every day upon our Stage: deſpicable Divinities! exhibiting in a Chriſtian City, the hideous Repreſentation of their Debaucheries; inſomuch that one is doubly ſhocked, to ſee ancient Idolatry reviv'd there, with all the Pomp and Pageantry it formerly wore at *Athens* or *Rome*, and to think on the dangerous Leſſons our Youth imbibe from a Syſtem of mere Pagan Morality.

In fine, the *Greek* Hiſtory, hitherto ſo fabulous, put on a new Shape by the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Olympiads*; from thence the Chronology of Facts began to be fixed.

Authors are not fully agreed about the time when the *Olympick* Games, that introduced this turn in Hiſtory, were inſtituted. Their Origin is buried in the profoundeſt Obſcurity. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays no more, but that they were founded by the *Cretan Hercules*, without telling us either at what time, or on what occaſion; but the moſt received Opinion among the Learned (1), is that *Pelops* was the Author of them, and that their firſt Celebration was in *Elis*, the twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of *Acriſus*, the thirty-fourth of the Reign of *Sicyon*, nineteenth King of *Sicyone*; and in order to adjuſt theſe prophane Epochs to Scripture-Chronology, this was the twenty-third Year of *Deborah*'s holding the Judge's Office. *Atreus*, Son of *Pelops*, renewed them, by a Decree for their ſecond Celebration, the Year before Chriſt 1418. Laſt of all, *Hercules*, upon his return from the Conqueſt of the Golden-Fleece, aſſembled the *Argonauts* upon the Banks of the River *Alpheus*, near the City *Piſa* in *Elis*, to ſolemnize theſe very Games, as an Act of Thankſgiving for their happy Succeſs in their Expedition; and they promiſed to reaſſemble there for the ſame effect, at the end of four Years.

(1) *See Scaliger after Euſebius.*

Years. Theſe Games however were diſcontinued, till *Iphitus* King of *Elis* re-eſtabliſhed them 442 Years after, the Year before the Chriſtian Æra 777. This became the *Grecian* Æra, and henceforth they only reckon'd by *Olympiads*; from which Period their Hiſtory is no longer ſo full of Fables.

This Diviſion, as I have already remarked, proceeds from the *Greeks*, who were ignorant of Antiquities; and thoſe very Times they call unknown or fabulous, are Times very well known when we bring them to an Agreement with ſacred Hiſtory, and even with that of *Egypt*, and of ſeveral other Nations in *Aſia*, a thing which has not been neglected by the Learned: and this is what makes *Scaliger* (1) frequently complain, and that with deep regret, of thoſe who gave them the name of Fabulous, rather than of Heroick, which would ſuit with them better. *Diodorus Siculus* had ſaid before him, that however we cannot give the ſame credit to the Accounts we have of thoſe ancient times, as to what has paſſed in our own, yet we are not to look upon all that they relate of them as Fables, ſince they include the Actions of thoſe Heroes who are now ſo celebrated.

Be that as it will, the *Olympiads* have ſcattered bright Beams of Light over the Chaos of Hiſtory. So that the Learned are infinitely indebted to them; but none, as I know, has paid his Acknowledgments to them with greater warmth than the ſame *Scaliger* I have been quoting. He makes them one of the prettieſt Compliments could poſſibly come from a Scholar: "Hail! "ſays he, ye divine *Olympiads*, ſacred Depoſitaries of "Truth; 'tis yours to check the preſumptuous Raſh- "neſs of Chronologiſts; by you, Gleams of Light are "diffuſed over Hiſtory; how many Truths had been "buried in the Abyſs of Ignorance, but for you! In fine, "by your means it is, we know with Certainty the "memorable Tranſactions even of Ages ſo remote (2)."

But enough of this Article; we go on to the thirteenth Source, taken from the Ignorance of Languages. CHAP.

(1) *Can. Iſag.* l. 3. (2) Animadv. in Euſeb. Chron.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the ſame Subject.

Thirteenth Source, Ignorance of Languages.

IGnorance of Languages, the *Phenician* eſpecially, has alſo been a Source of an infinite deal of Fables. 'Tis certain that ſeveral Countries in *Greece* were peopled by Colonies from *Phenicia*; whoſe Language, without doubt, would mix it ſelf with that of the Countries they came into (*a*); and as the *Phenician* Language has many equivocal Words, the *Greeks*, who in after-times read their ancient Hiſtory, which abounded with *Phenician* Phraſes, finding there theſe equivocal Words, were ſure to explain them in a ſenſe that was moſt to their taſte. There is even little room to doubt, but that the *Phenicians* knowing what ſtrong propenſion they had towards Fictions, would impoſe upon their Credulity as often as they were conſulted. This was the Origin of numberleſs Fables: of which the following are examples, moſt of them taken from *Bochart*.

The word *Alpha*, or *Ilpha*, in the *Phenician* Language, ſignifying equally a Bull or a Ship; the *Greeks* inſtead of ſaying *Europa* had been conveyed in a Ship into *Crete*, gave out that *Jupiter* transform'd into a Bull had carry'd her off. In the ſame Language, the *Phenicians* called themſelves *Hevéens*, or *Achiviens*; and as the word *Chiva* ſignifies a Serpent, the *Greeks* lighting upon it in the Annals of *Cadmus*, feigned the Story of that Prince's being changed into a Serpent. Once more, from the word *Sir*, which imports a Song, they have made up the Fable of the *Sirens*. *Æolus* had never paſſed among them for the God of the Winds and Tempeſts, but for the word *Æol*, or *Chol*, which ſignifies a Tempeſt. That Fable, which ſays the Ship of

(*a*) *Bochart* and *Voſſius* have unanſwerably proved, that the Alphabet *Cadmus* brought into *Greece* was *Phenician*; the *Pelaſgian* was in uſe there before, and of the two together one Language was compoſed.

the *Argonauts* ſpoke, and that *Minerva* had ſet at the Helm one of the Oaks of the Foreſt of *Dodona*, that gave Oracular Reſponſes, owes its Origin likewiſe to a double Entendre in the *Phenician* Tongue, where the ſame Word ſignifies, to ſpeak, and to govern a Ship(1).

From the word *Moun*, or *Mon*, which imports Vice, they have made the God *Momus*, the Cenſor of the Faults of Men (2). The Fable of the famous Fountain of *Caſtalia*, in *Bœotia*, takes its riſe in like manner from an equivocal Sound: as it run with a murmuring Noiſe that appeared to have ſomething ſingular (*a*), and the effect of its Water being to diſorder the Imagination of thoſe who drunk it, they fancied at firſt it communicated the Gift of Prophecy; and when the queſtion was, how it came by this Virtue, they invented a Fable. A Nymph, ſay they, was beloved by *Apollo* (3); while the God was one day in purſuit of her, ſhe threw herſelf into this Fountain: *Apollo*, as a Conſolation for the loſs of his Miſtreſs, imparted to the Water the Gift of Prophecy. Had the *Greeks* underſtood the *Hebrew* Language, they might eaſily have ſeen that the word *Caſtalia*, comes from *Caſtala*, which ſignifies Noiſe (4); nor would they have run into ſuch ridiculous Fables, the ordinary reſort of their Ignorance. We have much the ſame Account to give of the Origin of the Fountain *Hippocrene*, which, they ſay, ſprung forth upon *Pegaſus*'s ſtriking his Foot againſt Mount *Helicon*, becauſe the word *Pigran*, whence comes *Hippigrana*, and then *Hippocrene*, imports, to ſpring from the Earth (*b*). The Fable of the Fountain *Arethuſa* and *Alpheus* her Lover, ſo well deſcribed by *Ovid*, has its Foundation in nothing elſe but ſuch a poor Quibble. The *Phenicians*, upon their Arrival in *Sicily*, ſeeing that Fountain environ'd with Willows, named it perhaps *Alphaga*,

(1) See the Fable of the *Argonauts*, T. 3. (2) *Le Clerc* upon *Heſiod.*
(*a*) Caballinæque ſonare liquido pede lubitur unda. *Virg. in Culice.*
(3) Lutatius. (4) Bochart Chan. l. 1 c. 16.
(*b*) See *Bochart*'s *Chan.* l. 1. c. 16. and M. *Le Clerc* upon *Heſiod.* From *Pigran* the *Greeks* have made ἵππου κρήνη tanquam ab equo deducta voce; ideo Perſio fons caballinus; hinc nata fabula de fonte è terra edito, equi ungula percuſſa.

as much as to ſay, the Fountain of Willows (1). The *Greeks* who landed afterwards in the ſame Place, not underſtanding the Signification of the Word, and calling to mind their River *Alpheus* (2), imagined, that ſince the Fountain and the River had nearly the ſame Name, they muſt have had the ſame Original too; and upon this, ſome ſprightly Wit made up the Romance of the Amours between the God of the River and the Nymph *Arethuſa*. Almoſt all the ſucceeding Hiſtorians were befool'd by this Fable, and gravely told that *Alpheus* croſſed the Sea, and repaired into the Iſland of *Sicily*, nigh to the Fountain of *Arethuſa* (*a*). One and the ſame *Phenician* Root of the word *Nakhaſch* might equally ſtand for a Keeper, or a Dragon: When they read any Hiſtory where this Word occurr'd, to denote the Keeper of ſomething of Value, they were ſure to ſay it was a Dragon. Hence all thoſe Fables of the famous Dragons, whom they ſet to keep the Garden of the *Heſperides*, the *Golden-Fleece*, the Cave at *Delphi*, and the famous Fountain of *Thebes*. In the room of Men they have ſet over them ſo many Monſters; and what has authorized the Freedom they took, in applying the *Phenician* Word to that Senſe, is, that to be the Guardian of a thing of Worth, and to watch for its Preſervation, one muſt be vigilant and ſharp-ſighted; which is imported in the *Greek* Words ὄφις and δράκων (*b*). This is what has often deceived *Palephatus*, *Diodorus*, and ſome others, who for explaining theſe Fables have ſubſtituted others in their room, and introduced Perſonages to whom they have given the Name of *Draco*. Juſt ſo when the Poets tell us, that the Gods terrified by the Menaces of the Giants, cloathed themſelves in *Egypt* with the Figure of ſeveral Animals (3), this is founded upon bare Alluſions to the *Phenician* or *Hebrew*

(1) Bochart, l. 1. c. 18. (2) It runs thro' *Elis*.

(*a*) *Bochart* believes the word *Arethuſa* comes from the *Phenician* word *Arith*, which ſignifies a Rivulet.

(*b*) *Le Clerc* upon *Heſiod*, p. 63. Theſe Words, ſay that Author, come from ἔχειν and δέρκεσθαι videre. Igitur credibile eſt eandem vocem Phenicia lingua & Serpentem & Cuſtodem ſignificaſſe.

(3) Ovid. Met. l. 5.

brew Names, which gave occaſion to theſe Fables. Thus, to condeſcend upon Examples, 'tis unqueſtionably certain, that their reaſon for transforming the God *Anubis* into a Dog, is, that *Nobeah* ſignifies, to bark: *Apis* into an Ox, becauſe *Abir* ſignifies an Ox: *Venus* into a Fiſh: *Juno* into a *Heifer*, becauſe *Aſtarot*, which was *Juno*'s Name, ſignifies Flocks: and *Dag*, which was that of *Venus*, or *Aſtarté*, imports a Fiſh. Here I might produce a world of other Examples; but I hope before I have done to give ſo many Proofs of it, as to convince the moſt incredulous.

What remains at preſent is to prove, that not only the equivocal Words in the Eaſtern Languages have made way for numberleſs Fables, but thoſe of other Languages beſides.

The equivocal Words in *Greek*, for inſtance, have produced a vaſt Number. From *Crios* (1), which was the Name of the Governour to *Athamas*'s Children, and ſignified a Ram, they have made up the Fable of the Ram with the Golden Fleece, as we ſhall ſhew at more length, when it comes to be explain'd. In like manner, they have turn'd *Lycaon* into a Wolf, becauſe his Name and that of the Animal are the ſame. They have given it out that *Cyrus* was ſuckled by a Bitch, becauſe his Nurſe, the Wife of *Aſtyages*'s Cow-herd, was called in *Greek*, *Cyno* (2), and in the Language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, Names which import a Bitch (3). That *Venus* ſprung from Sea-foam, becauſe *Aphroditè*, which was the Name given to that Goddeſs, ſignified Foam. That the Temple of *Delphi* had been built with Wax, and the Wings of the Bees *Apollo* had brought from the *Hyperborean* Regions, becauſe *Pieras* (4), whoſe Name imports a Wing, had been the Architect. The ſame thing is to be ſaid of other Fables, where we meet with ſome Infants that have been nurs'd by She-Goats, as *Ægiſthes*; or by a Hind, as *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, becauſe their Names anſwer to the Names of thoſe Animals.

But

(1) ὁ κριὸς. (2) ἀπὸ τῆς κυνός. (3) Herodot. l. 1. (4) τὸ πτερὸν, Penna.

But to add more Probability to all theſe Origins, it will be proper to ſhew in a few Words, and by inconteſtable Examples, that the *Greeks* got moſt of their Fables from *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*. *Fourteenth Source.*

The *Greeks* are far from being ſo ancient as the other People of the Eaſt; Arts and Politeneſs were reigning in *Egypt*, when the Weſtern Nations were ſtill living in a brutiſh Ruſticity: 'twas from Colonies that came from the Eaſt, that they learnt to build Cities, to live in Society, and to wear Clothes. From them they had the Ceremonies of Religion, the Worſhip of the Gods, and Sacrifices. This is a thing not to be called in queſtion, after the plaineſt Teſtimony of the moſt ancient Authors. The Fables were interwoven with Religion, they were the Foundation it was built upon: it was Fable that introduced a multiplicity of Gods which they ſubſtituted in room of the true one: thus by learning the Religion of the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* learned their Fables likewiſe. Certain it is, for inſtance, that the Worſhip of *Bacchus* was formed upon that of *Oſiris*; *Diodorus* ſays ſo in more places than one (1). The obſcene Repreſentations of their *Hermes* and *Priapus*, were they not the ſame with the *Phallus* of the *Egyptians*? For all that *Herodotus* has ſaid to the contrary, it was the *Pelaſgi* who taught them theſe infamous Myſteries: The *Pelaſgi*, notwithſtanding they were ſo ancient in *Greece*, were modern in compariſon of the *Egyptians*; and as they were Vagrants, ſome one of them might have left *Arcadia*, their firſt place of Abode, and travelled into *Egypt*. *Cadmus* and *Melampus* had brought that Worſhip into *Greece*; and the former underwent a load of Perſecution, ſo as to be even expelled the Kingdom, only for oppoſing the Innovations they had introduced into the Feſtivals of that ancient Divinity. Such was the temper of the *Greeks*; they changed both the Names and Ceremonies of the Eaſtern Deities, to make it afterwards be believed that they were Natives of their own Country; as we ſee in this Example, in that of *Iſis*, whom they named *Diana*, and in an infinity of others. The

(1) L. 1. (2) L. 2.

Fable of *Derceto*, or of *Atergatis*, is it not the very ſame with that of *Dagon*? Is not this a Name the *Greeks* have compounded of theſe two, *Adir* and *Agon*, a great Fiſh? as *Selden* demonſtrates (1): and is not this the reaſon of *Ovid*'s ſaying, *Derceto* was turn'd into a Fiſh? The Fable of *Venus* and *Adonis*, was it not originally from *Syria*? and if they gave out that this Goddeſs ſprung from the Sea, the reaſon is, that her Worſhip was conveyed from the Coaſts of *Syria* into *Cyprus*, from that to *Cythera*, and thence into *Greece*. *Io* changed into a Cow, is it not the ſame with *Iſis*, whom the *Egyptians* worſhipped under the Figure of that Animal? And if, according to *Plutarch* (2), there was an ancient Tradition importing that Goddeſs to have been metamorphoſed into a Swallow, is it not owing to this, as *Bochart* remarks (3), that *Sis* in the Eaſtern Languages ſignifies a Swallow? The Fable of *Arachné* changed into a Spider, comes it not from the *Hebrew* Word *Arag*, which ſignifies to ſpin? a Term the Scripture uſes for the Nets the Spiders weave. That of *Eſculapius* ſuckled by a Bitch, is it not alſo of *Phenician* growth? And tho' *Sanchoniathon* had not ſaid it in ſo many words, might we not ſee the Compoſition of that Name and Fable in the two *Hebrew* Words, *Is Calibi*, *Vir caninus*, whence the *Greeks* have made their *Aſclepios*, and the *Latins* their *Eſculapius*? Why, I pray you, was *Diana* ſaid to have been changed into a Cat, but becauſe that Goddeſs, according to *Herodotus* (4), was called in *Egypt*, *Bubaſte*; which ſignifies a Cat, in the Language of the Country, as we learn from *Stephanus* (5). The *Mercury* of the *Latins*, the *Hermes* of the *Greeks*, and the *Theutat* of the *Gauls*, were they not all copied from the ancient *Thot* of the *Egyptians*? The whole Train of Fables the Poets wrought into their *Hades*; in one word, their whole Poetical Syſtem of Hell, was it not derived from *Egypt*? *Diodorus Siculus* (6), and *Porphyry* (7) are clear upon this head, and

(1) De Diis Syriis, Synt. 2. c. 3. (2) In Iſide. (3) De Animal. p. 2. l. 10. (4) L. 2. p. 156. (5) In voce Bubaſtis. (6) L. 1. (7) L. 5. de Abſt.

and we ſhall prove it at very great length in the Sequel. Did not *Pythagoras* borrow from that ſame People all his Reveries about the *Metempſychoſis*, and *Homer* his Fable of the *Metamorphoſes* of *Proteus?* I might produce ſeveral others beſides; but what we have given are more than ſufficient to evince that the far greater Part of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fables came from *Egypt* and *Phenicia:* That *Bochart* and ſome others were in the right to have frequent recourſe to the Eaſtern Languages for unravelling them; and that any difficulty we have in finding them out, is owing to this, that the *Greeks*, who on the one hand had an extreme Attachment to Fictions, and on the other, coveted a Name of great Antiquity, chuſing rather to aſcribe their Original to the Piſmires of the Foreſt of *Egina*, or to *Cadmus*'s Teeth of a Serpent, than to own their Deſcent from a foreign People, turned every thing, Names, Adventures, and even the Ceremonies of Religion into Fable; intending thereby to ſhew, that the Origin of all was among them, and that they were indebted to no Nation either for their Gods, or their Heroes. This, without doubt, is the Reaſon, why in the *Greek* Poets we meet with the *Egyptian* Fables ſo disfigured, that it would be difficult to trace their Origin without the help of the Languages; and why we ſee ſuch a Difference between what *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* ſay of *Iſis* and *Oſiris* after the Prieſts of *Egypt*, and what the Poets tell us of *Io*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*, that it would tempt one to think the Divinities are not the ſame.

In the firſt Chapter we laid down Rules and Examples to diſtinguiſh in general, the Oriental Fables from the *Greek* and *Latin*. This would be the proper Place to ſpeak of the time when the Fables begun; but to fix them to a preciſe Epoch, is a thing impoſſible: we only know they are very ancient, ſince we find them in the oldeſt Remains we have of prophane Antiquity; to which we may add, that the different manner they are told in by the earlieſt Poets, is an unqueſtionable Proof of their having been diffuſed, before their time, thro' the Nations whoſe ancient Tradition was probably wrought

into them. But to ſay ſomething more particular, I am of opinion, if Fables, as well as Idolatry which they appear ſo naturally connected with, were not introduced before the Deluge, ſo as to corrupt the Religion of *Cain* and his Family, they ſprung up at leaſt ſoon after, in the Family of *Ham* and his Son *Canaan*, the firſt Founders of Idolatry. Thus we may look upon *Phenicia* and *Egypt* as the firſt Theater of Fable, whence they paſſed with the Colonies to the Weſt, and to *Greece* eſpecially, where they incredibly multiplied, the *Greeks* having a powerful Byaſs towards Fictions. From *Greece* they came into *Italy*, and the other Countries.

It is certain that one who traces ancient Tradition but a little, may eaſily find this to have been the Progreſs of Idolatry and Fables, which always kept pace with one another. We are not then to imagine *Homer* and *Heſiod* were the Inventers of thoſe Fables: Idolatry was elder than either of them, and by conſequence, Fables, that have a neceſſary Connection with it, were ſo too. The Poets who had gone before thoſe now mentioned, had in all appearance filled their Works with them, and I make no doubt but *Homer* had Models which he has imitated. Wou'd ever the *Greek* Poetry have ſet out with ſuch maſterly Pieces? Undoubtedly there had been Poets before him, who had handled the Subject of the *Trojan* War, and had compoſed *Iliads*, wherein it is likely the Intercourſe of the Gods with Men, and the other Fables took place, as in the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*; for we muſt not think the Gods of *Greece* owe their Origin to the Poems of *Homer* and *Heſiod*. Theſe two Poets, and thoſe that went before them, had in their Works followed the Principles of the Theology of their Country, the Syſtem whereof had been formed from the time of *Cecrops*, who eſtabliſhed in *Greece* the Worſhip of the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Divinities, as appears from the Teſtimony of the Ancients, as may be ſeen in St. *Epiphanius* (1). The other Heads of Colonies, ſuch as *Cadmus*, who brought into *Greece* the Myſteries of *Bacchus* and *Oſiris*, purſued the ſame Method; now theſe

(1) *In his firſt* Book of Hereſies, Sect. 1.

theſe Heads of Colonies were all of them prior to theſe two Poets by many Ages. But to ſay all in a word, the *Greek* Poetry is nothing but a Copy of that ancient Poetry ſo well known in the Eaſt, and which *Moſes* has ſo happily employ'd in thoſe admirable Songs, wherein he celebrates with ſo much Majeſty, the Victories of the God of Hoſts over the Enemies of the *Hebrews*; and perhaps too it is that ſacred Intercourſe of the God of *Iſrael* with his People, (a thing ſo often intimated by that divine Legiſlator) which has given the Poets that came after, a handle to bring in their Gods with Men, upon all occaſions, not having any other way to explain that divine Providence which directs all Events, and appears in theſe divine Songs ſo deeply concern'd for our Intereſts. Thus the earlieſt Truths have given riſe to Fables of the greateſt Antiquity, which were afterwards multiplied according to the Humour of the People that adopted them.

We may farther remark, that the Fables which came from *Phenicia* and *Egypt*, were not all of them propagated weſtward, I mean towards *Greece* and *Italy*; many of 'em paſſed over into the *Indies* with the Colonies that ſettled there; hence there are few Countries where a Tradition is not to be found of the Combat of the Giants, and of the War they waged with the Gods, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Authors (*a*). In the moſt diſtant Countries you meet with many traces of ancient Fables, where, disfigured as they are, they may yet be known: thus it is likewiſe with the Idolatry of theſe Nations; notwithſtanding the Changes it has undergone, ſtill it appears to be derived from the ancient, which the Colonies had brought with them into remote Climates. Upon which, *Laffiteau*'s Work may be conſulted, with reſpect to the Savages of *America*, whoſe Manners, according to him, reſemble thoſe of primitive Mortals. But it is time to paſs on to another Source.

As

(*a*) See what M. *Dellon* has wrote on this head, in his third Volume of the Divinities worſhipp'd by the *Indian* Nations, thoſe eſpecially upon the Coaſts *of Malabar*, and the adjacent Countries; and what *Father Laffiteau has ſaid upon it in his Manners of the Savages*, V. 2.

A fifteenth Source, Ignorance of Geography.

As in thoſe early Periods the Art of Navigation was brought to no great perfection, and they were but little acquainted with Geography, their Voyages were extremely hazardous. When they came afterwards to relate theſe Voyages, they mingled with them a deal of Fables; thus they never ſpoke of the Ocean but as a Place overſpread with Darkneſs, where the Sun went every Evening to bed in the Palace of *Tethys* (*a*).

The Rocks that form the Streights of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, paſſed for two Monſters that ſwallow'd up their Ships. The *Symplegades* or the *Cyaneæ* at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, were repreſented as though they run together to devour Veſſels as they were ſailing between them: the *Cimmerians*, as a People buried in eternal Darkneſs: the *Arimaſpians* and *Iſſedonians*, as Men that had but one Eye: the *Hyperboreans*, as a Race that lived a thouſand Years without Pain or Sickneſs, diſtreſſed with none of the Injuries of Life. Here was a People covered over with Feathers; there Man-Monſters wanting Heads, as the *Acephali*; or with a Dog's Head, as the *Cynocephali*; ſome whoſe Ears reach'd down to their Heels; others, in fine, who had but one Foot, for ſuch are the ridiculous Fictions their Relations of the *Indies* and Northern Regions were made up of: every where they were obliged to quell tremendous Monſters. If any one viſited the *Perſian* Gulph, he told how he had come to the Extremity of the riſing Sun, and to that Region where *Aurora* opens the Barrier of the Day. *Perſeus*, for having ſtoutly ventur'd to paſs the Straights of *Gibraltar*, in his way to the *Orkneys*, had the winged *Pegaſus* given him, with the Equipage of *Pluto* and *Mercury*; as if it had been impoſſible to accompliſh ſo long a Voyage, without ſome ſupernatural Aſſiſtance.

What ridiculous Fables, what childiſh Fictions do we meet with in the ſpurious *Orpheus*, in *Apollonius Rhodius*, on the Subject of the Return of the *Argonauts*; how many

(*a*) . . . Tarteſſos ſtabulanti conſcia Phœbo. *Sil. Ital.* l. 3. *Preſſerat* Occiduus Tarteſſia Littora Phœbus. *Ovid. Met.* l. 14.

many unknown Countries and People do they make them light upon in that chimerical Voyage? Who is there can tell where lay the *Cimmerians* of *Homer*, and where the Iſland of *Calypſo?*

Sixteenth and laſt Source, the pretended Interviews with the Gods.

To all theſe Sources of Fable we may add, a Concern to ſave the Honour of the Ladies. If a frail Princeſs yielded to her Lover, there were Flatterers enough to call in ſome friendly Deity to ſcreen her Reputation: He could be no other than a God in human Form who had triumph'd over the coy inſenſible Fair; by this means her Reputation was ſafe, and the Gallantries of that ſort, far from being infamous, were highly honourable. There was not a Man, even to the too good-natur'd Spouſe himſelf, but humoured the thing; and the Story of *Paulina* and *Mundus* is not the only Monument we have of the ſottiſh Credulity of Husbands. *Mundus*, a young *Roman* Knight, had deeply fallen in love with *Paulina*, and after all his Efforts to touch her Heart had prov'd in vain, he bethought him of gaining the Prieſts of *Anubis*, who aſſured *Paulina* that the God was enamour'd with her; that very night was *Paulina* led to the Temple by her own Husband. A few days after, *Mundus*, whom ſhe chanc'd to meet, let her into the Secret. *Paulina*, in a deſperate Fit, carried her Complaint before *Tiberius*; who, as much *Tiberius* as he was, cauſed the Prieſts of *Anubis* to be burnt, the Statue of the God to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and *Mundus* he ſent into exile (1).

Certain it is, that an infinite deal of Fables draw their Origin from this Source: witneſs that of *Rhea Silvia*, the Mother of *Rhemus* and *Romulus* (2). Her Uncle *Amulius* got into her Cell, and her Father *Numitor* ſpread it abroad that the Twins ſhe brought forth had been begot by the God of War. Often the Prieſts themſelves, when they were not proof againſt a Woman's Charms, made her believe ſhe was the Favourite of the God they ſerv'd, and ſhe put herſelf in order for lying in

(1) Joſ. Ant. l. 18. (2) Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. l. 1. Tit. Liv. l. 1.

in the Temple, whither ſhe was conducted by the Parents, in form (1). Thus at *Babylon*, a Woman, one of thoſe whom *Jupiter Belus* had left his Prieſt to ſingle out, laid herſelf down in his Temple. Hence that great ſtock of Children they have father'd upon the Gods.

CHAP. VII.

In which the Origin of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, *and thoſe of ſome other Poets, is examin'd.*

THAT nothing of conſequence about the Origin of Fables may be omitted, we muſt add to what has been ſaid in the foregoing Chapters, that almoſt the whole of thoſe we find in the *Metamorphoſes* of *Ovid*, *Hyginus*, and *Antoninus Liberalis*, are merely founded upon figurative and metaphorical ways of ſpeaking: they are commonly real Matters of Fact, with an addition of ſome ſupernatural Circumſtance by way of Embelliſhment. The retired Life, for example, which *Cadmus* and *Hermione* led in *Illyricum*, after they were diſpoſſeſſed of the Throne of *Thebes*, gave riſe, no doubt, to the Story of their being turned to Serpents; eſpecially with the help of the equivocal Terms, which we ſhall ſpeak of in their Hiſtory. The Cruelty of *Lycaon*, who offered up human Sacrifices to *Jupiter Lycæus*, occaſioned his Metamorphoſis into a Wolf. *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* have been transformed into King's-fiſhers, to give us the Idea of a perfect Love between Man and Wife. When any Princeſs had died of Grief for the loſs of her Husband or Children, the Elegy compoſed upon that occaſion turn'd upon changing her to a Fountain or Rock. The Agility and Nimbleneſs of *Periclymenus*, *Neſtor*'s Brother, who was ſlain by *Hercules*, gave them a handle to ſay, that young Prince aſſum'd all kind of Shapes, and turned himſelf to an Eagle. We are to think the ſame way of *Proteus*, *Thetis*, and *Metra* the Daughter of *Eriſichthon*. If any one made himſelf odious, as *Aſcalaphus*, they had him chang'd

to

(1) Herod. l. 1. c. 381.

to an Owl. *Midas*'s Stupidity, or poſſibly his exquiſite Senſe of Hearing, made him be complimented with the Ears of an Aſs. *Amphion* is ſaid to have rear'd up the Walls of *Thebes* by the Sound of his Lyre, becauſe he had the Eloquence to perſuade a barbarous People to build a City, and dwell there in Society: *Orpheus* to have charm'd the Tygers and Lions, and made the Trees and Rocks ſenſible of his harmonious Notes, becauſe he had ſuch an inſinuating perſuaſive Art, that nothing could ſtand before the force of his Eloquence. Inſtead of ſaying that ſuch a one was cured of a deſperate Diſeaſe, as *Hippolitus*, they gave him out to be riſen from the Dead; and the Phyſician, who had taken care of him, was always *Eſculapius*.

Sometimes a Similitude of Names gave riſe to the Transformation; thus, *Picus* was turned to a Woodpecker, *Cygnus* to a Swan, *Hierax* to a Spar-Hawk, *Alopis* to a Fox, the *Cercopes* to Monkeys. In fine, we meet with Fables, which are the Product of the Poet's Imagination: thus, to let us know that *Cephalus* roſe betimes in the Morning to go a hunting, they feigned that *Aurora* in love with the Boy, forc'd him away; that *Hebé*, the Goddeſs of Youth, made *Iolas Hercules*'s Companion to renew his Age, becauſe he lived to a great length of Years, and retain'd his Vigour to the Extremity of old Age: that *Jaſon* was beloved by *Ceres*, becauſe 'twas he brought Agriculture to perfection, an Art introduced into *Greece* by that Goddeſs: that *Endymion* had interviews with *Diana* on the Mountains of *Caria*, becauſe there it was that Shepherd apply'd himſelf to ſtudy the Courſe of the Moon; and ſo of others.

We meet with others that are only metaphorical Deſcriptions of ſome natural Effects; thus the Amours of *Apollo* and *Daphne*, denote the perpetual Verdure of the Laurel, called *Daphne* by the *Greeks*. In ſhort, we may take it for granted that all the Transformations they attribute to *Jupiter* and the other Gods, were nothing but ſo many Symbols to ſignify ſuch means as the Princes that bore *theſe Names* practiſed, in order to

ſeduce

ſeduce their Miſtreſſes. Thus, the Gold *Pretus* employ'd for inticing *Danae*, made them ſay, he turn'd himſelf into a Shower of Gold; or elſe, as *Euſtathius* obſerves (1), theſe pretended Metamorphoſes were nothing but ſo many Gold Medals engraved with ſome ſuch Devices, and which Gallants made preſents of to their Miſtreſſes; Preſents more effectual by the rarity of the Metal, and the fineneſs of the Engraving, to make impreſſion upon Women, than real Metamorphoſes.

One Remark more is neceſſary before we conclude this Article; that there never was a Country more productive of Fables than *Greece*. Not content with thoſe ſhe got from the Eaſt, ſhe invented an infinite deal of new ones. To be convinced of this, we need but examine that immenſe Collection of them *Ovid* has made up, and we ſhall ſee that of the fifteen Books, which comprehend his *Metamorphoſes*, thirteen, or thereabout, are compoſed of nothing but *Greek* Fables. In the firſt Chapter I have laid down Rules and Examples to diſtinguiſh them. The Language in which they appear to have been framed, is the leaſt precarious. If the Names are taken from the Eaſtern Languages, they are foreign to *Greece*; and if they are *Latin* Names, the Fables are to be reckon'd of an *Italian* Original. Now upon this Principle, there are few of them in *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes*, but are originally *Greek*; for if you except thoſe about the *Chaos*; the Formation of Man; the Companions of *Cadmus* ſprung from the Serpent's Teeth; that of *Derceto* chang'd to a Fiſh, *Semiramis* to a Pigeon, *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, *Ino* and *Melicertus*, *Cadmus* and *Hermione*, the *Meduſa*, *Atlas*, *Andromede*, *Ceres*, *Aſcalaphus*, the Gods conceal'd in *Egypt*, *Minerva*, *Proteus*, *Byblis*, *Memnon*, the *Cabiri*, and a few others; and thoſe in ſhort which comprehend the half of the fourteenth Book, and the whole fifteenth, which are evidently made up of Fables purely *Latin*, all the reſt are originally *Greek*, as might eaſily be made out.

Such

(1) Upon the firſt Book of the *Iliad*.

Such is the Origin of moſt of the Fables; and when we cannot find the Solution of them in the Sources I have mentioned, it may eaſily be found in thoſe Metaphors.

But after having laid open the Sources of ſo many particular Fables, we muſt go ſome ſteps higher, to a Spring more remote, and give the Hiſtory of the *Coſmogonies* and *Theogonies* of the ancient Nations; that is to ſay, their manner of conceiving the Origin and Formation of the World, and the Generations of their Gods; here it is chiefly we ſhall ſee, to how many Errors Man is abandoned, when he has no other Guide but his own Light.

BOOK II.

Of the different Theogonies, of which we have any Remains in Antiquity; or the Sentiments of the Ancients about the Origin of the World, and of the Gods.

SINCE the Opinion of the Ancients about the Origin of the Gods was always mix'd with that of the Origin of the World, as a learned *Engliſh* Writer (1) has very well obſerved, and as is eaſy to be judg'd from the celebrated Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*; I ſhall be obliged in this Book to explain the one as well as the other.

They who are only acquainted with Mythology from the Works of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in Proſe or Verſe, are apt to take the former for the Founder and Inventor of thoſe monſtrous Fictions their Religion was made up of, and of all the Gods they ador'd. But certain it is, the *Greeks* were Moderns when compared with

(1) Cudwor. *Intel. Syſ. p. 342.*

with the Eaſtern Nations; it was late before their Country was peopled, and they had their Religion, Ceremonies and Myſteries from *Phenician* and *Egyptian* Colonies. Thus, 'tis among the *Aſiaticks* we are to ſeek for the Origin of Idolatry. I ſhall begin with the Tradition of the *Chaldeans*, as the moſt ancient People we know, and from them I ſhall paſs on to others.

CHAP. I.

The Tradition of the Chaldeans.

THERE is no diſputing the *Chaldeans* the Honour of being one of the moſt ancient Nations in the World. *Nimrod*, their firſt King, lived even in the time of *Peleg*, and he is looked upon to be the Author of the mad Project of the Tower of *Babel*. This People, according to *Joſephus* (1), took care from the earlieſt Periods of time, to preſerve, by publick Inſcriptions and other Monuments, the Memory of all Occurrences, and to employ the wiſeſt Men of their Nation in writing their Annals; but there is no better Proof of the Antiquity of the *Chaldeans*, than the agreement of their Opinion about the Origin of the World, the ten Generations that went before, and the other ten that came after the Deluge, with *Moſes*'s Writings.

The Hiſtory of the *Chaldeans* had been wrote by four ancient Authors, *Beroſus*, *Abydenus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Alexander Polyhiſtor*: we have only ſome Fragments of their Works now remaining in *Joſephus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*. 'Tis in the laſt (2) we find that ſmall piece of *Beroſus* upon their Theogony. A Man, or rather a Monſter, half Man and half Fiſh, ſprung from the Red Sea, appear'd, ſays that Author, near a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*. He had two Heads; that of the Man was below that of the Fiſh. To his Fiſh's Tail were joined the Feet of a Man, and he had human Voice and Speech; his Image is preſerved to this very day in Painting. *Beroſus* ſays of him that he was ζῶον ἄφρον, which

(1) *L. contra Apion.* (2) Pag. 28, and 29.

which *Goar* tranſlates, *Animal ratione deſtitutum*; but as this does not appear agreeable to the Idea the *Chaldean* Author had of him, and *Aphrenon* not being a *Greek* word, it muſt be an Error in *the Text of Syncellus*, and ought to be read ἄρρενον, *ſtrenuus*, as a learned Modern conjectures. Be that as it will, this Monſter, according to the *Chaldean* Author, abode with Men by day, without Food, and taught them the Knowledge of Letters and Sciences, and the Practice of Arts, to build Cities and Temples, to enact Laws, to apply themſelves to Geometry, to ſow and gather Grain and Fruits; in a word, whatever could contribute to civilize their Manners. At Sun-ſetting, he withdrew into the Sea, and ſpent the Night in the Waters. Other ſuch Monſters appeared after him, and *Beroſus* promiſed to unfold theſe Myſteries in his Hiſtory of the Kings, but we have nothing of that Work remaining. The ſame Author adds, that *Oannes* had wrote a Book about the Origin of Things, in which he taught that there was a time when all was Water and Darkneſs, and in them were contained Animals of a monſtrous Form, Men with two Wings, others with four, having two Heads upon the ſame Body, one of a Man, the other of a Woman, with the Diſtinctions of either Sex. That ſome were ſeen with the Legs and Horns of a Goat; while others had the fore or hind Parts of a Horſe, like the *Hippocentaurs*. Others were born with the Head of a Man and the Body of a Bull; that the Dogs had four Tails, with the Hind-parts of a Fiſh. That all the Animals, in ſhort, were of a monſtrous and irregular Make, and like the Repreſentations of them to be ſeen in the Temple of *Belus*. This Author added further, that a Woman named *Omoroca* (*a*) was Miſtreſs of the Univerſe, and that *Belus* clove her aſunder,

(*a*) The Learned have ſought out many Etymologies of the Name of this *Omoroca*. I agree with *Syncellus*, who makes it ſignify the ſame thing with *Thalath* in the *Chaldaick*, or the *Greek Thalatta*, or *Thalaſſa*, the Sea: which brings it to one of the moſt ancient Opinions, the ſame which was adopted by *Thales* the *Mileſian*, that Water was the Principle of all Things; or, to ſay the ſame thing poetically with *Homer*, that the Ocean was the Father of the Gods.

form'd Earth of the one Part, and Heaven of the other, and put all thoſe Monſters to death. Then this God divided the Darkneſs, ſeparated Earth from Heaven, and ranged the Univerſe in order; and after the Deſtruction of the Animals, who could not ſupport the Splendor of the Light, ſeeing the World deſolate, he ordered one of the Gods to cut off his Head, to mix with Earth the Blood which flow'd from the Wound, and of it to frame Men and Animals; after which, he fram'd the Stars and the Planets, and thus finiſh'd the Production of all Beings.

This, according to *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, is what the firſt Book of *Beroſus* contained, that is, a groſs Syſtem of Phyſicks, and a Theogony no leſs ſo. 'Tis true, this Author thought the whole Syſtem allegorical; but what Allegories could render it ſupportable? However, monſtrous as it is, it appears to be only a disfigured Tradition of the Hiſtory of the Creation, taken either from the Books of *Moſes*, or from a Tradition ſtill more ancient. It ſeems plain, that the place where *Moſes* ſpeaks of the Darkneſs that covered the Earth, then mix'd with the Water, *& Tenebræ erant ſuper faciem abyſſi* (1), is the Foundation of this whole Coſmogony, in which the *Chaldeans* had feign'd thoſe Monſters, whoſe Hiſtory we have now read, to give a more ſenſible and hideous Deſcription of that State of Confuſion which reigned in the World immediately after the Creation.

As to what regards the forming of Man, 'tis evident that the Hiſtory thereof is likewiſe taken from the Deſcription of *Moſes*, who ſays, that God, after he had as it were exerted himſelf in the Production of this Maſterpiece, took of the Earth, which he tempered with Water, and breath'd into it a living Spirit. Theſe laſt Words, it would ſeem, gave the Author of the *Chaldean* Syſtem occaſion to ſay, that *Bel* had order'd his Head to be cut off; or, according to another Tradition, that he himſelf had cut off that of *Omoroca*, whence *Beroſus* concludes, this was the cauſe of Man's being endued with Intelligence. As

(1) Gen. c. i. v. 2.

As for thoſe Man-monſters, who had two Heads, four Arms, and both Sexes, we may reckon the Idea of them to have been likewiſe taken from thoſe Words of *Moſes*, where the Hiſtorian, in the ſecond Chapter, making a Recapitulation of what he had ſaid in the firſt, ſubjoins, in ſpeaking of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Maſculum & Fœminam creavit illos*; and 'tis this Notion of the *Chaldeans*, to mention it by the by, has given riſe to the Fable of the *Androgynes*, ſo celebrated in *Plato*'s Dialogue, intitled, *The Banquet*; a Fable, which this Philoſopher puts in the mouth of *Ariſtophanes* one of the Speakers. "The Gods, ſays he (1), form'd Man "at firſt of a round Figure, with two Bodies, two Faces, "four Legs, four Feet, and both Sexes." Theſe Men were of ſuch extraordinary Strength, that they reſolved to make war upon the Gods. *Jupiter*, incens'd by this Enterprize, was going to deſtroy them, as he had done the Giants, who attempted to ſcale Heaven; but foreſeeing that he muſt have entirely extinguiſh'd the human Race, he contented himſelf with parting them aſunder; that being thus divided into two Parts, henceforth they might neither be ſo ſtrong nor ſo daring. At the ſame time he gave Orders to *Apollo* to adjuſt theſe two half Bodies, and to ſtretch over the Breaſt and the other Parts of the Body, the Skin, as it is at preſent, and which bears a Mark in the Navel that it has been faſtened to it, and knotted as one ſhuts a Purſe. Theſe two Parts of one Body thus diſjoined, want to be reunited; and this is the Origin of Love.

It is eaſy to ſee, that this Fiction is drawn from the Hiſtory, which *Moſes* gives of the Formation of the Woman, who was taken *from one of Adam's Ribs*, and *was Bone of his Bone*, and *Fleſh of his Fleſh* (2). In vain does the Mind of Man uſe all its Efforts to corrupt the Truth; it leaves always ſome Tracts of Light to lead us to find it out.

There were ſome *Rabbins*, who did not differ much from the Opinion of the *Chaldeans*, in ſaying that *Adam's*

(1) *Plato in the Banquet.* (2) Gen. 2.

dam's Body was created double, Male and Female, and that theſe Bodies being join'd together by the Shoulders, God ſeparated them (1).

To ſpeak my mind now concerning *Oannes* and the Fragment of *Beroſus*, it is proper to obſerve, 1°. That this Author, after the Deſcription he gives of the *Babyloniſh* Country, ſubjoins immediately after, *The Appearance of that extraordinary Man happened in the firſt Year*, while this Year is relative to no other. Thus nothing can be concluded as to the time when he appear'd. 2°. The Name of *Oannes*, or *Oes*, as *Helladius* calls him, ſeems to be formed from the *Syriack* word *Onedo*, which ſignifies a Traveller, or a Stranger. Thus the whole Story amounts to this, that at a time, which cannot be determined, there arrived by Sea a Man, who taught the *Chaldeans* ſome Principles of Philoſophy, and ſome Knowledge of ancient Traditions, and left them Memoirs upon that Subject. Their Reaſon for repreſenting him as a kind of Monſter, Half-man, Half-Fiſh, was his being all over ſcaly: they ſaid, he retired by Night into the Sea, only becauſe he returned every Evening to his Ship: he ate nothing, becauſe he took his Meals on ſhipboard; and ſo of the reſt. What *Helladius*, of whom *Photius* has preſerved to us a Fragment (2), ſays of *Oes*, or *Oen*, confirms the Explication I have now given of this Fable: for this Author, whoſe Account agrees well enough with what *Beroſus* has related, adds, that *Oen*, who had the Hands, the Feet, and the Head of a Man, was really a Man, and was only taken for a Fiſh, becauſe he was covered from head to foot with Fiſh-skins. What he ſays afterwards of its being given out, that he was hatch'd from the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings were taken, has no other Foundation but the Reſemblance between his Name and the *Greek* word *Oon*, an Egg; or rather the ancient Fable, which ſuppoſed the Univerſe ſprung from an Egg. We may remark, by the by, that *Hyginus* likewiſe ſays, probably copying after

(1) *See Heiſeg* Hiſt. of the Patri. To. 1. p. 35.
(2) 2 *Bib.* Cod 279.

ter theſe two Authors, that *Euhannés*, or, as the printed Copies have it, *Euhadnés*, whoſe Name is a Corruption of *Oannes*, came by Sea into *Chaldea*, and there taught Aſtrology.

George Syncellus (1), who has preſerved to us the Fragments of ſeveral Ancients, ſays, that, according to *Abydenus*, a ſecond *Annedotus*, or an Animal reſembling *Oannes*, had likewiſe come out of the Sea, under the Reign of *Amillarus*, who dwelt in the Town of *Pantibibla* (*a*) ſix and twenty *Sares*, from the Foundation of the *Chaldean* Monarchy. But *Apollodorus* ſaid, as the ſame *Syncellus* has it, that it was only under the ſucceeding Reign he appear'd, that is, in the time of *Ammenon*. In which *Polybiſtor* was to be blam'd, for having introduc'd, after *Beroſus*, his *Oannes* in the firſt Year; that is, probably, at the beginning of that ſame Monarchy. The ſame *Apollodorus* ſpeaks of a fourth *Annedotus*, who had likewiſe come out of the Sea under the Reign of *Daonus*: and *Abydenus* mentions four Perſons, who came at that time by Sea, to give the *Chaldeans* a more full Explication of what *Oannes* had taught them only in a ſummary way; he names theſe four Doctors, *Euedocus*, *Eneugamus*, *Eneubulus*, and *Anementus*.

Such was the Tradition of the *Chaldeans* about the Origin of the World, where it is plain they ſuppoſe Gods prior to the Formation of the World. We ſee there is no mention of their Birth, as in the Tradition of the *Phenicians*, and other Nations which I ſhall ſpeak of in the following Chapter. Be that as it will, here are the ten firſt Generations according to the

(1) Chronog. p. 38. Paris 1652.

(*a*) *Scaliger* upon *Euſebius*, p. 406, remarks very juſtly, that the Ancients have taken no notice of the Town named *Pantibibla*. What if it was the *Sipphara* of *Ptolemy*, where *Xixutrus*, who is the ſame with *Noah*, depoſited the Memoirs he had compoſed before the Deluge? Since the Name may be derived from the *Chaldaick* word *Sepher*, or *Spher*, a Book, a Collection; and that is preciſely the Senſe, which the word *Pantibibla* bears in Greek. Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *in his Chronology*, takes that Town for the Sepharvaim *mentioned in the ſecond Book of Kings*, Ch. 19. v. 13.

Opinion of the *Chaldeans*, with the Duration of each Reign in *Sares* (*a*),

According to Africanus.	*According to* Abydenus, *in the same Author.*	*According to* Apollodorus *in the same Author.*
1 *Alorus* reign'd *Sares* 10	1 *Alorus*, 10	1 *Alorus*, 10
2 *Alasparus*, 3	2 *Alaparus*, 3	2 *Alaparus*,
3 *Amelon*, 13	3 *Amillarus*, 13	3 *Amelon*,
4 *Amenon*, 12	4 *Amenon*, 12	4 *Amenon*,
5 *Metalarus*, 18	5 *Megalarus*, 18	5 *Megalarus*, 18
6 *Daonus*, 29	6 *Daos*, 10	6 *Daonus*, 10
7 *Evedorachus* 18	7 *Evedoresçus*, 18	7 *Evedoriscus*, 18
8 *Amphis*, 10	8 *Anedaphus*, 9	8 *Amenpsinus*, 10
9 *Otiartes*, 8	9	9 *Otiartes*, 8
10 *Xixutrus*, 18	10 *Sisuthrus*,	10 *Xixutrus*, 18

Since in this System of the *Chaldeans*, it is taken for granted, that *Alorus* is *Adam*, there is no doubt but *Xixutrus* must be *Noah*. Accordingly they report it was in his time the Deluge happened; where, by the by, the *Chaldaick* Authors are more honest than *Sanchoniathon*, whom I shall speak of afterwards; the latter describing the ten first Generations of the infant World, and the ten immediately succeeding, by an unpardonable Prevarication takes no notice of this celebrated Event. What the Authors I have been quoting say about it, is to this effect (1).

Chronus or *Saturn*, having appear'd to *Xixutrus* in a Dream, forewarned him, that on the fifteenth of the Month

(*a*) The Antients divided Time into *Sares*, *Neres*, and *Sossi*. The *Sare*, (*Saros*) according to *Syncellus*, denoted three thousand six hundred Years; the *Nere*, (*Neros*) six hundred; and the *Sose*, (*Sossi*) sixty: which makes the Duration of the first Reigns an infinite number of Years, every King having reigned several *Sares*: but when one considers the *Sares* only as Years of Days, the Computation of these ancient Authors agrees well enough with the Years assigned by *Moses* to the first Patriarchs. See upon this Subject, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and the other Chronologists, and in particular the Universal History, published by an *English* Society.

(1) See *Syncell.* loc. cit.

Month *Dæſius*, Mankind were to be deſtroyed by a Deluge, and enjoin'd him to write down the Origin, the Hiſtory, and the End of all things; and to conceal his Memoirs under ground, in the City of the Sun, named *Sippara*. After this, he was to build a Ship, to lay up there neceſſary Proviſions, and enter into it himſelf, his Friends, and Relations, and ſhut in with him the Birds and four-footed Beaſts. *Xixutrus* put his Orders punctually in execution, and made a Ship which was two Furlongs in breadth, and five in length; and no ſooner had he entered into it than the Earth was drowned.

Some time after, ſeeing the Waters abated, he let go ſome Fowls, which finding neither Nouriſhment nor Reſting-place, returned into the Veſſel. A few days after, he ſent out others that returned with bits of Mud at their Claws. The third time he let them go, they appeared no more; whence he concluded, that the Earth was beginning to be ſufficiently diſcovered. Then he made a Window in the Veſſel, and finding it had reſted on a Mountain, he came forth, with his Wife, his Daughter, and the Pilot; and having paid Adoration to the Earth, raiſed an Altar, and offered Sacrifice to the Gods, he and they that were with him diſappear'd. Thoſe that ſtaid in the Ship, finding that they did not return, came out and made ſearch for them, but in vain: only they heard a Voice ſounding theſe Words in their Ears, *Xixutrus*, by the merit of his Piety, is tranſlated to Heaven, and ranked among the Gods, with thoſe who accompanied him. The ſame Voice exhorted them to be religious, and to repair to *Babylon*, after digging up at *Sippara* the Memoirs that had been depoſited there. The Voice being heard no more, they ſet about rebuilding the City I have named, with ſome others.

CHAP. II.

The Theogony of the Phenicians.

SAnchoniathon, Prieſt of *Berytha*, who is reckoned to have lived before the War of *Troy*, had wrote upon the Coſmogony and Theogony of the *Phenicians*. *Euſebius*, who has preſerved to us a long Fragment of this Treatiſe (1), recites a Paſſage in favour of this Author, which needs not be ſuſpected, ſince it is taken from *Porphyry* the greateſt Enemy the Chriſtians ever had. This Author reports, that *Sanchoniathon* had wrote about the *Jews*, *things very true*; *that he agreed with their own Writers, and had learn'd ſeveral Circumſtances which he relates, from* Jerombaal *Prieſt of* Jevo; *that he had dedicated his Work to* Abibail *King of* Phenicia; *that not only this Prince, but they who were commiſſioned to examine his Books, were agreed as to the Truth of this Author's Hiſtory.—In ſine, that he had taken what he advanc'd, partly from the Regiſters of particular Towns, and partly from the Archives, which were carefully preſerv'd in the Temples.*

Time has deſtroy'd the Work of this ancient Author; it was yet extant in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, ſince it is about that time, that is, about the Reign of the *Antonines*, that *Philo* of *Byblos* tranſlated it into *Greek*, and divided it into nine Books (2). In the Prefaces, he had annex'd to them, he ſaid, "That *San-*
"*choniathon*, a Man of Learning and great Experience,
"being paſſionately deſirous to know the Hiſtories of
"all Nations, and that from their Origin, had made
"an exact Scrutiny into the Writings of *Thaautus*, from
"an Aſſurance, that as he had been the Inventor of
"Letters, he muſt have been likewiſe the firſt Hiſto-
"rian." 'Twas therefore from the Works of this Chief of the Learned, the celebrated *Mercury*, that the *Phenician* Author had taken the Foundation of his Hiſtory. After this, he finds fault with the *Greeks*, for having

(1) *Præp.* Evang. L. 1. c. 1. (2) See Euſebius, ibid.

having turned real Matters of Fact into dry Allegories, or phyſical Explications; and for having entirely ſubverted the Hiſtory of the Gods by their Attempts to make it all an Allegory, introducing in the room of Truth chimerical Notions, and Myſteries which had as little Reality.

This Tranſlation, which appears, from what Remains we have of it, to have been interpolated by *Philo*, and adapted to the Ideas of the *Greeks* in his time, is not ſubſiſting at preſent; all we have of it is a long Fragment preſerv'd by *Euſebius*.

What is farther unlucky, (for it is proper that we give a plain and exact Account of this Fragment,) beſides its being interpolated by *Philo*, as has been now ſaid, *Euſebius* in reciting it, inſtead of having copied it juſt as it was, has intermix'd with it, as one who reads it with Attention will eaſily perceive, not only the Reflections of the *Greek* Tranſlator, but alſo others of his own, which very much weakens the Authority of this valuable Remain of *Phenician* Antiquities; while it is not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh what is *Sanchoniathon*'s from the Additions of *Philo* or *Euſebius*.

It is very evident, for example, that wherever mention is made of the *Greeks*, as when it is ſaid they were miſled by equivocal Words to take one thing for another; or where ſpeaking of *Thot* or *Thaut*, it is added, this is the ſame whom the *Greeks* call *Hermes*; it is evident, I ſay, that theſe are Reflections of *Philo* or *Euſebius*: for if *Sanchoniathon* be as ancient as is alledged, the *Greeks* were hardly known to the *Phenicians* in his time; or at leaſt their Religion, which they received from the *Phenicians* themſelves, by the Colonies that came and ſettled among them, was not yet changed into that form it had in the time of *Heſiod* and *Homer*, who did not live till above 400 Years after *Sanchoniathon*.

But whatever be in that, I here give the Fragment, which may be divided into three Parts. They who would ſee the entire Tranſlation of it, need only read the Reflections of Mr. *Fourmont* upon ancient Na-

tions (1). The firſt contains the Coſmogony of the *Phenicians*; the ſecond, the Hiſtory of the primitive World before the Deluge, altho' this Author ſays not a word of that noted Event; and the third treats of thoſe who liv'd after, who are the Deſcendants of the former.

1°. According to this ancient Author, "The firſt "Principle of the Univerſe was a dark and ſpirituous "Air; a *Chaos* full of Confuſion, and without Light; "eternal, and of an endleſs duration. The Spirit "falling in love with its own Principles, entered into "cloſe Union with them; and this Union was called "*Love*. Hence ſprung *Mot* or *Mod*, that is to ſay, "either a Slime, or rather an aqueous Mixture, which "was the ſeminal Principle of all the Creatures, and "the Generation of the Univerſe. The firſt Animals "were void of Senſation, they ingender'd others en- "dued with Intelligence, who were named *Zophaſemin*, "that is, *Contemplators of the Heavens*. Immediately "after *Mot*, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars ſmaller "and greater, began to appear and ſhine forth. The "Earth being ſtrongly illuminated by the intenſe Heat, "communicated to the Earth and to the Sea, the "Winds were produced with Clouds that fell down in "Showers of Rain, and the Waters with which the "Earth had been overflowed being ſucked up by the "Heat of the Sun, were again united in the Air, "where juſtling againſt one another, they formed "Lightnings and Thunder; whoſe Noiſe awakened "the intelligent Animals, and terrified them ſo, that "they began to ſtir in the Earth and in the Sea."

This firſt Portion of the Fragment, has only a regard, as we ſee, to the Formation of Beings; and 'tis not to my purpoſe to dwell upon that Subject. It ſuffices to obſerve, that this Syſtem of the *Phenicians* led to Atheiſm, God being left out in the Formation of the Univerſe. *Sanchoniathon* even ſays, that the Spirit, ſuch as he conceives it to be, had no Knowledge of its own proper Production.

2°.

(1) Tom. 1. p. 4, & ſeq.

2°. The *Phenician* Author, after this Account of the Origin of the World, enters upon the Hiſtory of the firſt Man and firſt Woman, whom *Philo* his Tranſlator calls *Protogonus* and *Æon*; and adds, "That the latter found the Fruits of Trees "to be proper Nouriſhment. The Children of "theſe Parents of Human Kind, who were *Genus* and "*Genea*, dwelt in *Phenicia*. In time of a great Drought, "they ſtretch'd forth their hands towards the Sun, "whom they look'd upon as the ſole God and Sove-"reign of Heaven, and gave him the name of *Beelſa-"men*; which, in the *Phenician* Language, ſignifies "Lord of the Heavens. *Genus* afterwards begat other "Men, who were named *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox*, that is, "*Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame:* theſe are they, who by "rubbing two pieces of Wood againſt one another, "found out the uſe of Fire. Their Sons, who were "of an enormous Size, gave their Names to the "Mountains which they poſſeſſed; hence the Names "of Mount *Caſſius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, *Brathys*, &c.

"The Offspring of thoſe Giants were *Memrumus* "and *Hypſuranius*. The latter dwelt at *Tyre*, and in-"vented the Art of building Cottages of Reeds and "Ruſhes, and the *Papyrus*; and his Brother, with "whom he quarelled, taught Men to clothe them-"ſelves with the Skins of Beaſts. Nor was this all, "for an impetuous Wind having kindled a Foreſt hard "by *Tyre*, he took a Tree, cut off its Branches, and "having launched it in the Sea, made uſe of it for a "Ship. He alſo paid a religious Homage to two "Stones he had conſecrated to the Wind and Fire, and "pour'd out Libations to them of the Blood of certain "Animals." And this, by the way, is the ſecond Example of a Worſhip paid to created Beings; the Sun, as we have ſeen, having been the firſt Object of Idolatry.

"After the Death of *Memrumus* and *Hypſuranius*, "continues *Sanchoniathon*, their Children conſecrated "to them miſhapen pieces of Wood and Stone, which "they adored, and inſtituted anniverſary Feſtivals to "their *honour.*"

This

This is the firſt time we find religious Worſhip aſcribed to dead Men.

" Several Years after this Generation, which is the " ſixth, came *Agreus* and *Halieus*, Inventors of Fiſhing " and Hunting, as their Names import. Theſe had " Offspring two Brothers, who invented the Art of " making Inſtruments of Iron. He of the two, whoſe " Name was *Chryſor*, the ſame with *Hephæſtus* or " *Vulcan*, gave himſelf to the abominable Study of In- " cantations and Sorceries; invented the Hook, the " Bait, and Fiſhing-Line, the Uſe of Barks fit for " that purpoſe, and Sails too. So many Inventions " procured him after his Death divine Honours, under " the name of *Zeumichius*, or *Jupiter* the Engineer. " Theſe two ingenious Brothers are alſo thought to " have invented the Art of making Walls of Brick. " Their Sons were *Technites*, or the Artiſt, and *Geinus* " *Autochthon*, that is, home-born Man of the Earth; they " having found out the Secret of mixing Straw with " Brick, form'd Tiles thereof, which they dried in the " Sun. Their two Sons named *Agrai* the Swain, and " *Agrotes* the Husbandman, devoted themſelves to the " rural Life and to Hunting. They were alſo ſtiled *A-* " *letæ* and *Titans*. In fine, *Amynus* and *Magus*, the " *Counter-wizard* and the *Conjurer*, were the laſt of " this primitive Race; and they taught Men the Art " of building Villages, and of gathering their Flocks " into them. There was alſo in their time, in the " Neighbourhood of *Byblos*, one *Elion*, a Name that " may be render'd in *Greek*, *Hypſiſtus*, *the Moſt High*, " who had to Wife *Beruth*. They had a Son, named " *Epigeus*, who was afterwards called *Uranus*, and a " Daughter, who went by the name of *Gé*; and 'tis " the Names of thoſe two Children the *Greeks* have " given to Heaven and Earth.

" *Hypſiſtus* having died at a Hunting-match, was " advanced to divine Honours, and had Libations and " Sacrifices offered to him. *Uranus* poſſeſs'd his Father's " Throne, and having married his Siſter *Gé*, had ſe-

" veral

" veral Children by her; *Ilus*, who was ſtiled *Chro-*
" *nus* or *Saturn*, *Betylus*, *Dagon*, and *Atlas*."

Theſe, according to the *Phenician* Author, were the ten firſt Generations, which, if we except that of *Elion* or *Hypſiſtus*, are thoſe of the Line of *Cain*; on which we have four Remarks to make. Firſt, That this ancient Author, who had a mind to favour Idolatry, was willing to mention none but *Cain*'s Deſcendants, who are reckon'd, not without reaſon, to have been the Founders of Idolatry. Secondly, That he makes no mention of the Deluge, which, according to the Fathers of the Church, was ſent to puniſh this Race for their Crimes, the greateſt of which was the ſacrilegious Worſhip they paid to the Creatures. A third Remark is, that *Sanchoniathon* counts ten Generations in the Lineage of *Cain*, tho' *Moſes* reckons only eight, paſſing from the third to the ſixth, or from *Enoch* to *Irad*. But we may ſuppoſe, that *Moſes*, whoſe Aim was principally to take notice of the Race of *Seth*, or that of the Juſt, has not in the ſame way followed that of *Cain*, eſpecially the fourth and fifth Generation, becauſe perhaps they were Men who did not deſerve to be named; for 'tis not likely, that the eight Generations of *Cain* were of equal duration with the ten of *Seth*, of whom *Moſes* makes mention. The laſt Remark is, that the *Phenician* Author, as well as *Moſes*, aſcribes to thoſe Deſcendants of *Cain* the moſt part of uſeful Inventions, altho' the two Authors are not always agreed as to the time when, nor the Perſons by whom, theſe Diſcoveries were made; *Sanchoniathon* giving to one Race what *Moſes* gives to another, as one may be convinced by reading the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*.

Theſe ten Generations, I ſaid, belonged to *Cain*'s Deſcendants, except *Hypſiſtus*, becauſe the Learned, after *Cumberland*, who has given a large Explication of this Fragment of the *Phenician* Author, contend, that this *Hypſiſtus* was the Father of *Noah*, and that the reaſon of his being mentioned ſo tranſiently is, that

he

he was an Enemy to the Idolaters, whoſe Cauſe *Sanchoniathon* pleads.

For the Reader's Satisfaction, I ſhall ſet down the two Tables of *Cain*'s Deſcendants.

According to Moſes.	*According to* Sanchoniathon.
1. *Adam*, *Eve.*	1. *Protogonus*, *Æon.*
2. *Cain.*	2. *Genus*, *Genea.*
3. *Enoch.*	3. *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox.*
4.	4. *Caſſius*, *Libanus.*
5.	5. *Memrumus*, *Uſous.*
6. *Irad.*	6. *Agreus*, *Halieus.*
7. *Mehujael.*	7. *Chryſor* or *Hepheſtus.*
8. *Methuſael.*	8. *Technites*, *Geinus.*
9. *Lamech.*	9. *Agrus*, *Agrotes.*
10. *Jabal*, *Jubal*, *Tubal-Cain.*	10. *Amynus*, *Magus.*

In *Moſes*, as we ſee, *Cain*'s Race ends with the laſt of the Perſons I have now named, becauſe they themſelves or their Deſcendants periſhed by the Deluge, not ſo much as one of them being ſaved. If you ask how it comes then to be continued by *Sanchoniathon*, in the third Part of his Abſtract I am now going to tranſcribe; the Anſwer is eaſy, that he has taken in *Noah*'s Deſcendants to make up this ſecond Decad: this will appear evident by the Reflections afterwards to be made.

3° "Of thoſe, ſays *Sanchoniathon*, meaning *Amynus* "and *Magus*, were born *Miſor* and *Sydic*, the *Free* and "the *Juſt*, who found out the uſe of Salt. The for- "mer was Father to *Thaautus*, who firſt invented Let- "ters; this is the *Thoot* or *Thoor* of the *Egyptians*; "the *Thogit* or *Thoyth* of the *Alexandrians*, and the "*Hermes* of the *Greeks*: the Sons of *Sydic* were the "*Dioſcuri* or *Cabiri*, afterwards named *Corybantes* or "*Samothraces*. Theſe built a Ship and improved the "Art of Navigation; and among their Children there "were ſome who found out the uſe of Simples, Re- "medies againſt the Bite of Animals, and in fine, the

' Art of Enchantments, or the method of curing theſe
' Bites by Spells.

" *Uranus*, whoſe Children were alive in the time of
' thoſe we have been now ſpeaking of, having ſuc-
' ceeded his Father *Elion*, had by his Siſter *Gé* the four
' Sons already named, *Chronus*, *Betylus*, *Atlas*, and
' *Dagon* or *Siton*, whoſe Surname was *Zeus Arotrius*,
' or *Jupiter* the Tiller, from his having invented the
' Art of ſowing Corn; he had alſo ſeveral other Chil-
" dren by different Concubines. *Gé*, diſpleas'd with
" the Gallantries of her Spouſe, made bitter Complaints
" to him upon that account; which obliged him to
" turn her off. But having an Affection for her, he
" took her back, and had ſeveral Children by her,
" whom he ſought afterwards to deſtroy. *Chronus*, ar-
" riving at the age of Man, eſpouſed his Mother's
" quarrel, placed at the head of his Counſel *Hermes*
" *Triſmegiſtus*, who was his Secretary, made vigorous
" oppoſitions to the Deſigns of *Uranus*, expelled him
" the Kingdom, and ſucceeded to his Power; in the
" Scuffle having taken a Concubine whom his Father
" tenderly lov'd, he gave her, tho' big with Child, in
" marriage to *Dagon*; ſoon after he had her, ſhe was
" delivered of a Male Child, who was named *De-*
" *maroon*.

" *Chronos*, for his Security, built a Wall round his
" Houſe, and founded *Byblos*, the firſt City of *Pheni-*
" *cia* (*a*). Some time after, having conceiv'd a violent
" Jealouſy againſt his Brother *Atlas*, by the advice of
" *Triſmegiſtus* he cauſed him to be thrown into a Pit,
" where he periſhed. *Chronus* had then two Daugh-
" ters, *Perſephoné* or *Proſerpine*, who died a Virgin,
" and *Athené* or *Minerva*; he had alſo a Son named
" *Sadid*, whom he put to death. He cut off his
" Daughter's Head too, by which Actions he greatly
" amazed the Gods; thoſe I mean of his Party, who
" were

(*a*) The *Phenician* Author had already mentioned *Tyre*, as the firſt Town of that Country: poſſibly it was only made up of a few Cottages, but *Byblos a Town more regularly* built.

" were denominated *Eloim* (*a*). About that time, con-
" tinues the *Phenician* Author, the Offspring of the
" *Dioscuri* having built Ships, put to Sea, and being
" driven ashore near Mount *Cassius*, there built a
" Temple.

" In the mean time, *Uranus*, tho' in exile, was still
" plotting against his Son *Chronus*, and sent him three
" of his Daughters, *Astarte*, *Rhea*, and *Dione*, on pur-
" pose to cut him off. But he having seiz'd upon
" them, took them into the number of his Concubines,
" as he had done *Eimarmene* and *Hora*, who were sent
" to him upon the same design. He had seven
" Daughters by *Astarte*, named *Titanidæ*, or *Artemidæ*;
" and two Sons, *Pothos* and *Eros*, *Desire* and *Love*.
" By *Rhea* he had seven Sons, the youngest of them,
" to whom the Author gives no Name, was added to
" the number of the Gods at the very moment of his
" Birth; that is, he was consecrated to the Gods, and
" to divine Service; he had likewise some Daughters
" by *Dione*, who are not named. The same *Chronus*
" or *Saturn*, had in *Perea* three Sons, *Chronus*, after
" the Name of his Father, *Zeus-Belus*, and *Apollo* (*b*).

" *Sydic*, or the *Just*, having married one of the *Ti-*
" *tanidæ* we have now mentioned, had a Son by her
" named *Asclepius*." Upon which 'tis proper to re-
mark, before we go any further, that *Sydic*, being, ac-
cording to some Authors, *Shem* the Son of *Noah*, or *U-*
ranus, he must according to *Sanchoniathon*, have passed
over into the Land of *Canaan*, and there married a
Daughter of *Cham*, who is the *Chronus* of this Author.
Asclepius his Son is the only one of *Sydic*'s Children
whom he mentions; for he concerned himself only for
his own Country, which was *Phenicia*, peopled by
Cham and his Descendants.

" He

(*a*) *Eloim* is the plural of *Eloah*, and signifies the Gods. *Cum-berland* renders the word *Chronians*, that is, those of *Chronus*'s Party.

(*b*) M. *Fourmont*, in translating this Passage, seems to be in a mistake, unless it be an error of the Press; for instead of the three Sons *Sanchoniathon* gives *Chronus*, Τρεῖς υἱεῖς, he names four of them, *Chronus*, *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Apollo*; whereas it should be read Ζεὺς-Βῆλος καὶ Ἀπόλλων. *Ref. Crit.* T. 1. p. 16.

" Be that as it will, the Author ſubjoins that theſe were " contemporary with *Pontus*, with *Nereus* (*a*) his Son, " and with *Typhon*. *Pontus* had two Children, a Son " named *Poſeidon* or *Neptune*, and a Daughter called " *Sidon*, who being a charming Singer, was the firſt who " compoſed Odes. *Demaroon* was Father to *Melicer-* " *tus*, otherwiſe called *Hercules* (*b*). Then it was that " *Uranus* engaged in a new War againſt *Pontus*, whom " he deſerted, and joined with *Demaroon*. This laſt " falls upon *Pontus* and is routed by him, ſo that he is " obliged to make a vow to the Gods for his Life. " *Ilus*, that is *Chronos* or *Saturn*, in the thirty-ſecond " Year of his Reign, having laid an Ambuſcade for " his Father *Uranus* in a Thicket watered by Foun- " tains and Rivulets, cut his Privities with the " ſtroke of a Sabre; and in that very place was *Uranus* " deify'd. There it was he gave up the ghoſt, and " there they ſhew the Blood that iſſued from his " Wound, mingled with the Streams: the Place where " this happen'd is ſtill to be ſeen."

Here then (and 'tis a Reflection which *Euſebius* has ſubjoin'd to the Recital of the *Phenician* Author) you have the Hiſtory of *Chronos* or *Saturn*, and what is true Matter of Fact in relation to a Prince, whoſe Reign the *Greeks* have look'd upon as ſo happy, that of it they have made the Golden Age.

After ſome other things, the Author thus goes on (*c*). " *Aſtarte* the Great, *Jupiter Demaroon*, and " *Adodus* the King of Gods, reigned in the Coun- " try, according to the Counſels of *Chronos* or *Saturn*. " *Aſtarte*, as a ſign of her Royalty, ſet upon her Head " that of a Bull. Traverſing the Earth, ſhe found a " Star

(*a*) *Cumberland* by Arguments not eaſily anſwered, proves *Nereus* to be *Japhet*, as may be ſeen in that Piece of his, and in a Remark of the *Engliſh* Authors who have publiſh'd a firſt Vol. of *The Univerſal Hiſtory*.

(*b*) This is the *Phenician Hercules*, the moſt ancient of all, who had a Temple at *Gadira* or *Cadiz*, which was ſtill ſubſiſting in the time of *Silius Italicus*, who ſpeaks of it in his ſecond Book.

(*c*) This laſt Article ſeems greatly intermix'd with *Philo*'s Reflections.

" Star fallen from Heaven (*a*); this ſhe took and con-
" ſecrated in the holy Iſland of *Tyre*. *Aſtarte*, accord-
" ing to the *Phenicians*, is *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. *Chro-*
" *nos* in like manner taking the tour of the Earth, gave
" his Daughter *Athene* the Kingdom of *Attica*. In the
" mean time, Peſtilence and Famine having aroſe,
" *Chronos* offers up to his Father *Uranus* his Son *Sa-*
" *dic*, and circumciſes himſelf, ordering all the Soldiers
" of his Army to do the ſame. Some time after, a Son
" whom he had by *Rhea*, called *Mouth*, was rank'd
" among the Gods. The Name given this Son by
" the *Greeks*, may be rendered in *Greek* Θάνατος, or
" *Pluto*. *Chronos* afterwards gave away two of his
" Cities, to wit, *Byblos* to the Goddeſs *Baaltis* or *Di-*
" *one*, *Beryt* to *Neptune* and to the *Cabiri*, the *Agroti*
" or Labourers, and to the Fiſhers, that is, to the Gods
" called ἁλιεῖς. But before this happened, the God
" *Thaautus* drew the Portraiture of the other Gods, of
" *Saturn* or *Chronos*, of *Dagon*, &c. thence to form
" the ſacred Characters of the Letters. As an Emblem
" of Sovereignty, he gave *Chronos* four Eyes, two be-
" fore and two behind. Of theſe four Eyes two were
" ſhut, while the other two were awake (1). In like
" manner, upon each Shoulder he placed a pair of
" Wings, two of which were expanded, the others re-
" maining in a ſtate of reſt; his Deſign being to re-
" preſent by the Eyes, that *Chronos* when gone to reſt,
" was ſtill awake, and while awake was at reſt; by
" the Wings, that tho' in repoſe he was inceſſantly fly-
" ing, while with that Motion he enjoy'd undiſturb'd
" Tranquillity. To the other Gods he gave only two
" Wings, one upon each Shoulder, to ſhew that they
" were only to be upon the wing to accompany *Chro-*
" *nos*. He likewiſe added to the Figure of *Chronos*
" two Wings more upon the Crown of his Head; the
" one to denote the ſuperiour Wiſdom of his Govern-
" ment, the other to point out the Delicacy of his Sen-
" ſations.

(*a*) An Eagle, as we ſhall ſhew in the Remarks upon this Frag-
ment. (1) Here is the Origin of *Janus*, who was the *Saturn*
of the *Latins*.

" ſations. *Chronos* having gone to the Country of the " South, made over to the God *Thaautus* the full Pro- " perty of the Kingdom of *Egypt*."

After having tranſlated this Fragment, *Philo* of *Byblos* adds, that this Hiſtory was left to the Poſterity of *Sydic*, and that the Son of *Thabion*, that is *Sanchoniathon* himſelf, after he had turned it to Allegory, and interſperſed it with ſome phyſical Ideas about the Origin of the World, had delivered over the Scheme thereof to the Prophets of the *Orgies*.

" The *Greeks*, continues the ſame Tranſlator, who " in refinement of Genius excelled all other Nations, " appropriated every ancient Hiſtory to themſelves, " exaggerated and embelliſhed them, aiming at no- " thing but to amuſe by their Narrations; and hence " they have turned theſe ſame Hiſtories into a quite " new ſhape. Hence it is that *Heſiod* and the other " *Cyclick* Poets have forged Theogonies, Gigantoma- " chies, Titanomachies, and other Pieces, by which " they have in a manner ſtifled the Truth. Our " Ears accuſtomed from our Infancy to their Fic- " tions, prepoſſeſſed with Opinions that have been " in vogue for ſeveral Ages, retain the vain Impreſſion " of thoſe Fables as a ſacred Depoſitum. And becauſe " Time has inſenſibly rivetted thoſe idle Tales in our " Imaginations, they have now got ſuch faſt hold " thereof, that it is extremely difficult to diſlodge them. " Hence it comes to paſs, that even Truth when it is " diſcovered to Men, appears to have the air of Falſ- " hood, while fabulous Narrations, be they ever ſo " abſurd, paſs for the moſt authentic Facts."

Such is the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*. As I ſhall have occaſion in the courſe of this Work to ſpeak of all the Perſonages mentioned by that Author, I ſhall ſubjoin here only a few Reflections.

1. As to the Genuineneſs of this Piece, Authors are greatly divided; ſome maintaining that it is really the *Phenician* Author's, tho' interpolated by *Philo* his Tranſlator, and intermix'd with ſeveral Reflections which are none of *Sanchoniathon*'s,

while the far greater number have always look'd upon it as ſpurious. The celebrated *Cumberland*, and M. *Fourmont* the elder, are the two Writers, who have maintained its Genuineneſs with moſt Strength and Learning. In the latter eſpecially (1) you may ſee the Hiſtory of the Opinions of the Learned upon this Subject, and the Arguments he brings to refute them.

2. It is not to be doubted but *Sanchoniathon* had taken the Idea of his Theogony from Traditions of very great Antiquity, tho' they had been already corrupted by the *Phenicians*, who had mixed Fictions with them; but at the ſame time 'tis evident, that the Author, with a view to gain Credit to Idolatry, has ſaid nothing of the Genealogies before the Deluge, except in the Line of *Cain*, no mention being made of that of *Seth*.

3. The Author is clearer and freer from Interpolations as to thoſe ten firſt Generations, of which we have given the Table, than in relation to thoſe that followed the Deluge, where we find more Confuſion, and leſs Connection; altho' it is eaſy to ſee, he was willing to carry them as far down as to the Family of *Abraham*, and to ſome of his Deſcendants (2).

4. Next to the gaining credit to Idolatry, the Author's main ſcope ſeems to have been, to ſhew who were the Inventors of Arts, wherein he ſometimes agrees with *Moſes*, and at the ſame time to give the Hiſtory of *Apotheoſes*; never failing to point out thoſe, who for uſeful Inventions had been rank'd among the Gods, and honoured with a publick Worſhip.

5. Whence it follows, in the fifth place, that having given to the ſupreme Being little or no ſhare in the Formation of the World, his Coſmogony is a Scheme of Atheiſm (3), and by one of the groſſeſt Contradictions, his Theogony is an extravagrant Sally of Imagination.

6. Allowing thoſe I now mentioned to have been this Author's Deſigns in writing, as 'tis evident they really were, this accounts for his taking no notice of the

(1) *Crit. Reſl.* upon *Anc. Nat.* l. 1. (2) See a Table of them by *M. Fourmont*, l. 1. p. 86. (3) See *Euſ.* Loc. Cit. *Cumberl.* and M. *Fourmont.*

the Deluge, which he undoubtedly knew as well as the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, who have ſpoke of it.

7. Altho' it were even leſs evident than it is, that it was from this *Phenician* Hiſtory the *Greeks* borrow'd their Theogony, as ſhall be ſhewn afterwards, yet the Reflection of *Philo* of *Byblos*, which we have now ſeen at the end of the Fragment, would leave no room to doubt of it.

8. *Euſebius*, to whom we are indebted for this Fragment, maintained that the *Phenician* Coſmogony was a direct Introduction to Atheiſm, as we have remarked in the fifth Reflection; and in this he is followed by the famous *Cumberland*, who juſtly conſidered this Syſtem concerning the Origin of the World, as ſolely deſign'd to apologize for the idolatrous Worſhip paid to different Parts of the Univerſe, and to mere Mortals; *Thaautus* having involved *Sanchoniathon* his Copyer in that groſſeſt of all Pagan Darkneſs, which is to leave out the Supreme Being in the Formation and Government of the World, and having attempted to introduce the Religion of the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, who honoured the Creature inſtead of the Creator. Yet a celebrated Modern (1) contends, that by giving a favourable interpretation to *Sanchoniathon*'s Words, it appears, the *Phenicians* ſuppoſed two Principles, the one a Chaos, darkſome and obſcure, the other a Wind, Πνεῦμα, or rather an Intelligence endued with Goodneſs, which rang'd the World into its preſent Order: and that the *Phenician* Author, by ſaying this Intelligence knew not his own Production, means only that it was eternal, and had never been produced. But this *Phenician* Coſmogony being taken from the Books of *Thaautus*, 'tis proper to ſuſpend our Judgment, till we have given the *Egyptian* Coſmogony and Theogony, which are to be the Subject of the following Chapter.

(1) Cudw. Intel. Syſ.

CHAP. III.

The Theogony of the Egyptians.

THE Apologiſts for Chriſtianity were obliged to ſearch into the earlieſt Antiquity for the Origin of other Religions, and none has laboured herein more ſucceſsfully than *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea*. What precious Remains has he preſerved, which muſt have been deſtroy'd by the Injuries of Time, had not he been at the pains to collect them into his Work? Beſides the celebrated Fragment we have ſpoke of in the former Chapter, we owe to him a great many other Pieces upon the ancient Religion of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and ſeveral other Nations. 'Tis in his Works we can trace by what ſteps Idolatry came to its growth; how various and fluctuating the Opinions of Philoſophers have been about phyſical Principles, and about the Origin of the World in particular. The Fragment we have juſt now tranſcrib'd, has properly a regard to none but the *Phenicians*; but what were the Gods of *Phenicia* but the Gods of *Egypt* (*a*)? And whence had *Greece* hers, according to *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and ſo many others, but from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*? *Sanchoniathon* appears to have copied *Thot*, or *Thaut*: now *Thot* was an *Egyptian*, and the moſt learned Man of his time. We muſt therefore expect to find the Ideas of the *Egyptians* as to the Origin of the World, and of the Gods, to be pretty near the ſame with thoſe of the *Phenicians* we have been now ſpeaking of. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Paſſage I am going to quote, has explained them, without naming however the *Egyptians* in particular; and *Euſebius* ſeems to have copied him (1), tho' the Chapter where he treats of that Subject be intitled, *Of the Coſmogony*

(*a*) We are not here to examine whether the *Egyptians* had their Gods from the *Phenicians*, as ſome learned Men allege, or whether Idolatry paſſed from *Egypt* into *Phenicia*, becauſe it is impoſſible to make the diſcovery, nor would it be of great uſe if we could.

(1) *Euſeb. Præp. Evang.*

Coſmogony of the Greeks. But we know that theſe had it from the *Egyptians.*

In the Beginning, ſays *Diodorus Siculus* (1), the Heavens and the Earth had but one Form, their Natures being blended together; but being afterwards ſeparated, the World aſſumed that orderly Diſpoſition which we now ſee. By the agitation of the Air, the fiery Particles mounted upwards, and gave the Sun, Moon, and other Luminaries their circular Motion. The ſolid Matter ſunk downward, and formed the Earth and the Sea, whence ſprung the Fiſhes and Animals, much after the ſame manner as we ſtill ſee in *Egypt*, Swarms of Inſects and other Animals ſpring from the Earth that has been overflow'd with the Waters of the *Nile*.

Euſebius has well obſerved, that this Syſtem, as well as that of the *Phenicians*, derived from the ſame Original, excludes the Creator from having any hand in the Formation of the Univerſe. In confirmation of his Judgment, he cites a Paſſage of *Porphyry*, who, in his Epiſtle to *Anebo* the *Egyptian* Prieſt, writes that *Chæremon* and others believed there was nothing prior to this viſible World; that the Planets and Stars were the true Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that the Sun was to be reckon'd the Artificer of the Univerſe: and 'tis proper to remark, that this is the amount of that Abſtract of the *Egyptian* Theology, given by *Diogenes Laertius* (2), who had himſelf taken it from *Manetho* and from *Hecataeus*, who before him had ſaid, that Matter was the firſt Principle, the Sun and Moon the firſt Divinities of that ancient People, and adored by them under the Names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*.

'Tis worth remarking, however, that a Modern of great Abilities (3), has done more juſtice to the *Egyptians*, proving from *Euſebius* himſelf, that they believed that an intelligent Being, whom they named *Cneph*, preſided over the Formation of the World. They repreſented this Being, according to *Porphyry*, under the

(1) Diod. *l.* 1. *p.* 6, *and* 7. *Edit. Wechel.* 1604. (2) In Proœmio. (3) *Cudw. Intel. Syſ. p.* 318.

Figure of a Man, holding a Girdle and a Scepter, with magnificent Plumes upon his Head, and out of his Mouth proceeded an Egg, from which, in its turn, proceeded another God whom they named *Phta*, and the *Greeks Vulcan*. They themſelves gave the Explication of this myſterious Figure. The Plumes that overſhadow'd his Head, denoted the hidden inviſible Nature of that Intelligence, the Power he had of communicating Life, his univerſal Sovereignty, and the Spirituality of his Operations. The Egg, which proceeds out of his Mouth, ſignified the World, which is his Workmanſhip. Theſe ſame People ſometimes repreſented the Divinity under the Emblem of a Serpent, with the Head of a Spar-hawk, who by opening its Eyes fills the World with Light, and by ſhutting them covers it with Darkneſs. The Opinion of this modern Author may be confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Jamblicus*, who in the time of *Euſebius*, had apply'd himſelf much to the Study of the ancient *Egyptian* Theology, and he endeavours to make good what *Chæremon* had advanced, that they did not generally believe that an inanimate Nature was the Original of all things; but that in the World, as well as in ourſelves, they owned a Soul ſuperiour to Nature, and the Intelligence who created the World, ſuperiour to the Soul.

Whatever we ſuppoſe to have been the Sentiments of the ancient *Egyptian* Philoſophers, and of *Thaautus* their Maſter, one thing is certain, that their Theogony is an Idolatry of a groſs nature, which was the Original and Source of that of the *Greeks* and ſeveral other Nations, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. And indeed, according to *Socrates*, whoſe Teſtimony is quoted by *Euſebius* (1), the *Egyptians* ſtruck with the view of the Sun and the other Luminaries, imagined them to be the Sovereigns of the World, and the primary Deities who govern'd the ſame. The Sun they ſtiled *Oſiris*, and the Moon *Iſis*. *Oſiris*, ſaid they, ſignifies, *full of Eyes*, or *extremely quick-ſighted: Iſis* is the ſame as παλαία, the Ancient, or the Aged, and this Name was appropriated *to the Moon*, on account of her eternal Birth.

(1) *Præp. Evan.* l. 1. p. 17.

But

But they did not ſtop here: when one has ſet out in the dark, he loſes himſelf in proportion as he advances. *Diodorus Siculus*, who had carefully collected the *Egyptian* Traditions, tells us, their great Gods were Ἥλιος, the Sun, Κρόνος, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, Ζεὺς *Jupiter*, Ἥρα, *Juno*, Ἥφαιστος, *Vulcan*, Ἑστὰ, *Veſta*, Ἑρμῆς, *Mercury*; that they reputed him the laſt, but were not agreed whether the Sun or *Vulcan* had reigned firſt. Here, to mention it by the by, are the eight great Gods of the *Egpptians*, of whom *Herodotus* ſpeaks ſeveral times, tho' he does not name them.

Chronos, continues *Diodorus Siculus* (1), having married *Rhea*, became, according to ſome, the Father of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and according to others, of *Jupiter* and *Juno*. From *Jupiter*, according to the latter, ſprung five other Gods, *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. *Oſiris*, added they, was the ſame with *Bacchus*, *Iſis* the ſame with *Ceres*. *Anubis*, and *Macedo* ſprung from *Apollo*. who accompanied *Oſiris* in his Conqueſts. *Oſiris*, ſetting out on his Expeditions, left in his room *Buſiris* his Brother; upon his return from the *Indies*, *Typhon* aſſaſſinated him, and they deify'd him upon account of his heroic Deeds, and the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, that had been conſecrated to him, were themſelves worſhipped as Divinities. But as in Apotheoſes they frequently changed the Names of the Perſons deify'd, *Oſiris* was called *Serapis*, *Dionyſius*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, *Pan*, &c. *Iſis* his Wife was alſo ranked among the Goddeſſes, and worſhipped under the Names of *Teſmophoros*, of *Selene* or the Moon, of *Hera* or *Juno*, &c. *Orus*, Son to *Iſis*, and the laſt of the Gods, having eſcaped the Ambuſcades of the *Titans*, reigned over *Egypt*, and after his Death was numbered with the Gods; and 'tis he whom the *Greeks* named *Apollo*.

Such, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, is the Coſmogony and Theogony of the *Egyptians*; and 'tis eaſy to ſee that it had been corrupted by the *Greeks*, and adapted to their manner. What we may conclude of them with moſt certainty, is, that this ancient People owned

(1) P. 15.

owned two ſorts of Deities: The Stars, eſpecially the Sun and Moon; and illuſtrious Men, to whom for their good Services they paid a religious Worſhip. But be this Theology drawn from the Books of *Thaut* or *Thot*, or from ſome Tradition preſerved by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, ſtill we are ſure the *Greeks* form'd their Syſtem upon it, as we ſhall ſee in order.

CHAP. IV.

The Theogony of the Atlantidæ.

DIodorus *Siculus* (1) is the only one of the Ancients, by whom we have preſerved the Theogony of the People in the weſtern parts of *Africk*, who were called the *Atlantidæ*: *As theſe People*, ſays he, *relate ſome things concerning the Origin and Birth of the Gods, which have a conſiderable Affinity with what the* Greeks *themſelves ſay of them, 'tis not improper to repeat them.* They valued themſelves, continues our Hiſtorian, upon their being poſſeſſed of a Country that had been the Birth-place of the Gods, and cited for a proof of it, that Place where *Homer* makes *Juno* ſay, ſhe was going to the Extremities of the Earth, to viſit *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, the Father and Mother of the Gods.

Uranus, or *Cælus*, according to them, was their firſt King: he taught his Subjects, who had hitherto wandered without any fix'd Reſidence, to live in Society, to cultivate the Ground, and to enjoy the Bleſſings it offered them. *Uranus* applying himſelf to Aſtronomy, regulated the Year by the Courſe of the Sun, and the Months by that of the Moon; and by calculating the Motions of the Stars he form'd Predictions, whoſe Accompliſhment aſtoniſhed the *Atlantidæ* ſo much, that they believ'd their Prince had ſomewhat divine about him, and after his Deceaſe they inroll'd him among the Gods. *Uranus* had by ſeveral Wives, forty-five Children; *Titæa* alone had brought him eighteen. Theſe laſt, tho' each had a Name of his own, went by the general Deſignation of *Titans*, from that of their Mother.

This

(1) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 189. *Edit. Weſſel.*

This Princeſs, after her Death, received likewiſe divine Honours, and the Earth was called after her Name, as Heaven had been after that of her Husband.

Among the Daughters of *Uranus* and *Titæa*, the two eldeſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Merit and Virtue. The firſt, who was called the Queen by way of Eminence, and who is thought to have been the ſame with *Rhea* or *Pandora*, took great care of the Education of her Brothers and Siſters, and this *Diodorus* remarks to have been the reaſon for calling her the Great Mother. This Princeſs, who had always profeſs'd great Chaſtity, being deſirous at laſt to leave Heirs to her Father, married *Hyperion* her Brother, and by him had two Sons, *Helion* and *Selene*, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their Prudence and Wiſdom, as they were remarkable for their Beauty. Their Uncles, jealous to ſee in *Helion* a Prince ſo perfect, and in *Selene* all the Beauty of her Sex united to the moſt conſummate Wiſdom, and fearing that the Empire might devolve upon them, aſſaſſinated *Hyperion*, and flung *Helion* into the River *Po*: *Selene*, who bore the moſt tender Affection to her Brother, threw herſelf down from the top of the Palace. The Queen ſeeking her Son along the banks of the River, fell aſleep thro' Fatigue and Anguiſh; and ſaw in a Dream *Helion*, who foretold her that the *Titans* were to be puniſhed for their Cruelty, and ſhe and her Children advanced to divine Honours; that the celeſtial Fire by which we are enlighten'd, ſhould henceforth bear the Name of *Helion*, and the Planet formerly called *Mene*, ſhould take the Name of *Selene* (1). *Rhea* waking, related her Viſion, ordered divine Honours to be paid to her Children, commanded that none ſhould ever touch her Body, and on a ſudden, ſeized with an outrageous Madneſs, run all over the Fields with her Hair diſhevell'd, and holding Cymbals in her Hands, whoſe Noiſe mingled with her Howlings, ſpread Terrour wherever ſhe paſs'd. Her Subjects ſeeing their Queen in ſuch a deplorable Condition, were going to ſtop her; but no ſooner had a preſumptuous Hand touch'd

(1) *The Moon.*

touched her, than Heaven gave a Signal in her behalf, and appeared all enflam'd, a violent Rain came pouring down, mingled with Peals of Thunder, and the Queen was ſuddenly ſnatch'd out of ſight. After this Event the *Atlantidæ* confer'd divine Honours upon their Queen, whom they named the Great Mother of the Gods, and worſhipped the two great Luminaries under the Names of *Helion* and *Selene*.

In the mean time the *Titan* Princes, eſpecially *Saturn* and *Atlas*, after the Death of their Father *Uranus*, made a diviſion of his Empire. The weſtern Parts of *Africk* fell to the laſt, who gave his Name to that celebrated Mountain that has ſince been denominated *Mount-Atlas*: And this Prince having entirely devoted himſelf to Aſtronomy and to the Study of the Sphere, gave riſe to the Fiction that this Mountain bore up the Heavens. *Heſperus* was he of his Sons who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt by his Piety and other Virtues; but one day as he had aſcended *Atlas* to ſtudy the Heavens, he was ſnatched away in a Cloud, and to him they aſſigned a Place in the Star that bears his Name, and paid him the ſame Honours that are given to the other Gods.

To *Atlas* were born ſeven Daughters, named the *Atlantidæ*, to wit, *Maia*, *Electra*, *Taygete*, *Aſterope*, *Merope*, *Halcyone*, and *Celæno*. They were all married either to Heroes or Gods; and as ſeveral Nations valued themſelves for having derived their Original from them, hence they came to be placed after their death in the Heavens, where they form the Conſtellation of *Pleiades*.

The *Atlantidæ* were far from making the ſame encomiums on *Saturn*, who ſhared the Empire with his Brother *Atlas*: He was cruel, and extremely avaritious. This Prince having married his Siſter *Rhea*, had by her *Jupiter*, who was ſurnamed *Olympian*. 'Tis true they acknowledged another *Jupiter*, Brother to *Uranus*, and King of *Crete*, but far leſs celebrated than his Nephew, who after he had made a Conqueſt of the World, and *conferred* many Bleſſings upon Mankind, became the *greateſt* of all the Gods.

Such,

Such, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, is the Theogony of the *Atlantidæ*, which bears a conſiderable reſemblance to that of the *Greeks*; tho' 'tis not certain whether theſe had it from thoſe People of *Africa*, or whether they learned it from the *Greeks*. I ſhall make but a few Remarks upon this piece of Hiſtory, becauſe I am to explain this whole Mythology at length, in the Hiſtory of the Gods of *Greece* (1). I obſerve then what is ſurprizing, 1. That *Diodorus* makes no mention of *Neptune*, the Knowledge and Worſhip of whom, according to *Herodotus* (2), came into *Greece* from *Libya*, where he was known and worſhipped from time immemorial. 2. That he ſays as little about *Tritonian Minerva*, whom the Ancients believed to have been born upon the Banks of the Lake *Triton* in *Africk*, and who muſt likewiſe have been known to the *Atlantidæ*. My laſt Remark is, that it appears from the whole of what we have now quoted, that the Worſhip of the Stars, of the Sun and Moon in particular, was the firſt and moſt ancient Religion of theſe, as of every other Nation.

CHAP. V.

The Theogony of the Greeks.

GREECE never had but a very confuſed Idea of the Hiſtory of her own Religion. Devoting herſelf implicitly to her ancient Poets, in this ſo important an Article, ſhe looked upon them as her firſt Divines; while theſe Poets, as *Strabo* judiciouſly remarks (3), whether from ignorance of Antiquity, or from Flattery to the *Greek* Princes, had in complaiſance to them contrived all the Genealogies of their Gods, to make it be believ'd that they were deſcended from them. Thus whenever we meet with any Hero in their Works, we need not trace far back till we find at the head of his Genealogy, a *Hercules*, a *Jupiter*, or ſome other God. That fooliſh humour of laying claim to great Antiquity, betrays itſelf in almoſt every People; but never were any ſo intoxicated with it as the *Greeks*. Thus,

(1) Tom. 2. (2) L. 2. (3) L. 10.

Thus 'tis ſurprizing to ſee them, who could not k
know that they had received ſeveral Colonies from
gypt and *Phenicia*, and by them their Gods and the C
remonies of their Religion, ſtill pretending that th
ſame Gods were either originally from *Greece*, or fr
Thrace, or from *Phrygia*; for this is the amount of t
whole Syſtem of their Poets. Two or three Words
Herodotus, who ſays, that the Gods of the *Greeks* ca
from *Egypt*, are preferable to all that their Poets h
deliver'd upon this Subject.

Be that as it will, we ſhall take a view of their Th
ogony. *Orpheus* and *Heſiod* ſhall be our Vouchers,
'tis plain, the other Poets who came after, have done
more than copied them. 'Tis true, none of *Orpheu*
Works are now extant; but his Sentiments may
gather'd, 1°. From the *Pythagorean* Philoſophers, w
renewed his Doctrine; 2°. From a Manuſcript of *I*
maſcius, intitled, περὶ ἀρχῶν, cited by *Cumberland* (1), a
by *Cudworth* (2); 3°. From an Abſtract of *Orpheu*
Coſmogony, done by *Timotheus*, a Writer on Chron
logy. Theſe are the Sources whence we ſhall borr
the Syſtem of this ancient Poet.

Very different Accounts are given of *Orpheus*'s Th
ology. As it was he who firſt introduced among t
Greeks, the religious Rites of Paganiſm, ſome have
cuſed him of having invented the Names of the Go
and forged their Genealogies; adding, that in this he
been imitated by *Homer* and *Heſiod*. *Damaſcius*, in t
ſame Manuſcript I juſt now quoted, ſays, he rep
ſented one of the Principles of the World, under
Figure of a Dragon, with one Head of a Bull, and
other of a Lion (3), with the Face of a God in
middle, and on his Shoulders Wings of Gold. Ho
ever, notwithſtanding this extravagant Aſſertion,
was looked upon to be a profound Philoſopher, and
Man endued with Inſpiration; and by the help of Al
gory, they found out in this ſame whimſical Devi
the ſublimeſt of Myſteries. Tho' it appears from w

(1) Upon *Sanchoniathon*, l. 2. (2) Intell. Syſt. (3) V. *Cumb*
l. 2. p. 280. 8vo. *Lond.* 1720.

the Ancients have quoted of this Poet, that he is to be conſidered as the Apoſtle of Polytheiſm, yet ſeveral learned Men are perſuaded of his having acknowledged one God, ſupreme and uncreated, the Author of the Univerſe; and they found their Opinion, not only upon that high Eſteem he was in among the Sects of Philoſophers who ſet moſt up for Religion, namely, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*; but alſo becauſe it was probably from his Writings that theſe two Sects derived their Ideas in Philoſophy and Divinity. This Opinion, advantageous for *Orpheus*, has a better Foundation, if credit be given to the Abſtract of *Timotheus*; for we learn from him, that this ancient Poet, in deſcribing the Generation of the Gods, the Creation of the World, and the Formation of Man, had advanced nothing near ſo extravagant as what ſome Authors have laid to his charge. According to that Abridgment, *Orpheus*'s Thegony amounts nearly to this.

In the beginning God formed the Æther, or the Gods, and on every ſide of the Æther there was a Chaos, and Night covered all that was under the Æther: meaning thereby that Night was prior to the Creation; that the Earth was inviſible by reaſon of the Obſcurity that covered it; but that the Light darting thro' the Æther, enlightned the whole World. This is that Light he calls the eldeſt of all Beings, to which an Oracle had given the Names of *Counſel*, *Light*, *Fountain of Life*. *Timotheus* adds, that according to the Doctrine of *Orpheus*, it was by the Power of this Being, all the other immaterial Beings, as alſo the Sun, the Moon, *&c.* were created. That Mankind were form'd of the Earth by the ſame Divinity, and received from thence a reaſonable Soul. In fine, the ſame Author aſſerts, that *Orpheus* had publiſhed another Piece, wherein he taught, that all things had been produced by one ſole God, who had three Names, and that this God was himſelf all things.

But whatever be in that, for it is a very eaſy matter to palm Opinions upon an Author of ſuch Antiquity, and whoſe Writings poſſibly were loſt long before Timotheus

motheus wrote in his behalf; one thing is certain, that the primitive Fathers of the Church preferr'd the Theology of *Orpheus* to that of any other Pagan, whence it ſhould ſeem, if that ancient Poet introduced Polytheiſm, he did it rather in compliance with the groſs Conceptions of thoſe he had a mind to civilize, than that he was convinced of the thing. But what is more particularly obſervable as to the Doctrine of this ancient Poet, is, that he was the firſt who taught the *Greeks* the Doctrine of the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings proceeded (1); an Opinion very ancient, which without doubt he had learned from the *Egyptians*, who, as well as ſeveral other Nations, repreſented the World under this Emblem. The *Phenicians* gave their *Sophaſemim* the form of an Egg, and made uſe of this Repreſentation in their Orgies. The ſame Symbol was employed by the *Chaldeans*, the *Perſians*, the *Indians*, and even the *Chineſe*; and 'tis not improbable that this was the primary Opinion of all thoſe who undertook to explain the Formation of the World.

The *Orphicks*, that is, the Myſteries eſtabliſh'd by *Orpheus*, at leaſt if they be taken according to the Syſtem of *Proclus* the *Platonick* Philoſopher, form likewiſe another kind of Theogony. According to theſe Philoſophers, *Orpheus* believed the Government of the World had not always belonged to the ſame God, but that ſix of them had ſucceſſively contended for it, and wreſted it out of one another's hands. *Phanes* had been inveſted with it in his turn; and this *Phanes* was no other than the *Egyptian Bacchus*, that is to ſay, *Oſiris*.

Now we come to the Theogony of *Heſiod*, of which the following is an Abſtract.

In the beginning was the Chaos; after this, *Terra*, the Earth; then Love, the faireſt of the immortal Gods. *Chaos* engender'd *Erebus* and Night, from whoſe Mixture was born *Æther*, and the Day. *Terra* formed afterwards *Cælus*, or Heaven, and the Stars, the Manſion of the immortal Gods. She likewiſe formed the Mountains, and by her Marriage with *Cælus*, ſhe brought forth *Oceanus*,

(1) *Plut.* in Symp. Macrob. Sat. l. 7. c. 16.

Oceanus, the Ocean, and with him *Cæus*, *Creius*, *Hyperion*, *Iapetus*, *Thea*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phœbe*, *Tethys*, and *Saturn*. She engender'd likewise the *Cyclops*, *Bronte*, *Sterope*, and *Arge*, who forged the Thunder *Jupiter* was armed with. These *Cyclops* resembled the other Gods in every thing, except that they had but one eye in the middle of their Forehead. *Cœlus* and *Terra* had other Children besides, the proud *Titans*, *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, who had an hundred Hands, and fifty Heads. In the mean time *Cœlus* kept his Sons so close shut up, that they were not allowed to see the Day; which was so very afflicting to their Mother *Terra*, that having forged a Scythe, *Saturn* seized it, and lying in ambuscade, surprized *Cœlus* as he was coming to lie with *Terra*, and cut off his Privities. Of the Blood that came from the Wound were form'd the Giants, Furies, and Nymphs; and these same Parts being thrown into the Sea, and mixing with the Foam, gave birth to the beautiful *Venus* who took up her Residence at *Cythera*. Her they named *Aphrodite*, because she was born of the Sea-Foam; *Cyprina*, because it was near the Isle of *Cyprus* she had her Birth; and *Cytherea*, because she came first into the Island of that Name. *Love* and *Cupid* were her inseparable Companions, and this Goddess became the Darling of Gods and Men. In the mean time, *Cœlus* was continually at odds with the *Titans* his Sons, and threatning to punish them.

Farther, Night of herself alone, without the intervention of any other God, brought forth the hateful *Destiny*, and the black *Parca*; Death, Sleep, and Dreams of all sorts; then *Momus*, *Ærumna* or Anxiety, accompanied with Pain and Discontent; the *Hesperides*, who have the keeping of the Golden Apples and of the Trees that bear them on the other side of the Ocean; the three *Parcæ*, or Destinies, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, the unrelenting Goddesses who spin out our Days, always ready to avenge the Crimes of Gods and Men; *Nemesis*, the eternal Bane of Human-kind; Fraud and Friendship; Old-age and Discord, who brought into the World painful Travel, Oblivion, Pes-

tilence * and doleful Sorrows, bloody Battels, Slaughters, Maſſacres, and all the Scenes of human Deſtruction; Quarrels, Diſſenſions, falſe and treacherous Speeches, Contempt of Laws; Knavery, and the Oath that often brings the greateſt Ruin upon the Perjured.

Pontus, from his Commerce with *Terra*, had the juſt *Nereus*, *Thaumas*, *Phorcys*, the beautiful *Ceto* and *Eurybia*. From *Nereus* and *Doris* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, came the *Nereids* (1), to the number of fifty. *Thaumas* wedded *Electra*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, who was Mother of *Iris*, and of the *Harpies*, *Aello*, and *Ocypete* (2). *Phorcys* had by *Ceto*, *Pephredo* and *Enyo*, who got the Name of *Graiæ*, becauſe they had grey Hairs from their Birth; he had likewiſe by the ſame Marriage, the three *Gorgons*, *Stheno*, *Euryale*, and *Meduſa* †, from whoſe Blood, when *Perſeus* had cut off her Head, ſprung the Horſe *Pegaſus* and *Chryſaor*; who having married *Callirhoe*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, had by her *Geryon* with his three Heads. The ſame *Callirhoe* brought forth a Monſter that neither reſembled Gods nor Men, *Echidna*, the one half of whoſe Body was that of a lovely Nymph, the other half, a Serpent, ugly and terrible. Tho' the Gods kept her impriſon'd in a Den in *Syria*, yet ſhe conceived by *Typhon*, *Orcus*, *Cerberus*, the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, the *Chimæra* whom *Bellerophon* ſlew, the *Sphinx* who occaſioned ſo many Diſaſters to *Thebes*, the Lion of *Nemea*, put to death by *Hercules*. *Ceto* had by *Phorcys*, the Dragon that kept the Garden of the *Heſperides*. *Tethys* had by *Oceanus*, all the Rivers, the *Nile*, *Alpheus*, &c. and a great many Nymphs who inhabit the Fountains and Floods. Here the Poet enumerates ſeveral, and ſays, there were three thouſand of them, anſwering to the ſame number of Rivers, all the Offspring of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*. *Thea* had by *Hyperion*, the Sun, the Moon, and the fair *Aurora*; and *Creius*, by his Marrirge with *Eurybea*, *Aſtræus*, *Perſes*, and *Pallas*. *Aſtræus* ‡ having match'd with

* In *Heſiod* λοιμος. (1) Their Names ſhall be given afterwards. (2) *Virgil* adds *Celæno* to the Number. † ἡ μεν εην θνητη, ſays *Heſiod*, but the reſt ἀθαναται. ‡ So in Heſiod.

with *Aurora*, begat the Winds, *Lucifer* that beautiful Morning-Star, and the Stars that adorn the Heavens. From the Conjunction of *Pallas* with *Styx*, the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, were born *Zelus*, fair *Nicé*, Force and Violence, the inſeparable Companions of *Jupiter*; for when this God wanted to be avenged of the *Titans*, and called for all the Gods to his aſſiſtance, *Styx* was the firſt that arrived at *Olympus* with her Sons; which pleaſed *Jupiter* ſo much, that he conferr'd high Honours upon this Goddeſs, loaded her with Preſents, order'd her Name to be uſed in the inviolable Oath of the Gods, and kept her Children with him.

Phœbe had by *Cœus* the charming *Latona*, and *Aſteria*, who was afterwards married to *Perſes*, and became Mother of *Hecate*, whom *Jupiter* honoured above any other Goddeſs, giving her an abſolute Power over Earth, Sea, and Heaven, inſomuch that there is never a Sacrifice or Prayer offered to the Gods without invoking her. She preſides over War, over the Councils of Kings, and beſtows Victory in Battels.

Rhea having united with *Saturn*, had by him illuſtrious Children, *Veſta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Pluto*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter* the Father of Gods and Men; but that God learning from an Oracle deliver'd by *Cœlus* and *Terra*, that one of his Children ſhould dethrone him, he devoured them as *Rhea* brought them forth; which threw her into extremity of Affliction. So that when ſhe was near her time of being delivered of *Jupiter*, ſhe conſulted her Parents to know in what manner ſhe might reſcue him from the Cruelty of his Father, and by their advice ſhe ſecretly withdrew into *Crete*, where ſhe was delivered, and preſented *Saturn* with a Stone wrapp'd about with Swaddling-clothes, which he ſwallowed. *Jupiter* being grown up, delivered *Cœlus*, whom *Saturn* had loaded with Chains. *Cœlus*, in return for his Service, gave him Thunder, whereby he became the Sovereign of Gods and Men.

In the mean time, *Iapetus* having wedded *Clymene* Daughter of *Oceanus*, ſhe brought into the world *Atlas*,

Menetius, the artful *Prometheus*, and the fooliſh *Epimetheus*. *Menetius*, who was defiled with various Crimes, *Jupiter* cruſh'd with a Thunderbolt and ſent down to Hell; *Atlas* he employ'd in propping the Heavens with his Shoulders, in the Country of the *Heſperides*, at the Extremities of the Earth; and *Prometheus* he bound faſt to a Pillar with ſtrong Chains, an Eagle continually preying upon his Liver, which was renew'd every night, as a Puniſhment for putting a Cheat upon the God in a Sacrifice he offered him.

Heſiod after this gives account of the War of *Jupiter* againſt his Father *Saturn* and the *Titans*, over whom the Father of the Gods having gained the Victory, drove them from *Olympus*, and condemned to the Bottom of *Tartarus*, in the Extremities of the Earth, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus*. *Neptune* took the laſt to be his Son-in-law, giving him in Marriage his Daughter *Cymopolia*.

In the mean time, *Terra* having matched with *Tartarus*, brought forth the laſt of her Sons, *Typhon*, on whoſe Shoulders grew an hundred Serpents Heads. Fire flaſh'd from their Eyes, and dreadful Voices iſſued forth from every Mouth. Heaven was in danger, and *Jupiter* himſelf was threatned with the loſs of his Empire; but the God array'd with Thunder, overthrew the preſumptuous Giant, and plung'd him headlong into the bottom of *Tartarus*. This is that *Typhon*, to whom the Winds owe their Original, except *Notus*, *Boreas*, and *Zephyrus*, who are the Offspring of the Gods (*a*).

Jupiter, now eſtabliſhed in the peaceful Poſſeſſion of *Olympus*, and in Dominion over the Gods, took to Wife *Metis* (1), a Goddeſs who ſurpaſſed all, both Gods and Men, in Knowledge. But when ſhe was about to be delivered of *Minerva*, *Jupiter* inform'd that ſhe was to have a Son, for whom the Sovereignty of the Univerſe was ordain'd, ſwallowed the Mother and the Child, that he might learn from her Good and Evil. After this he married *Themis*, who brought forth the Seaſons, *Eunomia*, *Dice*, *Irene*, and the three Deſtinies, *Clotho*, *Lacheſis*,

(*a*) The South, North, and Weſt Winds. (1) Prudence.

Lachesis, and *Atropos*. He had likewise by *Eurynone* Daughter of *Oceanus*, the three Graces, *Aglaia*, *Euphrosyne*, and *Thalia*; and by *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* carried off. Being enamour'd of *Mnemosyne*, he made her Mother to the nine Muses. *Latona* bore him *Apollo* and *Diana*. In fine, his last Wife was *Juno*, who made him Father to *Hebe*, *Mars*, and *Lucina*. She also brought forth *Vulcan*, but at the moment of his Birth she fell out with her Husband, who had none upon his side but the sage *Minerva*, having produced her from his Brain.

Neptune had by *Amphitrite*, *Triton*; and *Venus* had by *Mars*, *Terrour* and *Fear*, who accompany this God in Battles, and the fair *Harmonia* the Wife of *Cadmus*. *Maia*, Daughter of *Atlas*, became Mother to *Mercury* by *Jupiter*, who had likewise *Bacchus* by *Semele*, *Cadmus*'s Daughter, and *Hercules* by *Alcmena*. *Vulcan* married *Aglaia*, the youngest of the *Graces*; *Bacchus*, *Ariadne* Daughter of *Minos*; and *Hercules*, after his Deification, the youthful *Hebe*, Daughter to *Jupiter* and *Juno*. The fair *Perseis* bore to the Sun, *Circe*, and *Æetes*, who by the Advice of the Gods wedded the charming *Idyia*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, by whom he had *Medea*.

After this Account of the Genealogies of the Gods, *Hesiod* takes notice of the Children born by Goddesses to mortal Men, who were adopted into the number of the Gods. *Ceres* became Mother of *Plutus*, the God of Riches. *Harmonia*, *Venus*'s Daughter, had by *Cadmus*, *Ino*, *Semele*, *Agave*, and *Autonoe*, who married *Aristæus* and *Polydorus*. *Chrysaor* had by the beautiful *Callirhoe* Daughter of *Oceanus*, the gigantick *Geryon*, who was worsted by *Hercules*. *Aurora* bore to *Tithonus*, *Memnon* King of *Egypt* *, and *Hemathion*; and to *Cephalus Phaeton* (*a*), who was so dear to *Venus*. *Jason* having married *Medea*, *Æetes*'s Daughter, by her had *Medus*. *Psamathe*, one of the *Nereids*, marrying

* *Hesiod* calls him King of the *Æthiopians*.

(*a*) Not the same whom *Ovid* speaks of, *Met.* l. 2. and who was the Son of *Sol* and *Clymene*.

Æacus, became Mother to *Phocus*. *Thetis*, *Peleus*'s Spouſe, bore him a Son *Achilles*; and *Anchiſes* had by *Venus* the pious *Æneas*, in the Woods of Mount *Ida*. *Circe*, Daughter to the Sun, had by *Ulyſſes Agrius* and *Latinus*. Laſtly, *Calypſo* brought the ſame *Ulyſſes* two Sons *Nauſithous* and *Nauſinous*.

Such is the Theogony of the *Greeks*; a monſtrous Compoſition of Hiſtory and Fables, where we ſee every moment Phyſicks of a groſs nature, blended with diſtorted Traditions; natural Generations mix'd with metaphorical ones; Names plainly allegorical along with thoſe that are real; the whole collected by *Heſiod*, in a kind of Poem, that has neither Art, Invention, nor any Charm, unleſs it be a few ſplendid Epithets with which he has ſet it off. I judg'd it neceſſary however to give an account of it, as being the Foundation of the *Greek* Fables, which I explain in the courſe of this Work.

Ariſtophanes, the ſame whom *Plato* in his Banquet, as was obſerv'd (1), brings in delivering the Fable of the *Androgyni*, has alſo wrought into his Comedy of the Birds, the Subſtance of the *Greek* Theogony and Coſmogony, with more Method and Perſpicuity than *Heſiod*.

In the Beginning, as he makes one of his Actors ſpeak, were the *Chaos*, the black *Erebus*, and the vaſt *Tartarus*; but as yet there was neither Earth, nor Air, nor Heavens. *Night*, with her ſable Wings, laid the firſt Egg in the wide Womb of *Erebus*, whence ſprung after ſome time Beneficent *Love*, adorn'd with golden Wings. From the Union of *Love* with *Chaos*, aroſe Men and Animals. Farther, the Gods had not a Being till all things were mingled together by Love; but from this Commixtion were engender'd the Heavens and the Earth, as well as the Race of the immortal Gods.

This Theogony, inſerted in a Comedy by way of Deriſion, undoubtedly made a Part of ſome ancient Syſtem, whoſe Author is not known. But let that be as it will; to return to *Heſiod*, it appears from his other Works,

(1) Chap. I.

Works, that the Men of the Golden Age became Demons, Δαίμονες, or good *Genii*: Theſe, according to him, are the Guardians of Men, the Earth having fallen to their lot. Thoſe of the Silver Age were changed into *Manes*, or ſubterraneous *Genii*, happy tho' mortal; as if there could poſſibly be Happineſs without Immorality. Thoſe of the Braſen Age went down to the infernal Regions. In fine, thoſe of the Heroick Age took poſſeſſion of the Fortunate Iſlands, or the *Elyſian* Fields, ſituated at the Extremities of the World.

There is yet a fourth *Greek* Theogony may be drawn from an Author very ancient, if it be true, that it was follow'd by *Pronapides Homer*'s Preceptor, as is alledg'd by *Boccace* (1), from a Fragment of *Theodontius*, which probably was extant in his Time. According to this ancient Theogony, the moſt reaſonable of all, there was but one ſole God the Eternal, by whom all the other Gods were produced. It was not allowed to give any Name to this firſt Being (*a*), and none was able to declare his Nature. *Anaxagoras* thought he gave ſome Definition of him in calling him the *Mind* (2). However as the moſt ſimple Ideas have thro' Time been altered, *Lactantius* a Scholiaſt upon *Statius* calls this Sovereign Being *Daimogorgon*, as the Author I have quoted does after *Theodontius*; a Name which imports the *Genius* of the Earth, and which, by the Deſcription they give of this God, as ſhall be ſeen in its Place, anſwers but indifferently to the Idea the firſt Philoſophers form'd of him. For, in a word, and it is worth our noticing, the Poets, who were the firſt Theologiſts of *Greece*, have if I may ſpeak ſo, turn'd their own Ideas into Perſons, and compos'd Theogonies each in his own Way; but they ſeem always to ſuppoſe a Being truely independent. They are even moſtly agreed upon an Eternity, an *Ontogony* or Generation of Beings, ſome of them celeſtial, others terreſtrial or infernal; but *Demogorgon* and *Achlys* in their Syſtem have a Being before the

(1) Geneal of the Gods, L. 1. C 3.

(*a*) *Et triplicis mundi ſummum, quem ſcire nefaſtum eſt,*
Illum. ſed tacco —— ſays *Statius*, Theb. L. 4. v. 516.

(2) Νοῦς.

the World, even before *Chaos* itſelf. Their *Acmon*, their *Hypſiſtus*, have an exiſtence before Heaven, whom the *Latins* call *Cælus*, and the *Greeks Ouranos*. Nay more, according to them, *Terra*, *Tartarus* and *Love* were prior to *Cælus*, ſince *Heſiod* we ſee makes him even the Son of *Terra*. *Acmon* is taken for the Father of *Cælus*, by *Phornutus*, *Heſychius*, and *Simmias* of *Rhodes* his Scholiaſt; and the ſame *Acmon* is the Son of *Manes*, in *Polyhiſtor* and in *Stephanus*. *Cælus* was firſt Father to the *Hecatoncheires*, next to the *Cyclops*, then to the *Titans* and *Saturn*, who in his turn became Father to the other Gods. Next came the Earth-born Giants, and the laſt of them is *Typhon*. After the Gods and Giants, quite different as we ſee from the *Titans*, who were the Gods of the Race of *Cælus*, came the Demi-Gods, from the Commerce of Gods with Women, or of Goddeſſes with Men.

In a word, the *Greeks* conſider'd all thoſe as Gods, who had liv'd from the beginning of the World, till their ſuppoſed Diviſion of the Univerſe between *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*; that is, if we would reconcile Fables with Hiſtory, till the time of *Phaleg* and *Nimrod*. They had but a very confuſed Knowledge of the firſt Times, which has happen'd to them in common with all the Nations that preſerv'd ancient Annals, ſuch as the *Egyptians*, the *Chineſes*, &c. It is eaſy to ſee, that they have only diſguiſed the true ancient Tradition which *Moſes* alone has preſerv'd, and that they have thereby fallen into the moſt monſtrous Errors, of which the following is a very authentick Example, that may ſuffice for the preſent.

We find in the Text of the *Septuagint*, that the Giants came from Angels embracing the Daughters of Men: This Opinion has alſo been followed by the moſt ancient Interpreters of Scripture; as alſo by *Philo*, *Joſephus*, S. *Juſtin*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, &c. It has been adopted by ſeveral learned *Rabbis*, and is ſtill generally receiv'd by all the *Mahometans*. Was not this a ſufficient Handle for thoſe who were acquainted with this Tradition, to ſay the Gods had been enamour'd

mour'd of mortal Women, and had Children by them? The Angels in Scripture are ſtiled Sons of God, ſo that it is probable, the Gods of *Greece* were form'd upon the Idea of the Angels good and bad: Thence proceeded the *Egregores* of the *Hebrews*, the *Annedots* of the *Chaldeans*, the *Gennes*, in ſhort, the *Genii*, the *Æons*, the *Archontes*, the *Titans*, the *Giants*, and all the Gods or Demi-Gods of Paganiſm.

The Book of *Enoch*, no doubt, contributed a great deal to the adopting that Opinion of the Angels having been familiar with the Daughters of Men. This Work is certainly ſpurious, but withal it is very ancient, ſince it was known to the Apoſtles, by whom it is cited. Thus *Dodwel* and Father *Pezron* were in the wrong to call its Antiquity in queſtion, merely becauſe the *Greeks* were Strangers to it, as if they had been acquainted with all the ancient Books before they had them tranſlated in their own Language.

But now that we are fallen upon this Article, it will not be amiſs that we give ſome ſhort account of the Book, and then lay open the Origin of the Fable it contains, which *Philaſtrius* ranks in the Number of the Hereſies.

When Men had multiply'd, ſays the Author, they had Daughters of an exquiſite Beauty, ſo amiable that the *Egregores*, or the Guardian Angels, conceived a violent Paſſion for them. They came down from Heaven, alighted upon Mount *Hermon*, join'd in League together, and bound themſelves by Oath to ſtand by one another. After this, having embrac'd theſe Virgins, they conceiv'd the Giants, and the *Nephelim*, Sons of the Giants, from whom came the *Eliud*.

The Author names twenty of theſe leading Angels, who taught Men ſeveral Arts, eſpecially the pernicious Art of Magick, and the Uſe of Arms. To which he adds, that God ſeeing what horrid Enormities the Giants and their Sons committed, ſent down to the Earth *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael* and *Uriel*. *Michael* the Archangel ſeiz'd *Semixas* the Head of theſe Rebel-Angels, bound him with *his Aſſociates*, and condemn'd them

them to the loweſt Parts of the Earth, where they are reſerv'd to the day of their Judgment. After this he ſowed Diſſenſion among their Children, who extirpated one another.

I explain this Fable in the Article of the Giants (1). It is founded merely upon a Phraſe in Scripture not well underſtood, and upon an Ambiguity: The firſt Interpreters finding in *Job* the Epithet *Son of God* aſcrib'd to the Angels, apply'd it likewiſe to the Angels in the Paſſage in *Geneſis*, where it is only the Sons of *Seth* are meant, who are deſign'd Sons of God in oppoſition to the Deſcendants of *Cain*: *Videntes filii Dei filias hominum*, &c (2). Theſe being ſmitten with the Beauty of the Daughters of *Cain*'s Race, match'd with them, had Sons by them, who became terrible more for the Enormity of their Crimes than of their Stature; for the word *Nephelim*, applied to them in *Geneſis*, ſignifies equally Giants, or Perſons diſſolute and immoral in their Lives.

But paſſing that, I ſhall only borrow a Reflection from M. *Fourmont*, who may be conſulted on this Article (3), wherein he takes the Names of the twenty Apoſtate Angels from the fictitious Book of *Enoch*, and explains them with Erudition. The Reflection is, that the Author of this Book introduces five ſorts of Perſonages. 1. Men, of the Seed of *Adam*. 2. The *Egregores*, or Angels of Heaven. 3. The Giants, ſprung from the *Egregores*. 4. The *Nephelim*, Sons of the Giants. 5. The *Eliud*, Sons of the *Nephelim*. In which this Author ſeems to correſpond with *Heſiod*, in whoſe Theogony we find theſe five Claſſes, with little Variation, as has been remark'd.

I ſhould no doubt be cenſured, if, after what I have ſaid in this Chapter concerning *Heſiod* and *Orpheus*, and ſome other *Greek* Poets, I ſhould take no notice of *Homer*, who, in both his Poems, has, with ſo much *Apparatus*, employ'd the ſame Gods with *Heſiod* and *Or-*

(1) See the Hiſtory of *Jupiter*, Vol. IV. (2) Gen. c. 6. v. 2.
(3) *Reſl.* Crit. L. 2. S. 2.

crated for poſſeſſing ſuch Qualities, made theſe things be thought worthy of them after their Conſecration.

In a word, the Men whom they deify'd, had a ſhare both of divine Perfection and human Weakneſs: Thus 'twas the Poet's buſineſs to repreſent them in both theſe Lights; and hence we find ſuch a mixture in his Characters of Grandeur with Meanneſs, Strength with Weakneſs, Majeſty with Abjectneſs, ſhining Virtues with ſcandalous Vices.

From what I have juſt been ſaying it appears, that the *Greeks* had ſeveral Theogonies, and that they had digeſted into a Syſtem the Theology they derived from the Eaſtern People. With the *Romans* the Caſe was quite otherwiſe: Content with the Religion of the *Greeks*, and other Nations whom they conquer'd, they borrowed their Divinities, Worſhip, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Prieſts, Feſtivals, in a word, the whole *Apparatus* which Idolatry drew after it, without once having a Thought of reducing ſo fantaſtical a Religion into a Syſtem; and the moſt idolatrous City in the World was the leaſt concerned about the Hiſtory of its Gods. *Cicero* indeed, in his Treatiſe of the Nature of the Gods, gives ſome of their Genealogies; but ſince, for the moſt part, his Notions are borrowed from the Writings of the *Greeks*, and he only reaſons upon the Subject like an *Academick*, this Piece of his is not to be looked upon as a Syſtem of Theology.

Here I might take occaſion to conſider the different Opinions of the *Platonick* Philoſophers, with reſpect to their Gods, and to what the Ancients thought of them; but beſides that this Queſtion would carry me too far from my purpoſe, the Reflections I make upon that Article at the end of the Treatiſe of Idolatry, are ſufficient to make it clear. After all, what elſe can we conclude from theſe different Hypotheſes laid down by *Celſus*, *Jamblichus*, *Porphyry* and others; but that theſe Philoſophers, in order to take off from the Abſurdity and Groſſneſs of reigning Idolatry, and at the ſame time get clear of the Objections in which the primitive Fathers of the Church triumph'd, endeavoured to al-

egorize a monſtrous Syſtem; but theſe Allegories, hich had no other Foundation but their own Fancy, re quite remote from the Thoughts of thoſe who firſt oke of the Gods and their Generations.

CHAP. VI.

The Coſmogony and Theogony of Ovid.

AST of all, *Ovid*, that faithful Imitator of the Poets who went before him, has given us a oſmogony at the beginning of his Metamorphoſes. "Before the Formation, ſays he, of the Sea, the Earth and the all-ſurrounding Heavens, univerſal Nature had but one Appearance. That confuſed Maſs, that inſignificant uſeleſs Heap, wherein the Principles of all Beings were promiſcuouſly blended together, is what was called *Chaos*. As yet there was no Sun to enlighten the World, no Moon to perform her various Changes; the Earth ſelf-balanced was not yet ſuſpended in the Air; the Sea had no bounding Shores; Earth, Air and Water were jumbled together; Earth without Solidity, Water not fluid, Air without Light: All was Darkneſs and Confuſion. No Body had its proper Form, and each of them was an Incumbrance to another; Cold combating with Heat, Moiſt with Dry; the hard Bodies encounter'd thoſe that made no reſiſtance, and the Heavy and the Light juſtled together. God, or Nature herſelf, parted the whole Strife, by ſeparating the Heavens from the Earth, the Earth from the Waters, and the *Æther*, or purer Air, from the more groſs. The *Chaos* being thus diſentangled, every Body had its own proper Place allotted to it, God eſtabliſh'd the Laws of their future Union. Fire, which is the lighteſt of the Elements, poſſeſs'd the highest Region; the Air occupy'd a Place beneath the Fire, correſponding to its Lightneſs; the Earth, unwieldy as it was, became pois'd and balanc'd, and the Water ſunk down to the loweſt Situation.

"After

" After this firſt Diſtribution, that God, whoever " he was, form'd the Earth into a Globe, and ſpread " the Seas over its Surface; he gave the Winds per- " miſſion to agitate the Waters, without ſuffering the " Waves however to paſs the Bounds preſcrib'd them. " Then he form'd the Fountains, the Pools, the Lakes " and Rivers, to water the Earth, confining them with- " in their Banks.------At his Command the Plains were " extended, the Trees clothed with Leaves, the Moun- " tains lifted up their heads, and the Valleys ſunk down- " ward."

Ovid, after he has deſcrib'd this orderly Diſpoſition, ſpeaks of the five Zones, two frigid, two temperate, and one ſcorched with Heat, which is the torrid Zone. He alſo takes notice of the Winds, and marks out the Places whence they blow. Then, having mention'd the Aerial Regions, where Hail, Thunder and Lightnings are form'd, he thus goes on:

" So ſoon as the various Bodies of the Univerſe were " confin'd within their reſpective Bounds, the Conſtel- " lations, till then ſhut up in the ſhapeleſs Maſs of " *Chaos*, began to ſhine. And, in fine, that every Re- " gion might be ſtored with animated Beings, the Stars, " theſe Images of the Gods, were ſet in the Heavens; " the Fiſhes inhabited the Waters; the four-footed " Beaſts got the Earth to dwell in, and the Air be- " came the Manſion of the Gods.

" There was yet wanting in the World a Being of " greater Perfection, one who might be endued with a " more exalted Soul, and ſo qualify'd to maintain Do- " minion over the reſt. Man was form'd: Whether " the Author of Nature made him of that Divine " Seed which is proper for him, or of that Celeſtial " Principle, which the new-made Earth, but juſt diſ- " join'd from Heaven, ſtill contain'd in its Boſom. " *Prometheus* having mix'd ſome of that Earth with " Water, moulded it into a Man after the Likeneſs of " the Gods; and whereas all the other Animals have " their Heads groveling downwards, Man alone lifts " *his* towards Heaven, and looks up to the Stars.

'Thus a Bit of Earth, which was nothing at firſt but 'a ſhapeleſs Maſs, became the Figure of a Being till 'then unknown in Nature."

Reflections upon the different Theogonies of the Greeks.

SUCH are the different Coſmogonies and Theogonies of the *Greeks*, upon which I ſhall make the following Remarks.

As for the Syſtem of *Orpheus*, we are not able to judge from the little we know of it, what part he allow'd the Deity in the Formation of the World; and if we have not ſufficient Ground to believe his Sentiments to have been the ſame with thoſe of the more enlighten'd Poets and Philoſophers who came long after him, ſuch as the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonicks*, as little have we reaſon to confound his Opinion with that of *Sanchoniathon*, far leſs with the Syſtem of *Diodorus Siculus*, who makes Men at firſt to have been propagated much after what the *Egyptians* falſely believe to be the manner of producing Inſects after the Overflowings of the *Nile*.

Each of theſe Syſtems ſuppoſes, that Love united the different Principles the *Chaos* was made up of, and that all Beings ſprung from this Union: But what elſe is this Love, but the natural Union of Homogeneous Bodies? And tho' the Authors of theſe extravagant Opinions have made a Perſon of it, we plainly ſee it is only a figurative one that never exiſted out of their own Imagination. The Creation is a Myſtery beyond the reach of Human Reaſon. The Generality of the Philoſophers, who could never comprehend how Something could be made of Nothing, had adopted that Axiom, *Ex nihilo nihil, et in nihilum nil poſſe reverti*. Thus ſeeing the admirable Structure of the Univerſe, which they aſcrib'd either to a Being ſuperiour to Nature, or moſt frequently to Nature herſelf, they always ſuppoſed a pre-exiſtent Matter, but lying in confuſion, and without form, till it was diſentangled; and not knowing on whom to confer the Glory of having ſettled the Order that now *reigns in the* World, they contrived

their

their Love, which is nothing but the Chaos that r
from the mere Mixture of Bodies.

Ovid, who was not born till eight hundred Ye
the *Hefiod* or thereabouts, where in like him, his
Work the Metamorphoſes with a *Chaos*; but he
nam him in nothing elſe: For as to the Manner o
forming this *Chaos*, he differs entirely from the
Poet. I don't find he makes Love have any co
in the Operation; but as an Agent was wanting,
at a loſs whom to pitch upon, and his Subſtance ap
in this Verſe (1),

Hanc Deus & melior litem Natura diremit.

And again (2),

In vacuo diſpoſuit, cuſpidi ſua nil Dirimat,
Congeriem ſecuit, &c.

Here then is the *Chaos* and the Ether ſo much
by the Poets, the firſt Notion of which ſeems to h
ken from *Sanchoniathon*, who had himſelf no c
borrow'd it either from theſe Words of *Moſes* (3),
ra autem erat inanis & vacua, & Tenebræ erant
faciem Abyſſi; or rather from the Traditions diſp
through the Country where this *Phœnician* Autho
lived, and that were of greater Antiquity than the
tings of the ſacred *Jewiſh* Legiſlator.

I am far from being able to find, with ſome le
Men, a great Conformity between this Traditic
the Creation of the World, and what *Sanchonia*
Heſiod and *Ovid* have wrote about it; but I am r
far prepoſſeſs'd, as not to believe they have form'
Idea of their *Chaos* upon it. As to the reſt, no
can be more different. They are lively Genius's,
from a ſingle Hint, gave full ſcope to their Ir
nation, which no ſooner abandon'd the guidan
Reaſon, than it loſt itſelf in the unbounded Regi
Fictions. But a ſhort Compariſon of the Beginni
Geneſis with *Heſiod*'s Theogony will ſhew the R
wherein they either correſpond or differ.

I ſay nothing of the Creation; it is what neithe
ſiod nor any profane Author knew any thing of.

(1) *Met.* L. 1 v. 21. (2) ib. v. 32. (3) Gen. c. 1. v.

ſes begins with telling us, that *the Earth was void, and Darkneſs was ſpread over the Face of the Abyſs. Heſiod* ſays, the *Chaos* was before all things; then the ſpacious Earth, the Manſion of the Immortal Beings, and *Tartarus* far remote from thence. *Moſes* adds, *And the Spirit moved upon the Waters; & Spiritus ferebatur ſuper aquas. Heſiod*, on the contrary, immediately after what I have taken out of him, ſpeaks of *Love*, the moſt beauteous and amiable of the Immortals, who expels and drives away Cares from the Heart of Gods and Men. The next thing *Moſes* tells us is, that God ſaid, *Fiat lux, & lux facta eſt*; *Let there be Light, and there was Light:* Words which a profane Author (1) thinks ſo ſublime. *Heſiod* ſays likewiſe, that from the Night ſprung the *Æther* and the *Day*. The *Jewiſh* Legiſlator goes on to tell us, that God made the Firmament, *& fecit Deus firmamentum*; and that he divided the Waters that were above the Firmament from thoſe that were under it. To which he immediately ſubjoins, that God commanded the Waters that were under the Heaven to be gathered together into one Place, and that he called this Collection of Waters the Sea, and that part of the Earth which by this means became dry was called *Dry-land*, *& vocavit Deus aridam terram, congregationeſque aquarum appellavit maria.* The Author of the Theogony correſponds with him in this too pretty much: The Earth, ſays he, at firſt brought forth Heaven with the Stars, and by her Union with Heaven ſhe had the Ocean. But in what follows the profane Author loſes himſelf; and let one be ever ſo prejudiced in his favour, yet I hardly think it poſſible to trace any Reſemblance between him and *Moſes*.

Ovid diſplays the Formation of the World in another manner, and his Deſcription bears no ſimilitude to that of *Heſiod*, as has been obſerv'd. But there is one thing worth our remarking, namely, that he conſiders Man as the laſt Production of the Author of Nature; in which he comes nearer to *Moſes* than any other Pagan Author. Another great Stroke of Reſemblance is

(1) Longinus.

where he ſays, Man was formed of Clay mix'd with Water; but who that *Prometheus* was, whom he makes the Author of ſo fine a Work, is not eaſy to conjecture. The Poet who thus far aſcribes the Diſpoſition of the Univerſe either to God or Nature, when he comes to the Formation of Man, makes a *Prometheus* appear, of whom he had not ſaid one word before (*a*). *Heſiod* indeed mentions *Prometheus*, but he does not honour him as *Ovid* has done with the forming of Man. Beſides, that Breath of Life, with which the Poets ſay *Minerva* animated *Prometheus*'s Work, is plainly copied from the Words of *Moſes*, who ſays, *that God having form'd Man of the Clay, breath'd into him a Breath of Life* (1), *Inſpiravit in faciem ejus ſpiraculum vitæ.*

CHAP. VII.

The Theogony of the Chineſe *and* Indians.

THE *Chineſe* began to improve Letters from the earlieſt times of their Monarchy, at leaſt from the Reigns of *Yao* and *Chun*, who lived upwards of two thouſand two hundred Years before Jeſus Chriſt. 'Tis a common Opinion, and univerſally received by thoſe who have gone fartheſt in inveſtigating the Origin of a People of ſuch unqueſtionable Antiquity, that the Sons of *Noah* were diſperſed over the eaſtern parts of *Aſia*, and that there were ſome of them who penetrated into *China*, a few ages after the Deluge, and there laid the firſt Foundations of the oldeſt Monarchy we know in the World. 'Tis a thing not to be denied, that theſe firſt Founders, inſtructed from a Tradition not very remote from its Source, in the Greatneſs and Power of the firſt Being, taught their Poſterity to honour this ſovereign Lord of the Univerſe, and to live agreeably to the Principles of that Law of Nature he had engraved on their Hearts. Their claſſical Books, ſome of them written even in the time of the two Emperors juſt named, leave no room to doubt of it. There are

five

(*a*) For this *Prometheus*, we refer to what is to be ſaid on the *Hiſtory of Jupiter*, Vol. 2. (1) Gen. ii. ver. 7.

five of theſe Books among them, they call the *Kink*, for which they have an extreme Veneration. Tho' theſe Books contain only the fundamental Laws of the State, and don't directly meddle with Religion, their Author's Intention having been to ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire; yet they are very proper to inform us what was the Religion of that ancient People, ſince we are told in every Page, that in order to compaſs that Peace and Tranquillity, two things were neceſſary to be obſerved, the Duties of Religion, and the Rules of a good Government. It appears thro' the whole, that the firſt Object of their Worſhip was one Being, the ſupreme Lord and Sovereign Principle of all things, whom they honoured under the name of *Changti*, that is, Supreme Emperor, or *Tien*, which in their Language is of the ſame import. *Tien*, ſay the Interpreters of theſe Books, is the Spirit who preſides over Heaven. 'Tis true, the ſame Word often ſignifies among the *Chineſe*, the material Heavens, and now ſince Atheiſm has been for ſome ages introduced among their *Literati*, it is reſtricted to that Senſe; but in their ancient Books they underſtood by it, the Lord of Heaven, the Sovereign of the World. In them there is mention, upon all occaſions, of the Providence of *Tien*, of the Chaſtiſements he inflicts upon the bad Emperors, and of the Rewards he diſpenſes to the good. They likewiſe repreſent him as one, who is flexible to Vows and Prayers, appeaſed by Sacrifices, and who diverts Calamities that threaten the Empire, with a thouſand other things which can agree to none but an intelligent Being. To convince us of this, we need but read the Extracts which Father *Halde* has taken from theſe ancient Books, in the ſecond Volume of his large Hiſtory of *China*, and what he farther ſays in the beginning of the third.

The fear of being tedious, and of wandering from my purpoſe, may juſtify me in not copying him; but one can't forbear concluding with him, after the long Detail he makes, that it appears from the Doctrine of the ſtandard *Chineſe* Books, that from the

Foundation of the Empire by *Fo-hi*, and for a long tract of Ages, the Supreme Being, known among them under the Name of *Changti*, or of *Tien*, was the Object of publick Worſhip, and that they looked upon him to be the Soul, as it were, and the *Primum Mobile* of their National Government; that this firſt of Beings was feared, honoured, and revered; and that not only the Emperors, who at all times have been the Leaders and Prieſts of their Religion, but the Grandees of the Empire, and the Vulgar, knew they had a Lord and Judge above them, who knows how to reward thoſe who obey him, and to puniſh Offenders.

It is certain, that if in theſe ancient Books. Proofs are to be found of the Knowledge the *Chineſe* had of the ſupreme Being, and of the religious Worſhip they have paid him for a long ſeries of Ages, it is no leſs certain that no footſteps are there to be ſeen of an idolatrous Worſhip. But this will appear leſs ſurprizing when we conſider, 1. That Idolatry ſpread it ſelf thro' the World but ſlowly, and ſtep by ſtep; and that having probably taken its riſe in *Aſſyria*, as *Euſebius* alledges, where there was not even the appearance of an Idol till long after *Belus*, or according to others in *Phenicia*, or in *Egypt*, it could not have made its way ſo ſoon into *China*, a Nation that has ever been ſequeſtred from others, and ſeparated by the great *Indies* from the Center of Idolatry.

2. That there was always in *China* a ſupreme Court (1), to take care of the Affairs of Religion, which with the utmoſt exactneſs kept a watchful eye over their principal Object. Thus it was no eaſy matter to introduce new Laws and new Ceremonies among a People ſo much attached to their ancient Traditions. Beſides, as the *Chineſe* have always been accuſtomed to write their Hiſtory with great care, and have Hiſtorians contemporary with all the Facts they relate, they would never have failed to take notice of what Innovations had happen'd in Religion, as they have done at great length, when the Idol *Fo* and his Worſhip were introduced. Such

(1) The Court of Rites.

Such was the eſtabliſhed Religion of *China*, in the firſt Ages of their Empire: I call it eſtabliſhed Religion, becauſe the Vulgar continued to acknowledge ſubaltern Spirits who watched over the Towns and Fields, and to them they uſed to pay a ſuperſtitious Worſhip, to pray to them for Health, Succeſs in their Affairs, and plentiful Harveſts. There were intermixed with this Worſhip ſeveral ſuperſtitious Uſages, that had ſomething of the nature of Magick, to which that People has always been ſtrongly addicted: But this was not the Religion of the State, and the Uſages of that kind have always been condemned by the Court of Rites, tho' frequently ſome of the *Mandarins*, of whom it was compos'd, were themſelves tinctured with them.

Thus, to ſpeak accurately, the *Chineſe* have not what we call a Theogony or Coſmogony. Their Philoſophers ſolely attach'd to Morality, Politicks, and Hiſtory, have always neglected Natural Philoſophy; and we don't find in their Writings, thoſe I mean of the Ancients, the Syſtems ſo well known in *Europe*, in *Egypt*, and in ſome Parts of *Aſia*, about the Formation of the World, and the Bodies it is made up of, or about the Gods, of whom we have ſo many Genealogies (*a*). I ſaid their ancient Philoſophers, becauſe the modern ones, who attempted to give ſome kind of Coſmogony, have fallen into an Atheiſm reſembling that of *Strato* and *Spinoza*.

We can as little find that they ſpoke clearly about the Soul, of which they don't appear to have had a diſtinct Idea. However, we can be in no doubt of their believing the Soul's Subſiſtence after Death, not only from the Stories of Apparitions, which are to be found in the Books of *Confucius* himſelf, the wiſeſt and moſt knowing of their Philoſophers, but from the Opinion of the *Metempſychoſis*, which they have received many Ages ago.

However, as Man deprived of Revelation, and left to the byaſs of his own Heart, has always been a Prey

(*a*) You may read Father *Halde*'s Abſtracts of theſe ancient Books, eſpecially of the *Kink*, which are of the greateſt Antiquity, in the 2d Vol. of his *Hiſtory of China*.

to Error, I am far from believing the *Chineſe* have been exempted from it; and we have a favourable enough Opinion of them, when we think they were perhaps ſomewhat later than other Nations in giving themſelves up to practiſe Idolatry. Let us conſider them, if you will, as the Philoſophers the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, who by the Light of Nature roſe to the Knowledge of the Supreme Being; are not theſe as guilty as thoſe of having known him, without having glorify'd him? At length the Sect of the *Taoſe* appeared in *China*, near ſix hundred Years befors Jeſus Chriſt. *Lao-Kiun* is the Philoſopher by whom it was founded. The Birth of this Man, if we may believe his Diſciples, was one of the moſt extraordinary: Carried four and twenty Years in the Loins of his Mother, he opened himſelf a Paſſage thro' the left Side, and occaſioned the Death of her who had conceived him.

The Morals of this Philoſopher come very near to thoſe of *Epicurus*, and he wrapped up his Phyſicks in impenetrable Obſcurity: I take no more of them than what regards the Coſmogony. "*Tao*, ſaid he, *or Rea-*"*ſon, produced One, One produced Two, Two produced* "*Three, and Three produced all things.*" The whole Happineſs of Man, according to this Philoſopher, conſiſted in that ſtate of Mind which the *Greeks* called *Apathy*, a ſtate wherein Man diveſted of Fear, and all tormenting Paſſions, muſt be free from Diſquietude of every kind; and as it is exceeding hard for one to get rid of the uneaſy Apprehenſions of Death and Futurity, they who made profeſſion of this Sect, were addicted to Magick and Chymiſtry, to find out the Secret whereby to become immortal; preſuming they ſhould be able to find it at length by the aſſiſtance of the Spirits whom they invoked. There were ſome of them who flatter'd themſelves with that Diſcovery, by means of certain Potions they made up; and more than one Emperor has try'd the fruitleſs Experiment.

One, who is acquainted with the Temper of Mankind, can eaſily judge, that a Sect which raiſed ſuch flattering *Hopes*, would very ſoon make Proſelytes; accordingly

it was embraced by ſeveral of the *Mandarins*, who gave their minds entirely to the Magick Art, which it preſcrib'd. But it made yet greater advances among the Women, naturally curious, and extremely fond of Life. In fine, the Author of the Sect was himſelf rank'd among the Gods; a ſtately Temple was erected to him, and the Emperor *Hium Tſong* cauſed the Statue of this new God to be brought into his Palace. His Diſciples got the name of Heavenly Teachers, and his Deſcendants are ſtill honoured with the Dignity of *Mandarins*. Theſe are they who have introduced that vaſt multitude of Spirits ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, whom they honour in Temples, and in particular Chappels, and to whom they ſacrifice three ſorts of Victims, a Hog, a Fiſh, and a piece of a Fowl. They have even carried Superſtition the length of deifying ſeveral of their Emperors; whereby we ſee that the *Chineſe*, a People otherwiſe very ingenious, are nothing ſhort in point of Superſtition and Idolatry, of the other Nations whom they have always taken a pride to contemn. This Sect has filled *China* with Diviners and Impoſtors, who impoſe upon the Vulgar, and ſometimes upon the Great, by deluſive Arts and Magick Rites, wherewith they are but too apt to be infatuated.

In fine, about the ſixty-fifth Year after Jeſus Chriſt, the Emperor *Mingti*, thro' a vain Curioſity, was the means of introducing a Sect ſtill more dangerous; the Hiſtory of it, which I am to give in a few Words, will take up the ſecond part of this Chapter, upon the Theogony of the *Indians*.

This Emperor, ſtruck with ſome Words which *Confucius* had often repeated, namely, *that it was in the Weſt they would find the Holy One*, ſent Ambaſſadors into the *Indies* in queſt of him, and to learn the Law he taught. Theſe Envoys believed they had at laſt found him out, among the Worſhippers of an idol named *Fo* or *Foé*. They tranſported into *China* the Idol, and together with the Fables of which the *Indian* Books were full, their Superſtitions, Metempſychoſis, and in fine, Atheiſm. *They* reported that in this part of In-

dia which the *Chineſe* call *Chun-tien-cho*, *Moyé* the King's Wife dream'd that ſhe was ſwallowing an Elephant. When the time came that ſhe was to be delivered, the Child tore her right Side, and no ſooner had he come from the Womb of his Mother, than he ſtood up, made ſix ſteps, pointing with one hand to Heaven, and with the other to the Earth, and pronounced theſe Words: *There is none but I in Heaven or upon Earth who deſerves to be honoured*: They gave him the Name of *Che-Kia*, or *Cha-Ka*. At the age of 19 Years he forſook his Wives, his Sons, and all his terreſtrial Cares, retired into a ſolitary Life, and put himſelf under the Conduct of four Philoſophers. At thirty Years he had a plenteous Infuſion of the Divinity, and became *Fo*, or *Pagode*, as the *Indians* expreſs themſelves, and thought of nothing but propagating his Doctrine every where. His lying Miracles were ſurprizing to all, and procur'd him the Veneration of the whole Country, and a prodigious number of Diſciples, who were his Inſtruments in infecting the Eaſt with his impious Tenets. The *Chineſe* call theſe Diſciples *Ho-Chang*; the *Tartars*, *Lamas*; the *Siameſe*, *Talapoins*; and the *Japoneſe*, *Bonzes*; for this Sect is diffuſed among all theſe People now mentioned.

In the mean time, *Fo* arrived at the age of 79 Years, conven'd ſome of his Diſciples, and after having explain'd to them his Doctrine, died; and they vented a hundred Fables about this Death. As the *Metempſychoſis* was the principal Article of this Doctrine, they gave it out that their Maſter was born eight thouſand times, and that he had appeared in the World ſometimes under the figure of an Ape, ſometimes under that of a Dragon, then of an Elephant, *&c.* All this probably was to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of this pretended Divinity, under the Symbol of theſe different Animals, which actually became Objects of the *Indian* Worſhip.

The *Chineſe* having received this Idol, erected to him a world of Temples; and his Sect, tho' always outlaw'd by the Court of Rites, has made immenſe *progreſs in* the Country, under the direction of the *Bonzes*, the

the moſt deſpicable of all Mortals, the moſt ſuperſtitious, and the moſt ignorant.

In fine, to abridge what is to be found at very great length, in the beginning of Father *Du Halde*'s third Volume of the Hiſtory of *China*, the Doctrine of *Fo* is divided into external and internal. The firſt, full as it is of groſs Superſtitions, is taught by the greater number of the *Bonzes*. The ſecond is reſerv'd for the more Learned, and it conſiſts in ſaying, that Vacuity is the Principle and the End of all things; that from nothing our firſt Parents derived their Original, and to nothing they returned after their Death; that Vacuity is what conſtitutes our Being and our Subſtance, and that it is from this Nothing, and from the mixture of the Elements, that all Productions came, and thither they afterwards return: In fine, that all Beings only differ from one another by their Figures and Qualities; and in this manner they pretend, their Maſter, when dying, explain'd his Doctrine, that is to ſay, his Atheiſm, to his favourite Diſciples.

I ſhall ſay but little of the Theogonies of the other Nations; becauſe they ſeem hardly digeſted into a Syſtem. For example, the *Brachmans* in the *Eaſt-Indies* have a Tradition of their God *Vichnou*, metamorphoſed into a Tortoiſe; and by way of explication they tell us, that by the fall of a Mountain the World began to ſtagger, and to ſink down gradually towards the Abyſs, where it had periſhed, if their beneficent God had not transformed himſelf into a Tortoiſe to bear it up.

The *Chineſe*, of whom we were now ſpeaking, have adopted this Tradition, and they apply it, as Father *Kircher* remarks (1), to their flying Dragon, who, they ſay, ſprung from a Tortoiſe, and became the Prop of the Univerſe that reſts upon him. The *Troglodytes* had probably the ſame Fable among them, ſince they had a high Veneration for the Tortoiſe, and had an Abhorrence of their Neighbours the *Helinophagi*, ſo called, becauſe they fed upon the Fleſh of the Tortoiſe.

CHAP.

(1) China Illuſt. p. 187.

CHAP. VIII.

Theogony of the Indian Brachmans.

I Ought not to forget the Theogony of thoſe *Indian* Prieſts we call *Bramins*, or *Brachmans* (*a*). They got this Name from *Brahma*, who, according to the *Indian* Doctrine, is the firſt of the three Beings whom God created, and by whoſe means he afterwards formed the World. This *Brahma*, ſay their *Brachmans*, compoſed and left to the *Indians* the four Books which they call *Beth*, or *Bed* (1), in which all the Sciences and all the Ceremonies of Religion are comprized; and that is the reaſon why the *Indians* repreſent this God with four Heads.

The word *Brahma*, in the *Indian* Language, ſignifies, *He who penetrates into all things*. The *Brahmans* make up the firſt and the moſt reſpected Tribe of the *Indians*, and are ſolely ſet apart for the Worſhip of their God, and the Ceremonies of Religion. A famous *Brahman*, named *Bebergir*, communicated to the *Mahometans*, whoſe Religion he embraced, the *Amberbkend*, which contains the Doctrines of the *Indians*.

Father *Kircher*, who has given a Print of the God *Brahma*, has enlarged a good deal upon the Mythology of the *Indians*, in relation to him (2). The Gods of the *Brachmans*, ſays this learned Jeſuit, are *Brahma*, *Veſne* or *Vichnou*, and *Butzeu*, and they are the Chiefs of all the other Gods, whoſe number amounts to thirty-three Millions; but all Mankind are ſprung from *Brahma*, and this God has produced as many Worlds as there are Parts in his Body. The firſt of theſe Worlds, which is above the Heavens, ſprung from his Brain; the ſecond, from his Eyes; the third, from his Mouth; the fourth, from the left Ear; the fifth, from the Palate and from the Tongue; the ſixth, from the Heart; the

(*a*) They are the ſame with thoſe whom the *Greeks* called *Gymnoſophiſts*. *Pythagoras* ſtudied their Doctrine and Manners. They were the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Philoſophers, who went naked in the Woods, abſtaining from all the Pleaſures of human Life.

(1) See *Herb. Bib.* Or. p. 212. (2) China Illuſt.

nth, from the Belly; the eighth, from the parts
lodeſty forbids to name; the ninth, from the
gh; the tenth, from the Knees; the eleventh,
e Heel; the twelfth, from the Toes of the
ot; the thirteenth, from the Sole of the left
nd laſtly, the fourteenth, from the Air which
ſſed him at the time of theſe Productions. If
hmans be aſk'd the reaſons of a Theology ſo ri-
, they anſwer, that the different Qualities of
ve riſe to it. The Wiſe and Learned are meant
World ſprung from *Brahma*'s Brain; the Glut-
ne from his Belly; and ſo of the reſt. Hence
rieſts are ſo curious in obſerving Phyſiognomy
ſonal Qualities, pretending thereby to divine,
World every one belongs.

n once Men are delivered up to Superſtition,
no Opinion ſo wild but they may fall into it.
ame *Brachmans* have imagined ſeven Seas: One
er, one of Milk, one of Curds, a fourth of But-
ifth of Salt, a ſixth of Sugar, and in fine, a ſe-
f Wine; and each of theſe Seas has its particu-
diſes, ſome of them for the Wiſer and more
, and the reſt for the Senſual and Voluptuous;
is difference, that the firſt of theſe Paradiſes,
unites us intimately with the Divinity, has no
f any other ſort of Delights; whereas the reſt
ed with all imaginable Pleaſures.

pears, from what I have been now ſaying, that
ians follow the ancient Doctrine of the *Egyp-*
which the Author juſt quoted names Θεομορφωσις,
ne Transformation (1).

for the other wild Notions of the *Indians* about
rmation of the World, which they believe to be
k ſpun by a Spider, and which ſhall be deſtroyed
the Work returns into the Bowels of that Inſect;
wave theſe, becauſe they regard the Coſmogony,
than the Theogony, which was chiefly intended
Chapter.

CHAP.

(1) *Ord. Ægypt.* by the ſame Author.

CHAP. IX.

Theogony of the Americans.

WE are not to imagine that the Savages of *America*, a wandering and unſettled Race, ever apply'd themſelves to form a Syſtem of Religion. There are however, Traditions to be found among ſome of them, which may form a kind of Theogony. In this manner, according to Father *Laffiteau* (1), the *Iroquois*, one of the moſt conſiderable of theſe ſavage Nations, account for the Origin of the World. In the beginning, ſay they, there were ſix Men, (the People of *Peru* and of *Braſil* agree upon the ſame number;) as yet there being no Earth, theſe Men were carried in the Air at the mercy of the Winds. Having no Women, they foreſaw that their Species would ſoon come to an end; but having got notice there was one in heaven, they reſolved that one of them, named the *Wolf*, ſhould tranſport himſelf thither. The Enterprize was difficult and dangerous; but the Birds wafted him up thither upon their Wings. Being arrived there, he waited till this Woman came out, as her way was, to draw water. So ſoon as ſhe appeared, he offered her ſome Preſent, and ſeduced her. The Lord of Heaven, knowing what had happen'd, baniſhed the Woman, and a Tortoiſe received her upon its Back. The Otter and the Fiſhes drawing up Mud from the bottom of the Water, formed of the Body of the Tortoiſe a ſmall Iſland, which grew greater and greater by degrees; and ſuch, according to theſe Savages, is the Original of our Earth.

This Woman at firſt had two Sons, of whom the one, who was arm'd with offenſive Weapons, ſlew his Brother who had none. She was afterwards deliver'd of ſeveral Children; from whom the reſt of Mankind are ſprung.

This Tradition, if it be exactly reported, is undoubtedly a Remnant of the primitive Hiſtory of the World,

(1) *Mœurs des Sauvages*, Tom. 1. p. 43. of the Edition in 4to.

/orld, of *Eve* baniſh'd from the terreſtrial Paradiſe, id of the murder of *Abel* by *Cain*. For in ſhort, it is ɔſſible that theſe Savages, deſcended from the ſame ock with the reſt of Mankind, may have preſerved a radition, which they might well alter, tho' they could ɔt totally eraſe out of their Memory.

Altho' we had no knowledge of the Traditions of e other *American* Nations, it is highly probable that ieir Notions were moſtly the ſame with thoſe of the *requois*, ſince the People of *Peru* and *Braſil* in *South-merica*, agree with them as to the number of Men here were at the beginning, as we have ſaid. But 'tis ot only by their Theogony that the *Americans* have quall'd the *Greeks* and other Nations of our Continent, n the whimſical Syſtem they invented concerning their Original; they reſemble them too pretty often in heir Fables. Thus, for inſtance, their way of account-ng for the Production of Rain, was, that a young Girl as in the Clouds, ſporting with her little Brother, and he broke her Pitcher full of Water. Is there not here a great Similitude to thoſe Fountain-Nymphs, and River-Gods, who poured forth Water from their Urns? They too were perſuaded, like the *Greeks*, that there were Gods who inhabited the Rivers and other Collec-ions of Water, ſince at one of their Feſtivals, the People of *Mexico* had a ſolemn Practice of drowning a oung Boy, to be Company for theſe Gods. Accord-ng to the Traditions of *Peru*, the *Inca Manco-Guina-Capac*, Son of the Sun, found a way by his Eloquence o make the Inhabitants of the Country quit their Re-reats in the Woods, where they lived after the manner of the Beaſts, and brought them to live under reaſonable Laws. Juſt ſo did *Orpheus* with the *Greeks*, and he too paſſed for the Son of the Sun. It is remarkable that both theſe People, ſo remote the one from the o-her, ſhould have agreed to fancy that ſuch as had ex-raordinary Accompliſhments were the Offſpring of the Sun. If the *Greeks*, and, in imitation of them, our an-ient *Gauls*, had a religious Veneration for Trees, and believed them to be the Abode of *Dryads* and *Hama-*

dryads,

dryads, the *Abenaquis*, as Father *Lafiteau* reports (
had a famous Tree, whereof they told ſeveral Wonde
and it was always loaded with Offerings; nor did th
doubt of its having ſomething divine. We find th
had likewiſe among them, conſecrated Groves, mu
like all the reſt of the Idolatrous World.

As for what relates to Sorceries, Conjurations, I
viners, Enchantments, theſe People of the new Wo
reſemble but too much thoſe of the old. Their Bel
was every where the ſame about the benevolent a
malignant *Genii*, of whom the Univerſe was imagi
to be full; over whom preſided, as Lord and So
reign of the other Gods, the *Manitou* of the *Algonqu*
Nations, the *Chemien* of the *Caraibes*, the *Okki* or t
Ares-Koui of the *Hurons*. As for the Feſtivals a
Myſteries, we ſhall find by reading the Author I j
now quoted, that thoſe of the *Americans* had a gr
affinity with the Orgies of the *Greeks*. As to the I
mortality of the Soul, and its ſtate after Death, the S
vages thought much the ſame way as did the *Gree*
even at the time when they were moſt civiliz'd. D
not the *Americans* believe that the Souls of the Wick
were condemned to dwell in certain Lakes, miry a
loathſome, as the *Greeks* ſent them to wander along t
Banks of *Styx* and *Acheron?* Was it not likewiſe th
Opinion that the Souls of thoſe, who had led a regul
Life, had places of delightful Abode, which bore a co
ſiderable Reſemblance to the *Elyſian* Fields? Th
have, like the old *Romans*, their Women hired to mou
at Funerals, and like them celebrate Feaſts for t
Dead; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, they diſti
guiſh, like the *Greeks*, between the Soul and its Shad
or Phantom (1), and believe that while the Soul is in
happy Manſion, the Shade is hovering about the pla
of Interment.

The ſacred Fire, preſerved by almoſt every N
tion of the World, as I ſhall ſhew in the Artic

(a) *Mœurs des Sauvages*, tom. 1. p. 149. As moſt of the Exa
ples I make uſe of are taken from that Work, it may ſuffice to ha
cited it once for all. (1) See what is ſaid upon this Head in t
third Section of the ſixth Book.

Veſta, was alſo the Object of the ſuperſtitious Worſhip of the *Americans*. The Nations moſt adining to *Aſia*, have Temples, where the ſacred Fire is refully preſerved; and theſe Temples are moſtly built a round Form, as were thoſe of *Veſta*. In *Louiſiana*, ie *Natches* have one of them, where a Guard watches ntinually for the preſervation of the Fire, which is neer ſuffered to go out. Every body knows how faous thoſe Temples were under the Reign of the *Yncas*; ut what appear'd very ſurprizing, was thoſe Compaies of Virgins ſet apart for the Service of the Sun, hoſe Laws were even more ſevere than thoſe of the *Roman* Veſtals (1), and the Puniſhments, when they roke their Vows, preciſely the ſame, ſince they were uried alive. They who had debauch'd them were uniſhed with far more Rigour than at *Rome*, ſince the Puniſhment extended not only to the whole Family, ut even to the Place where they were born; its whole Inhabitants were utterly extirpated, nor did they leave ſo much as one Stone in it upon another. The ſacred Fire was equally revered in *Mexico*, and committed to he Care of Veſtals, who led a very regular Life; and if the Savages of this vaſt Continent had not all of them Temples to maintain it there, the Halls of their Counſel, made much after the faſhion of the *Prytanea* of the *Greeks*, were employ'd for this Uſe, chiefly among the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*.

The Idols, often monſtrous, as in our own Continent, either charg'd with Symbols like thoſe we call *Pantheas* (a), or ſometimes even reſembling thoſe of *Priapus*, prove, that the People I am ſpeaking of were nothing ſhort of the old Inhabitants of our Country, in the extravagance of their Idolatry and Fables. Would it have been conſiſtent with the Corruption of the human Heart, not to place upon the Altars every thing that ſooth'd Vice and Irregularity of Manners?

The Cuſtom of ſacrificing upon high Places, a Cuſtom ſo ancient, and whereof the Prophets ſo often accuſe

(1) Garciilaſſo, L. c. 1.

(a) See *Monfaucon's Antiquity*, Vol. I. Part 2. B. 4. Ch. 8.

cuſe the idolatrous Nations, was likewiſe known among the *Americans*. To be convinc'd of this, need only read the Relation of the Sieur *Rochefort* (1) in the place where he ſpeaks of the Mountain *Ola* upon which the *Apalachites*, a People of *Florida*, o Sacrifices yearly to the Sun, in a Cavern which ſe for a Temple to this Divinity. Their veneration Idols, which are nothing but either miſ-ſhapen Stones ſometimes of a conical figure, is a farther proof, t their Idolatry reſembled that of the Ancients, who, fore the Art of Sculpture, paid Honours to ſuch Stones, or ſimple Pillars, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere.

The Sacrifices of theſe Savages were at firſt v ſimple, as they were among the primitive Idolaters our World; and this Simplicity ſtill remains am ſome of their Nations, where they content themſel with offering up to the Gods the Fruits of the Ear or with making Libations to them of Water; oth hang up on Trees or Pillars, the Skins of the Be they have ſlain in Hunting: There are of them w throw into the Fire ſome Leaves of Tobacco in hon to the Sun, and into the Rivers and Streams to appe the *Genii* that preſide over them. Thoſe of the *ribbee* Iſlands offer up the *Caſſave* and the *Ouicou*, t is, their Bread and their Drink, to the Gods who the Guardians of theſe Plants, as the *Greeks* and the ther Nations offered their Sacrifices to *Bacchus* and *res*. What tho' the Names of thoſe Gods are not ſame in either Continent, the Ideas are ſtill the ſa and it is preciſely the ſame kind of Idolatry.

But in *America*, as amongſt ourſelves, theſe anci Manners not having always ſubſiſted in that primit Simplicity, which is the Characteriſtick of the f Ages in every Nation of the World; they whom are ſpeaking of, like the Pagans in our own Contine carry'd Superſtition to their Gods to the length of ſac cing to them human Victims. The Sacrifices of t ſort were in uſe eſpecially in *Mexico*; and tho' th were leſs known among the other Savages, yet there w

(1) Hiſt. Mer. des Iſles Antilles.

m however, who, at a certain Seaſon of the Year, 'd their Children to the Gods who watch'd over 'ruits of the Earth. The Relation of the Sieur *oyne* informs us, that in that part of *Florida*, h is nigh to *Virginia*, the People of that Country, look upon the Sun as the Father of their Chiefs, up to that Luminary, their great Divinity, their lren in Sacrifice, as the *Canaanites* ſacrificed them eir *Moloch*, who was likewiſe the Sun; only with lifference, that the latter burn'd them in a Furnace h was contrived within their Idol, as I ſhall ſhew in ing of that God, whereas the former knock'd on the head in the midſt of an Aſſembly of the le, and in preſence of the Chief, who himſelf re- ated the God who was believ'd to be his Father. ie Sacrifices in the new World, as in the old, were npany'd with Inſtruments, with Dances, and with ie marks of publick Rejoicing; but I won't carry Parallel any farther, which would oblige me to co- he Work which I have cited, where the learned or deſcends to a very particular Detail. What I ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Mind of Man, nerely to its own Light, is carried out to nothing Error and Deluſion; and that, in ſpite of the Re- ent of the beſt-regulated Nations, their Sentiments been pretty much the ſame all the World over, e they wanted the knowledge of the true Religion.

fine, there are few Countries, where much the Fables have not been found: Every where Ideas ings not in Nature, an extraordinary Race of Men, called themſelves the Sons of Heaven, or of the , or of the Rivers, *&c.* every where Cheats, who ed to carry on Impoſture, by the Story of a ſingu- ad extraordinary Birth. The *Egyptians*, the *Phe- ns*, from whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* derived Fables, are not the only People who have inven- hem: There are ſome that bear a Reſemblance to s, to be found among Nations that can't be ſuſpec- of having learn'd 'em from them. *Kaiſouven* boaſt- that he was born of a River-God, the more eaſily

to delude the People of *Corea* by the dazzling Idea of this imaginary Birth. The *Coreans* muſt needs have attributed Divinity to the Rivers and Mountains, like the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſince upon their becoming tributary to *China*, the Emperor confirmed their King in the Privilege he enjoy'd of ſacrificing alone to the Mountains and Rivers.

The Origin of one Nation of the eaſtern *Tartars*, named *Kao-Kiuli*, of the Race of the *Fou-Ya*, bears a conſiderable Reſemblance, in reſpect of the Fables with which it is intermix'd, to our Fictions in the weſtern World; and the *Roman* Hiſtory, notwithſtanding its being ſo grave and ſerious, preſents us with Notions near a-kin to what I am going to relate of theſe People. The Prince of the *Kao-Kiuli* had in his Dominions a Daughter of the God *Hohang-Ho*, whom he kept ſhut up in a Priſon. One day as ſhe was ſtruck with the Reflection of the Sun-beams, ſhe conceiv'd; and ſhe brought forth an Egg, which they broke, and in it they found a Male-Child. When he was grown up, they gave him the Name of *Tchu-Mong*, which imports *a good Pilot*. The King of the Country, who took a liking to him, on a day carried him out to hunt, and ſeeing his Addreſs, became jealous of him; which *Tchu-Mong* perceiving, fled from him; and being ready to fall into the hands of thoſe who purſued him, at the paſſage of a River, he addreſs'd his prayer to the Sun his Father: Then the Fiſhes of the River riſing up to the Surface of the Water, ſupply'd him with a Bridge, on which he croſs'd over. What is there in this more extravagant, than in the Fables of *Perſeus*'s Birth, and that of *Leda*'s Children (*a*)?

If we know Nations that ſacrificed their Children to their falſe Deities, and if the *Greeks* offer'd up *Iphigenia* to procure a favourable Wind, are we not told by F. *Halde* of moſt ancient Hiſtories, where we may read of Iſlanders in the eaſtern Sea, who, during the ſeventh Moon of every Year, uſe ſolemnly to drown a young Virgin?

If

(*a*) See the 4th Vol. of F. *Halde*'s Hiſtory of *China*, p. 343.

If the *Romans* fabled that their *Janus* had two, nay four Faces, as is to be ſeen upon ancient Monuments, have not the *Indians* their Idol *Menipus*, who has many Heads of different ſhapes? Does it not paſs current among the ſame *Indians*, that there is a Country where Men have two Viſages, that withal they are extremely wild and untractable, that they ſpeak no Language, and ſuffer themſelves to die for Hunger when they are taken: They add, that they had taken one of them clad in Linen, who roſe out of the Sea; a Story not much unlike to that of *Oannes*, which we have mentioned above.

If the *Egyptians*, and after them *Pythagoras*, taught the *Metempſychoſis*, is not the ſame Doctrine ſpread over all the *Indies*, and is it not the Foundation of the Idolatry of *Foé?* Which is ſo far true, that the great *Lama*, who calls himſelf a living *Fo*, gives it out, that he has been born ſeveral times, and that he ſhall be born again; inſomuch that when he dies, they make diligent Search for the Child whoſe figure he reaſſumes, that they may ſubſtitute him in his room: And tho' it is eaſy to ſee, that this is a Child he has artfully provided to ſucceed him, the Myſtery whereof is well known to the other *Lamas* his Confidents, yet this Farce has been acted for ſeveral Ages, without being in the leaſt ſuſpected by the People.

We remark'd, when we were upon the Origin of the Fables, that Numbers of them had been introduced by means of a groſs kind of Philoſophy. Perhaps there never was one in *Greece* of ſo extraordinary a nature as was that of the *Chineſe* Philoſophers, with relation to the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. A Princeſs, ſaid they, had an hundred Children; fifty of them dwelt along the Sea-ſhore, and the other fifty in the Mountains: Hence came two great Nations, who are often at war together; when the Inhabitants of the Shores get the better of thoſe in the Mountains, and put them to flight, the Sea flows; when they are repuls'd by them, and fly from the Mountains towards the Shores, it ebbs. This manner of Philoſophizing,

ſays M. *Fontenelle*, from whom I have borrow'd this Paſſage, is not unlike the Metamorphoſes of *Ovid*. So true it is, that the ſame Ignorance has produced the ſame effects in every Nation.

Such are the Coſmogonies and Theogonies of the moſt ancient Nations. Others, whoſe Religion and Fables are conſider'd in the Sequel of this Work, tho' ſunk in an Abyſs of the groſſeſt Idolatry, yet had not a Genius philoſophical enough to form any Conceptions about the Formation of the World, or the Origin of the Gods, whom they contented themſelves to worſhip according to the Tradition of their Country.

CHAP. X.

Of the Pagan Theology, and that of the Poets in particular.

HAving repreſented the different Theogonies of the Ancients, that is, the Theology peculiar to every Nation; it may be of uſe to ſhew more particularly the general Theology of the Pagan World, eſpecially that of the *Greeks* and of their Poets. My deſign is not to lay open all its Abominations: This method would now be uſeleſs. The primitive Fathers of the Church, and the Defenders of the Chriſtian Religion, as they found themſelves neceſſarily engaged in that Task, in order to ſap the Foundations of Paganiſm, which was the predominant Religion of their times, ſo they acquitted themſelves in it with ſo much Learning and Strength of Argument, that they at laſt obliged the moſt knowing Philoſophers, to explain by Allegories, oftentimes ingenious, a Syſtem, the bare Repreſentation whereof was ſhocking. To this Dilemma they were reduced by *Juſtin*, *Arnobius*, *Athenagoras*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Minutius Felix*, but above all by *Tertullian* in his Apologeticks, one of the moſt excellent Performances Antiquity has left us, and by S. *Auguſtin* in his Book of the City of God, a Work which, abſtracting from the other views of the Author, may be conſider'd as a Treaſure of profane Literature.

To

To ſpeak accurately, the Philoſophers did not wait for the time of thoſe great Men I have been naming, to perceive the Abſurdity of their Theology. Allegory had been introduced to help out the monſtrous Fables that were intermix'd with Religion, upwards of 400 Years before the Chriſtian Æra. *Plato* had brought it in faſhion, and his Diſciples improv'd it: Nay *Pythagoras*, long before *Plato*'s days, had repreſented the eſtabliſh'd Religion of his time in ſuch a light, as made its Abſurdity partly to diſappear. But my meaning was, that this way of allegorizing was never more in vogue than in the time of *Jamblichus* and *Porphyry*, who lived both of them in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. I ſhall examine, in the Reflections which I ſhall make upon Idolatry, the little Succeſs which attended the allegorical manner of explaining the Fables and Myſteries of Religion; and I ſhall ſhew, that notwithſtanding the Subtilties of the Philoſophers who uſed it, that ſame Religion, and the Fables upon which it was founded, ſtill continued, even to the entire deſtruction of Paganiſm. We now come to the Subject.

Varro diſtinguiſhed Theology into three Parts, the fabulous, μυθικὴ, the natural, φυσικὴ, and the political, πολιτικὴ, which S. *Auguſtine* renders, *fabularis*, *naturalis vel philoſophica*, *civilis*: The firſt was the Theology of the Poets; the ſecond that of the Philoſophers; and the third that of the Miniſters of Religion. *Varro* endeavour'd to promote this Diſtinction, whereof Q. *Scævola* the High-Prieſt is thought to have been the Founder, the ſame who was ſlain by one of thoſe Aſſaſſins employ'd by *Marius*.

The Theology of the Poets was rejected by the wiſer Pagans. *Varro*, as we have it from S. *Auguſtine* (1), acknowledg'd that it imputed to their Gods Actions, which one would have bluſh'd to aſcribe to the vileſt of Men: *Denique, in hac omnia Diis attribuuntur, quæ non modo in hominem, ſed etiam in contemptiſſimum hominem cadere non poſſunt.* *Varro* did not condemn the ſecond kind of Theology, that of the Philoſophers; but he was of opinion, it ought to be confined

(1) De civ. Dei.

to the Schools, becauſe it reaſon'd with freedom upon the Nature of the Gods, which, according to him, has a dangerous Tendency.

The third kind of Theology made up the Syſtem of Religion, and was the Foundation of the Worſhip paid to the Gods; and if it was not the moſt eſteemed by the abler Judges, it was at leaſt the moſt venerable, and the only one that was follow'd in practice. The poetical Theology therefore was exploded, as we have ſeen; but yet it has found Partiſans in theſe laſt Ages. Several modern Authors, charm'd with the fine Strokes that occur in the Works of the Poets, concerning the moſt ſublime Truths, have ſpoke of them in ſuch high Strains of Encomium, that it would ſeem they conſider them as moſt excellent Divines. Father *Thomaſſin*, Prieſt of the Oratory, has been at great pains to collect (1) whatever they have ſaid upon Divinity and upon Morality, and he thinks he has diſcover'd in them ſeveral Paſſages conformable to Holy Writ, and to the Light of Nature. The Author of the Book, entitled, *Homer Hebraizing*, has not contented himſelf with conſidering the Poets as great Divines; he has undertaken to prove, that *Homer*, in both his Poems, had in ſeveral places copied *Moſes* and the Prophets. A celebrated *Engliſh* Author (2), after he has cry'd up the Theology of the Poets, that of *Orpheus* eſpecially, recites the fineſt of their Sentiments upon the Divinity. In fine, a modern Author, whoſe Works have occaſioned his being more than once diſgraced, has gone further than any I have yet named, ſince in his Remarks upon *Virgil*, he makes no ſcruple of preferring that Poet to moſt of our Divines; alledging that, with reſpect to Providence and the Deity, his Sentiments are moſt orthodox. He has even had the preſumption to compare the Conduct of *Jupiter* with relation to *Æneas*, to that of God with reſpect to *David*.

For any thing we can learn from theſe Authors, almoſt all the moſt eſſential Truths are to be found in the Works of the Poets. Piety, and the Worſhip of the true

(1) Left. des Poet. (2) Cudw. Intel Syſt.

true God, are there taught in a ſublime manner, tho' veil'd under ſenſible Images. Thus, to ſingle out ſome of theſe Truths, the Unity of a God, his Omnipotence, his infinite Goodneſs, his Immenſity, his Eternity. The Council of the Gods, which *Homer* ſpeaks of, where *Jupiter* always preſides, is, according to them, an Imitation of thoſe myſterious Councils, which God, in the Book of *Job*, holds with the Angels. When they tell us, that all Goods and Evils came from the hand of God, by the miniſtration of ſubaltern Deities, this is a Copy of what the Scripture ſays of the Angels, who are his Miniſters. When they give *Jupiter* ſuch a peculiar Pre-eminence, it is evident, that under this Name they underſtood the true God, and not *Jupiter* the Son of *Saturn*, and King of *Crete*. In fine, when *Aratus* ſays, all is full of God, the Earth, the Sea, the Fields, and Man himſelf, or, as S. *Paul* expreſſes himſelf, in the preciſe Words of this Poet, *Sumus genus Dei, in ipſo vivimus, movemur, & ſumus* (1), is it not evident, that he muſt needs be ſpeaking of the Immenſity of God?

To theſe ſpeculative Truths, the Authors I mention join others which are practical; and think the Poets have ſettled, not only what Duties we owe to God, but thoſe of Men to one another, as well as the other purely moral Precepts. Their infernal Regions, and their *Elyſian* Fields, are proper Reſtraints from Luſt, and Incentives to the practice of Virtue. Thoſe Judges, who examine with ſo much Severity the Actions of Men; and the Furies, who chaſtiſe the Guilty with ſuch rigour; could all this have been contriv'd without a deep Inſight into Morality? In fine, to repreſent the Sentiment of theſe Authors in a few Words, it ſuffices to ſay, that upon all occaſions they rack their Invention to draw parallels between the Truths they find in the Poets, and thoſe in the ſacred Writings.

I own, for my part, the reading of the Poets has given me a quite other Idea of their Theology. 'Tis true, they ſometimes ſpeak of the Divinity in a ſublime manner, but they are by no means conſiſtent with themſelves

(1) Acts xvii. 28.

ſelves upon this Subject; and after they have given their Gods the magnificent Epithets of Immortal, Omnipotent, *&c.* they repreſent them with Imperfections, which, as has been ſaid, belong only to the worſt and moſt corrupt of Men. Inſomuch that I am aſtoniſh'd, how learned Men can ſo highly extol their Theology, while *Plato*, for this ſame Theology, which to him appear'd ſo monſtrous, baniſh'd them from his Commonwealth. *Cicero* had not ſuch favourable Thoughts of the Poets as the Authors I am ſpeaking of; on the contrary, he cenſures them for ſetting before us the Debaucheries of the Gods, their Quarrels, their Battels, their Diſſenſions. *Nec multo abſurdiora ſunt ea quæ poetarum vocibus fuſa, ipſa ſuavitate nocuerunt, qui & ira inflammatos, & libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videremus, odia præterea, diſſidia, diſcordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, &c* (1). This Author ſays elſewhere, that theſe ſame Poets had deſcrib'd the Debaucheries of the Gods, their Adulteries, *&c.*

It is true, that they ſtile thoſe fabulous Gods of theirs Immortal, but at the ſame time there is not one of 'em of whoſe Genealogy they have not inform'd us; they name their Fathers, their Mothers, the place of their Birth, and all the Circumſtances of their Life from their Infancy. 'Tis from them we learn that *Jupiter*, the greateſt of Gods, was the Son of *Saturn*, and that *Saturn* was the Son of *Uranus*; and ſo of the reſt. Sometimes they ſpeak of their Sepulchres too. In *Homer*, the greateſt of their Poets, we ſee the Gods ſquabbling together, falling foul of one another, wounded by Mortals, pouring forth ſhrieks and lamentations at ſeeing their Blood ſhed: They are every now and then giving groſs abuſive Language; *Jupiter* and *Juno* are there repreſented eternally at odds, a thing ſcandalous between Husband and Wife. *Euripides*, willing to excuſe *Phædra*, who had conceived a violent Paſſion for the Son of her Husband, throws the blame upon *Venus*, who wanted to revenge upon *Hippolytus* the Con-

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

Contempt he had thrown upon her Worſhip and Votaries. Another Tradition which *Racine* has followed (1), no leſs diſhonourable for *Venus*, intimated that ſhe was thus taking her revenge upon the Sun, *Phædra*'s great Grand-father, for having diſcover'd her Intrigue with the God *Mars*; and it is from the ſame motive of reſentment, that this Goddeſs had inſpired *Paſiphae Phædra*'s Mother with that infamous Paſſion which made ſo much noiſe.

In the ſame Play, *Euripides* brings in *Diana*; and this Goddeſs, to comfort *Hippolytus* in his dying moments, tells him that ſhe could not indeed reverſe the order of Deſtiny, but to give him revenge, ſhe would kill one of *Venus*'s Gallants with her own hand. Theſe then are their powerful Gods, ſubjected to Fate, and not being able to accompliſh all the Miſchief they would, perpetrate that which they can. What thoughts can one have of a Theology, whoſe end being to exalt Man to the Gods, has depreſs'd theſe ſame Gods, I ſay, not only to the Condition of Men, but even to their greateſt Frailties?

Can any thing be conceived more fantaſtical, than the Idea which the Poets give of their Gods? What ſhall we ſay of that mixture of Power and Weakneſs, of Eternity and Death, of Happineſs and Miſery, of Tranquillity and Diſturbance? What ſhall we think of the Railleries which *Ariſtophanes* throws out againſt the Gods in ſome of his Comedies, and of the Blaſphemies which *Æſchylus* pours forth againſt them in his *Prometheus?*

But, 'tis ſaid, the Poets ſpeak often of the Providence of the Gods, and of the Care they exerciſe over Men. What Providence! Let us ſingle out one of the Subjects of Fable where it is moſt conſpicuous, a Subject deſcribed by the greateſt Poets with peculiar Care; I mean the War of *Troy*. This War deſtroy'd multitudes of People, and ruin'd a flouriſhing Kingdom; it was attended with Miſeries without number, with Seditions, Broils, and all the other Com-

(1) Tragedy of *Phædra*.

Companions of sweeping Desolation. All the G
took part in it; Heaven was divided into two F
tions: There was no Plot, no Stratagem, nor sly
tifice, but every one of the Gods put in practice.
be sure they can't be accused of being idle during
Course of this War; their Providence was sufficien
employ'd. *Homer* describes all their Motions in
fullest manner; the other Poets have follow'd his l
ample. Here then is a proper point of view, whe
we may clearly discern their theological Sentiments
bout Providence: Let us see then what was the Mot
of this War; let us trace it back to its Source.

Was the chastising an impious Nation the thing
question; was it to avenge oppress'd Innocence, or
Indignities offer'd to the Gods themselves; or to g
the World a signal Example of Justice and Equit
Nothing like it: But to glut the Resentment o
Goddess, for the Slight put upon her Beauty, was all
Affair.

At the Marriage of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, *Discord* thre
in an Apple for the fairest of the Company. The G
not daring to make themselves Umpires in the Di
rence that arises upon this Occasion between three G
desses, send them to *Phrygia*, to get the Decision o
young Shepherd who was renown'd for Equity. T
Shepherd, whom each of the three Goddesses wo
fain corrupt by magnificent Promises, decides in fav
of Venus; she was actually the greatest Beauty, so t
nothing could be laid against this Sentence: Yet h
was enough to exasperate the other two. *Juno*,
wife *Juno*, from that moment resolves upon the destr
tion, not of *Paris* only, tho' even that had been a
ry unjust piece of Revenge, but of the whole Emp
of *Priam* his Father, and of all *Phrygia*. The R
of *Helen*, who had been betrothed to *Paris*, beca
the Signal of a bloody War: All *Greece* rises in Ar
while *Juno* leaves no Stone unturn'd to engage all
Powers above in her Interest; she makes use of a th
sand Stratagems to bring over the other Gods,
gives them the most insinuating Promises; she r

o

over all the Cities of *Greece* to animate them to the War. The City *Troy* is beſieged, and for a Courſe of ten Years the Queen of the Gods plays the Game of a Woman quite frantick, and tries to lay her Husband aſleep, that he may not ſee the Overthrow of the *Trojans*, and ſo forth. *Minerva* has the contrivance of the wooden Horſe: *Juno* appears in Arms, and herſelf throws open the Gates of the City, rouzing the *Greeks*, too cool for her Vengeance:

——Hic Juno Scæas ſæviſſima portas
Prima tenet, ſociumque furens a navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat (1).

While *Neptune* her Ally beats down the Walls with his Trident. The *Greeks* enter the Town, a thouſand Diſorders are there committed, which 'tis not neceſſary to deſcribe: But we muſt not forget, that *Virgil* is at great pains to let us ſee, they are to be attributed to the Wrath and Revenge of the Gods:

——Verum inclementia divûm
Has evertit opes ſternitque a culmine Trojam (2).

Troy then is reduc'd to aſhes; *Paris*, *Priam* and his other Children maſſacred or made Slaves: Thus it was full time for the Wrath of *Juno* to be appeaſed.

But, with the Poets, a Goddeſs, whoſe Beauty has been injured, is not ſo eaſily attoned. They repreſent her purſuing the Remains of the fugitive *Trojans* with implacable rage; ſhe will needs cut them off from that retreat in *Italy*, which was promis'd them by the Fates.

Troas reliquias Danaum——arcebat longè
Latio, &c (3).

Here ſhe meanly ſupplicates *Æolus*, a ſubaltern Divinity, to move him to raiſe a Storm, contrary to the orders of *Neptune*, who had changed ſides, and whoſe Providence was then intereſted for the *Trojans*. Sometimes ſhe endeavours to detain *Æneas* in *Africk* by the Charms of Pleaſure: There ſhe makes *Iris* appear under the figure of *Beroe*, to oblige the *Trojan* Matrons to burn their Fleet. No ſooner has *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, than ſhe diſpatches the Furies to *Turnus* and *Amata*,

(1) Æne. L. 2. v. 612. (2) Ibid. v. 602. (3) Id. ibid.

mata, to excite them to expel him their Country, and kindles a bloody War; and not being able abſolutely to hinder the execution of the orders of Deſtiny, ſhe ſtrives at leaſt to retard it by all ſorts of means. As the decree of Deſtiny intimated, that *Lavinia* was to be married to the *Trojan* Hero, ſhe will needs cauſe him to pay her Dowry in the Blood of an infinite number of his own Countrymen.

Non debitur regnis, eſto, prohibere Latinis;
At trahere, atque moras tantis licet addere rebus:
At licet amborum populos exſcindere regum.
Hac gener atque ſocer coëant mercede ſuorum.
Sanguine Trojano & Rutulo dotabere, virgo (1).

Every body knows what this Goddeſs did to ſupport *Turnus*'s Party, and all the game *Virgil* makes her play in the courſe of this War. In fine, finding Deſtiny too powerful for her, as the laſt effort of her vengeance, ſhe tries if *Jupiter* will grant, that the *Latins* ſhall not aſſume the name of the *Trojans* their Conquerors, that *Troy* and its memory might the more eaſily be aboliſh'd.

Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucroſque vocari.
Occidit, occideritque ſinas cum nomine Troja (2).

Is it poſſible to conceive a more compleat Revenge? Was ever Reſentment carry'd farther? or was it ever rais'd on a more frivolous foundation?

——— Manet altâ mente repoſtum
Judicium Paridis, ſpretæque injuria formæ.
——— Et rapti Ganymedis honores (3).

Cry up after this the Theology of the Poets, as to the Providence of their Gods, and the Care which they take of the moſt notable Events. Theſe, according to them, are the motives whence they act. Alas! what could they teach more impious? What a fine Pattern of Reſentment and Revenge were they able to give, eſpecially to the Ladies, who idolize their Beauty?

Were I at liberty to run over the other Examples, of which the Poets are full, we ſhould ſee that the ſpring of

(1) Æne. L. 7. v. 313. (2) Ib. L. 12. v. 823. (3) Ib. L. 1. v. 30.

f all the Actions of the Gods is either Revenge, Love, r ſome other Paſſion: That the true motive of *Jupiter*'s Travels up and down the Earth, was nothing elſe but to debauch ſome Miſtreſs; that while the reparation of the Diſaſters done by the Deluge, or by the Conflagration of *Phaeton*, were made the pretext, *Caliſto* and *Europa* were the real occaſions of his pilgrimages: That if *Diana* ſends a Boar to lay waſte the *Calydonian* Plains, it is owing to *Oeneus's* having neglected her in a ſacrifice;

-------Oeneos ſpreta per agros
Miſit aprum (1).

In fine, that *Venus* for the ſame reaſon turn'd the Daughters of *Tyndarus* into madneſs (2). If *Niobe*'s fourteen Children are kill'd before her eyes by inviſible darts, it is for her having preſumed to compare herſelf to *Latona*. If *Cadmus* ſees his Houſe fill'd with Diſorder and Blood-ſhed, *Acteon* his Grand-ſon devoured by his Dogs, *Pentheus* torn in pieces by the *Bacchanals*, and himſelf transform'd to a Serpent, the reaſon is, that he had a Siſter and a Daughter, whoſe Beauty had charm'd *Jupiter*, and excited the Jealouſy of *Juno*. *Ino* for having nurſed *Bacchus*, is turn'd to Madneſs, with her Husband *Athamas*; the latter daſhes his own Son againſt a Rock, and this unfortunate Queen of *Thebes* throws herſelf headlong into the Sea with *Melicertes*. If *Andromeda* ſees herſelf expoſed to the Fury of a Sea-monſter, it is becauſe her Mother had compared her Beauty to that of the *Nereids* (3). *Venus*, to be avenged of *Diomede*, who had wounded her at the Siege of *Troy*, made his Wife become a Proſtitute.

However much recourſe may be had to Allegory, yet what can we think, when we ſee *Cybele* the great Mother of the Gods, *Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes*, running after the youthful *Atys*, making ſo many advances to captivate his Heart, and puniſhing him ſo ſeverely for his Indifference?

Such,

(1) Ov. Met. L. 8. v. 281. (2) Steſich. apud Schol. Eurip. in Oreſ. (3) Met. l. 4.

Such, according to the Poets, are the motives of Revenge in the Gods, and for the moſt part, it is not upon the Guilty they inflict ſuch dreadful Puniſhments; or if that is ſometimes the caſe, it is not in order to reclaim them, but to render them more criminal. *Clio* upbraids *Venus* for being ſo exceſſively fond of *Adonis*; inſtead of improving ſo wholeſome an Admonition, the Goddeſs reſents it by wounding her with Love to a young Man, by whom ſhe had *Hyacinth*. *Cyanippus* forgets *Bacchus* in a Sacrifice, he makes him drunk, in conſequence of which, he commits an Inceſt. The Daughters of *Prætus* prefer their Beauty to that of *Juno*; the Goddeſs turns them frantic, and makes them become Proſtitutes. One of the Daughters of *Danaus* having gone to draw Water for a Sacrifice, was attack'd by a Satyr, who offer'd violence to her; ſhe invok'd *Neptune* to her aſſiſtance; who having reſcued her from the Attacks of the Satyr, made the ſame aſſault upon her which ſhe had juſt now declin'd: Miſerable Relief!

This now is what the Poets teach us, in relation to the Providence of their Gods, and their cruel Reſentments: A Providence, anxious and diſturb'd; Reſentments dreadful for exceeding ſlight Provocations: Chaſtiſements, not for the puniſhment of Vice and the ſupport of Virtue, which would be good Divinity; but inflicted intentionally, to avenge ſome perſonal Affront, not upon the Guilty, but upon the Innocent; or if the Guilty too are involved therein, 'tis only to make them more wicked and abandoned. You won't ſee thoſe Gods forward to chaſtiſe Impiety or Injuſtice; they vent their ſpight upon none but thoſe who forget them in Sacrifice, or who compare their Hair or Complexion to that of ſome Goddeſs: Like thoſe petty Lords, who have very little concern that their Vaſſals be profligate and licentious, ſo they do but forbear hunting upon their Grounds, and give preſents from time to time to their Wives. Was any thing more apt to excite Ambition and the moſt unjuſt Deſigns, than the Hiſtory of *Saturn*, who had uſed his Father

her *Uranus* ſo ill, and that of *Jupiter* who had treated his in like manner, and dethron'd him?

This would be the proper Place to explain the Theology of the Poets, with reſpect to the Morals of their Gods; but I ſhould be afraid of putting the Reader to the bluſh, by reciting their infamous Characters. What ſort of God is that *Jupiter* of theirs! No Chaſtity on earth was proof againſt his Aſſaults; no beaſtly Figure he had not aſſum'd to inſnare ſometimes virtuous Princeſſes, ſometimes innocent Shepherdeſſes. All the other Gods were ſtain'd with the like Crimes. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and the other Fathers, bring a thouſand Stories of thoſe Gods, from the Writings of the Poets, which are ſhocking to Modeſty (*a*). No Crime, Diſorder, or Lewdneſs they were not guilty of; and the Poets, thoſe pretended ſublime Divines, are they who have been at moſt pains to perpetuate their Memory. *Homer*, and after him *Ovid*, tell us how the Sun ſurprized *Mars* and *Venus* in Adultery; the laſt ſubjoins very looſe Reflections. In a word, all the Metamorphoſes he ſpeaks of, are rather Monuments of the Imperfection of the Gods, and of their Debaucheries, than of their Providence and Power. Theſe Conſiderations ſhould be a ſeaſonable Warning to every reaſonable Perſon to be upon his guard againſt that Value, which ſo many People have for the Divinity of the Poets; and ſhew thoſe who want to defend them, that, excepting a few vague Expreſſions that have dropped from them about the immortal Eſſence of their Gods, their Vigilance, that univerſal Spirit which animates all things, a ſtrain to which they by no means keep up in the reſt of their Works, their whole Syſtem conſiſts in repreſenting to us Gods inconſtant and ſelf-intereſted in their Providence, turbulent and outrageous in their Reſentment, debauched and infamous in their moral Character.

After all theſe Preliminaries, which I thought proper to handle at ſome length, 'tis time to enter upon the Hiſtory of Idolatry, the Origin and Progreſs whereof, I am now to examine. BOOK

(*a*) They made this uſe of them, to confound the Partiſans of Idolatry.

BOOK III.

Which treats of Idolatry.

A Preliminary Remark.

THO', properly ſpeaking, this whole Mythology, at leaſt what makes up the firſt Volumes, reſpects Idolatry, ſince therein we ſpeak of nothing but the Gods and their Worſhip; yet I thought proper in this Book, to trace its Origin and Progreſs; to examine what the firſt Gods of the Pagan World were; to name the moſt of them, to divide them into different Claſſes, and ſpeak of their Nature and the Ranks they held in the Theology of the ſeveral Nations by whom they were worſhipped; for they were far from being all upon a level, and from having Functions aſcribed to them of equal dignity. In fine, to comprehend in it whatever relates to Idolatry in general, Temples, Altars, Victims, Sacrifices, Feſtivals, Supplications, Prieſts, Inſtruments of Sacrifice, Vows, Oracles, *&c.* reſerving the particular Hiſtory of the Gods, and of the Worſhip paid them, for the following Books.

Before we enter upon the Subject, it is neceſſary to give the true Notion of the words Idolatry and Idol. Idolatry is a *Greek* Word, compounded of two others, ſignifying *Worſhip* and *Repreſentation*, whether by way of Statue, or any other manner. The term εἴδωλον, as *Tertullian* has well obſerv'd (1), is a Diminutive from εἶδος, which imports *Image: Ad hoc neceſſaria eſt vocabuli interpretatio, εἶδος Græce formam ſonat; ab eo per diminutionem εἴδωλον deductum, atque apud nos formulam*

(1) Lib. de Idol. c. 3.

nulam fecit; igitur omnis formula, vel forma, Idolum ſe diciex poſcit. The learned Dr. *Rainold* however (1), won't agree to this Etymology, and maintains that the word Εἴδωλον, is not a Diminutive from εἶδος, but ſignifies Forms and Figures of all ſorts, even the greateſt; and in this, every body will be of his mind: but he has not taken notice that the word εἶδος ſignifies the eſſential, internal, and true Form of a thing; whereas that of Idol denotes the external Form or Repreſentation of the thing, be it ſmall or great. In a word, the Form and real Extenſion of the human Body, conſiſting in the Aſſemblage of its Fleſh, Bones, and Skin, is called εἶδος; but the Repreſentation of that ſame Body, whether painted, or in *Relievo*, was called εἴδωλον, *ſmall Form*, falſe and merely apparent Form.

Some of the Learned derive the Etymology of the name Idol from two *Greek* Words, the one of them ſignifying *Image*, the other *Anguiſh*, conformably to the *Hebrew* word *Hatſabbim*, which imports the ſame thing; thereby giving us to underſtand, that Idols are the Source of Anguiſh and Chaſtiſements, wherewith God puniſhed ſuch as revolted from himſelf to their Worſhip.

This being laid down, by the word Idolatry we are to underſtand the Worſhip, which was paid to the Statues and other Repreſentations of the Gods; and by that of Idols, whatever repreſented them.

CHAP. I.

Of the Origin and Progreſs of Idolatry.

SOME perhaps may be perſuaded, that what I have ſaid of the Theogony of the ſeveral Nations, might ſuffice for our underſtanding the Origin of Idolatry; and to be ſure it is included therein. But there are ſo many other things to be ſaid upon the Subject, that I judged it required to be treated ſeparately.

§. *Epiphanius* diſtinguiſhes the ancient Religions into four (2). *Barbariſm*, which continued from *Adam* to *Noah*;

(1) Tract. de Idol. (2) Adv. Hær. V. 1 1.

Noah; *Scythiſm*, from *Noah* to *Serug*; *Helleniſm* *Judaiſm*, which commenc'd under *Abraham*. Oth thors divide the Religions of thoſe early Times, on *Sabiſm* and *Helleniſm*: *Epiphanius*'s Diviſion is and is favoured by the Hiſtory of the World; ſ deed, from *Adam* to *Noah*, all is quite dark, what Accounts of that Period we have from thus *Epiphanius* might well call that time, *Bar* The *Scythian* Nations had a peculiar Religion, from that of the *Greeks* and others; beſides, th perſion of thoſe People is very ancient. There ſon therefore for placing their Religion before *He* ſince a part of the *Greeks*, and their Religion cam *Phenicia*: *Helleniſm* too is juſtly put before *Ju* ſince that holy Religion which had *Abraham* for ther and Founder, is the Reformation of the rel the ſtrongeſt Bulwark againſt Idolatry, which ove the Earth in the time of this holy Patriarch.

Epiphanius's Diviſion has not however been r by all the Learned. F. *Petavius* ſays, it has r Foundation; and the truth is, it is imperfect, takes no notice of *Sabiſm*, the Religion of the ol *ſians*, who worſhipped the Fire, as we may the learned Performance of Dr. *Thomas Hyde* (1) *Owen* (2); nor does it include the whole of *Egyp* which the Scripture ſpeaks of.

Whether Idolatry took its riſe before the Deluge.

At the beginning, Men knew anc only one God, the Creator, Omni Eternal. *Adam*, immediately come the hands of God, preſerved the p dea of him in his own Family, and there nee doubt of its having continued in the Branch of til the Deluge. God had given our firſt Par many Manifeſtations of himſelf, for them to b quainted with him. He thought it not enc draw his Image on the Works of Nature, anc lighten their Mind by the Illumination of his G converſed with them, and inſtructed them eit mediately, or by the Mediation of his Angels; th

(1) De Relig. vet. Perſ. (2) De Ortu & Progr. Idol.

had the cleareſt and ſoundeſt Idea of the ſupreme Being, which it is poſſible for Man to have; and conſequently the Worſhip they paid to God, and which he himſelf had preſcribed, was pure and undefiled. We can't have the ſame thoughts of *Cain*'s Family: His Poſterity not only fell into Idolatry, but into all the other Crimes which brought on the Deluge; whereof, to be ſure, Idolatry, which the Scripture frequently terms either Fornication or Adultery, was one of the principal Cauſes. The Sons of Men, that is, according to Interpreters, the Offspring of *Cain*, were abandoned to the moſt infamous Paſſions; the pure Idea of an all-perfect Being begun inſenſibly to wear out, and among carnal Men it became connected with Senſe: Thus they very ſoon affixed it to ſenſible Objects; and that which appeared moſt beneficial and perfect to their eyes, was worſhipped as their greateſt God.

The learned *Maimonides*, in his Treatiſe upon the Origin of Idolatry, which is tranſlated into *Latin* in a Piece of *Voſſius* upon the ſame Subject, thus expreſſes himſelf. "The firſt Origin of Idolatry muſt be re-"ferr'd to the time of *Enos*, when Men began to ſtudy "the Motion of the Stars and of the heavenly Bodies, "and reckon'd them created by God to govern the "World. They imagined God had ſet them in the "Heavens to make them partake of his own Glory, "and ſerve him as Miniſters; whence they concluded, "it was their Duty to give them Honour. Upon this "Foundation they began to build Temples to the Stars, "to offer Sacrifices to them, and to proſtrate themſelves "before them, in order to obtain Favours from him who "had created them, and this was the firſt Origin of Idola-"try. Not as if they believed there was no other God "beſides the Stars; but they were perſuaded that in "adoring them, they fulfilled the Will of the Creator. "In time, certain falſe Prophets aroſe, pretending "to be ſent from God, and that they had Revelations "for appointing ſuch and ſuch a Star to be worſhipped, "nay, for appointing Sacrifices to be offered to the "whole Hoſt of Heaven; and they made Figures of

" them, which they expoſed to be publickly worſhipped. " Thereupon they began to ſet up their Repreſenta- " tions in Temples, under Trees, and upon the tops " of Mountains. They flock'd together for their Ado- " ration, and the Proſperity they enjoy'd was attributed " to the Worſhip they paid to them. Hence it came a- " bout, concludes *Maimonides*, that the Name of God " was intirely baniſhed from the Mouths and Hearts of " Men."

Tertullian, not to mention others, who likewiſe believed Idolatry had commenced before the Deluge (1), ſupported his Opinion by the Book of *Enoch*; but we have made it appear that this Piece, tho' of very great Antiquity, carried all the Marks of an Apocryphal Book.

This is likewiſe the Sentiment of the Generality of the moſt learned Rabbins (2); they found it upon a Paſſage in *Geneſis* (3), where it is ſaid of *Enos*, *Iſte cœpit invocare nomen Domini*; which is thus expreſſed in another Verſion: *Tunc profanatum eſt in invocando nomine Domini*; and this Difference ariſes from the word *chalal*, which equally imports, to begin, and to profane. The Idea we have of the ancient Giants from the ſacred Books, as well as from profane Authors, where they are repreſented as Men of an unbounded Inſolence, and infinitely corrupt, is a good Confirmation of the Opinion of theſe Rabbi's. The Enterprize of theſe preſumptuous Men againſt Heaven, does it not intimate their Intention to diſpute his Sovereignty? But we are not to dwell longer upon the Period which preceded the Deluge; a Period, about which *Moſes* has ſaid little, and from what he ſays of it, we can draw no Concluſion with reſpect to Idolatry. For in ſhort, the Paſſage they ſolely rely upon, is very hard to be underſtood, and would require the diſcuſſing of ſome Queſtions that would lead me too far from my Subject. You may conſult the learned Diſſertation of Father *Souciet*, and the Reflections of M. *Fourmont*, who, altho' he

(1) De Idol. c. 3.
(2) See *Maimon. de Idolo. R. Jarfi*, &c.
(3) C. 4. v. ult.

he agrees that nothing can be concluded from it for Idolatry before the Deluge, believes nevertheleſs, that it was introduced in that Period, and he aſſigns five Cauſes of it, which equally ſubſiſted after *Noah*. *Admiration*; hence the Worſhip of the Stars, eſpecially of the Sun and Moon, Objects ſo ſtriking, ſo uſeful, and conſequently ſo proper to attract the Worſhip of Men. *Natural Affection*; a Mother has an only Son whom ſhe doats upon, of him ſhe is bereaved, cauſes a Statue to be erected to him, and this Image becomes the tutelar Deity of the Family; as we ſee in the Book of *Wiſdom*. This Example recorded in Scripture is not the only one which might be quoted. *Fear*; all the world knows that ancient Verſe,

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor;

and none was ever better acquainted with this human Weakneſs, than our Miſſionaries to *America*, who were told upon all occaſions, if God be good, he has no need of our Service. 'Tis the Demons alone, or the miſchievous *Genii* we ought to worſhip, to keep them from doing us harm. From the ſame Source, no doubt, came the Gods among the *Romans*, called *Averrunci*, that is, the Averters of Evil; hence too the Goddeſs *Angerona*; the Fever, the deify'd Diſeaſes, and Fear it ſelf, which became one of their Divinities. *Hope*; to this it is we owe the Origin of the ſalutary Gods, ſuch as *Apollo*, *Eſculapius*, and the reſt, on whoſe Aid they founded their Hope of being cured. Laſtly, *Flattery*; and it is needleſs to quote examples of the Gods who owe their Original to this.

To theſe five Cauſes, a ſixth may be added, the Corruption of the Heart: A corrupt Heart adores its own Defects and Exceſſes; its Crimes are its firſt Divinities.

A modern Author, from a perſuaſion that Idolatry did not take its riſe till after the Deluge, gives a very ſingular Account of its Origin: according to him, Atheiſm had ſpread itſelf over the World. "This diſ-"poſition of Mind towards God, ſays he, is the capi-"tal Crime; for Atheiſts are much more odious to the

" Divinity than Idolaters. Beſides, this Principle is " more capable of leading Men to that exceſſive Cor- " ruption the World fell into before the Deluge. The " Knowledge of a God, continues he, of whatever " Nature he is conceiv'd, and the Worſhip of the Deity, " is apt of it ſelf to be a Reſtraint upon Men; ſo that " Idolatry was of ſome uſe to bear down the Corrup- " tion of the World. 'Tis therefore probable, that the " horrid Vices Men were fallen into before the Deluge, " proceeded only from their not knowing nor ſerving " God. I am even of opinion, that Idolatry and " Polytheiſm, after the Deluge, derived their Origin " from the Impiety and Atheiſm that reigned before it. " Such is the Temper of Men; when they have been " ſeverely puniſhed for any Crime, they run into an- " other Extreme. This was actually, ſays he, the " Caſe of the *Jews:* As they were very ſharply chaſ- " tiſed for having abandon'd themſelves to Idolatry, " and neglected the Celebration of the Sabbath, upon " their return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, they con- " ceived ſuch a Deteſtation of Idols, that they were " inclined more than once to revolt, rather than ſuffer " their Governors to bear Enſigns, on which the *Ro-* " *man* Eagles were painted; and allowed themſelves to " be defeated on different occaſions becauſe they would " not break the Sabbath. I conjecture, concludes the " ſame Author, that ſomething like this was the Caſe " with Men after the Deluge: As they reckon'd that " this terrible Judgment, which carried ſuch evident " Indications of the divine Wrath, was ſent for the " Puniſhment of Atheiſm, they run into the oppoſite " Extreme; they adored whatever ſeemed to deſerve " their Worſhip". We readily agree with this Author, that the greateſt of all Crimes is Atheiſm, and that Idolatry, notwithſtanding all that M. *Bayle* has ſaid to deſtroy this Aſſertion, is capable of furniſhing a Curb againſt the Irregularity of Manners, which Atheiſm has not in its power: But who told him that Men before the Deluge had been arrived at that exceſs of Impiety? He ought at leaſt to have excepted the choſen Race, the

he Poſterity of *Seth*. 'Tis very true, *Moſes* ſays (*a*), hat from the Commerce of the Sons of God, that is, f the Succeſſors of *Seth*, with the Daughters of Men, y whom we are to underſtand, thoſe who deſcended f *Cain*, were born the *Nephelim*, who fell into the roſſeſt Enormities, as their very Name imports; but e ſays not a word about their having become Atheiſts. Now what more can we know about thoſe firſt Men, han what this ſacred Hiſtorian has related?

However it be as to the beginnings of Idolatry, certain it is, that the Knowledge and Worſhip of the true God were again united in the Family of *Noah*, which remained alone upon the Earth after the Deluge. That holy Patriarch, in gratitude to God for his Preſervation, offered him a ſolemn Sacrifice of every clean Animal that came out of the Ark, and no doubt he would be ſure to recommend it to his Children and Grand-children, to preſerve with Veneration the Worſhip preſcrib'd to him by God himſelf. Thus, before the diviſion of Tongues, and while the Children and Grand-children of that Patriarch made up but one Family and People, there is the higheſt probability that this Worſhip was not altered in its Purity. *Noah* was ſtill alive, he was the Head of that People. *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, Witneſſes themſelves of the Vengeance of God upon their Contemporaries, living in the midſt of their Families, would they have allowed their Children to abandon that ſame Worſhip? Nothing we read of in Antiquity can incline us to this Belief. In all likelihood therefore, it was not till after the Diſperſion of that People, that Idolatry aroſe. And while the true Religion was for a longer time preſerv'd in ſome Families, eſpecially in that from which *Abraham* ſprung, others abandoned it for the Service of vain Idols, which their Ignorance, or rather the Corruption of their Hearts had formed.

In the mean time, *Noah* ſurvived the Introduction of this abuſe, nor was he able wholly to correct Man's

(*a*) See what has been ſaid on this Subject in the preceding Book, p. 122, and following.

fatal Byaſs to ſeek after ſenſible Objects of Worſhip; and even in his life-time (for he died not till about the time of the Birth of *Abraham*) Idolatry was widely diffuſed over the Earth.

It is not eaſy to tell preciſely, either by whom, at what Period, or with what Object it begun; the Scripture ſpeaks of it only occaſionally and by the by. The firſt time it is mentioned, is in ſpeaking of the Son of *Zilpah*, *Leah*'s Handmaid. As ſoon as this Child was born, *Leah* pronounced theſe two Words, *Ba-gad*, and ſhe gave him the Name *Gad*. *Selden* ſays (1), the *Hebrews* explained this Word to mean, *Propitious-Star* (2), and that *Gad* in *Arabick* ſignifies good Fortune. S. *Auguſtine* contends, that *Leah* on this occaſion ſpoke after the manner of Idolaters, and that ſhe invoked the Propitious Star at the Birth of her Son. "*Certe aut Lea propterea locuta eſt, quod adhuc Gentilitatis conſuetudinem retinebat* (3)." The ſame term *Gad*, occurs in *Iſaiah*; the Vulgate tranſlates it, *Fortune*: *Qui ponitis Fortunæ menſam* (4), and the Septuagint, *Demon*, δαιμόνιον, which may denote all the Gods in general.

The ſecond time Idolatry is mentioned in *Geneſis*, is when *Jacob* left *Laban*'s Houſe, and *Rachel* ſecretly ſtole away the *Teraphim* of her Father. The Vulgate renders that word, *Idols*: *Rachel furata eſt Idola patris ſui* (5): And this Tranſlation is juſtified from *Laban*'s Expoſtulation with *Jacob*: *Why have you ſtolen away my Gods? Cur furatus es Deos meos* (6)? Theſe Paſſages, 'tis true, plainly intimate that Idolatry prevailed in the time of *Jacob*, which cannot be controverted; it was even much earlier than he, ſince *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, where his Anceſtors dwelt, was an Idolatrous City, which *Abraham* his Father abandoned, but they do not inform us of the Date of its Eſtabliſhment in the World.

The Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* offers two or three Sources of Idolatry. Firſt, the affectionate Concern of a Father for the loſs of his Son, ſnatch'd away before

(1) De Diis Syriis. (2) Mazal-Teb. (3) In Gen. Q. 91.
(4) Iſ. 65. 11. (5) Gen. 31. (6) Ibid.

efore his time. To ſolace himſelf for his Death, he rovides an Image of this Son, and performs divine lonours to him in his Family. From his Family the Vorſhip is propagated to the City, and this private od ſoon becomes a publick Divinity (*a*). The ſecond, as the Beauty of the Work of a Sculptor; the Di-inity was thought to inhabit in Statues ſo finely rought (1). The third, which returns to the ſame, when a Potter formed a well-proportion'd Statue, and onſecrated it as a Deity: *Et cum Labore vano Deum ingit de eodem Luto*, &c. *Calvin* (2), as an Argument or his rejecting the Book of *Wiſdom*, alledges that the Author was groſly miſtaken about the Origin of Idolatry; but it was owing to his being unwilling to ſee that he who compoſed this Book, never deſigned to handle dogmatically the Origin of Idolatrous Worſhip, and that all he had in view was to give a few Examples, tranſiently, of that Species of Idolatry, which led the Ancients to worſhip Statues, and to confer divine Honours upon dead Men.

It is not therefore from the ſacred Books we can learn the true date of the Eſtabliſhment of Idolatry, nor have we any Author in Antiquity, worthy our following on this Subject. What we ought to think of it is this.

The Patriarchs had too many Manifeſtations from God, as was hinted already, either to be unacquainted with him themſelves, or to leave their Poſterity ignorant of him. Thus *Noah*'s immediate Deſcendants preſerv'd the Purity of Worſhip, the Laws of which they had from God's own mouth. This Worſhip was perpetuated not only in *Abraham*'s Line, but ſometimes even in Countries the moſt addicted to Idolatry, Men were found who worſhipped God in Spirit and in Truth. *Melchizedek* King of *Salem*, *Jethro*, *Moſes*'s Father-in-law, and *Job*, are not perhaps the only Perſons who retained the Knowledge of the true God.

This

(*a*) Acerbo enim luctu dolens pater, cito ſibi rapti filii fecit imaginem, & illum qui tunc quaſi homo mortuus fuerat, nunc tanquam Deum colere cœpit. Deinde interveniente tempore . . . . hic error tanquam Lex cuſtoditus eſt, &c. *Sap.* 15. v. 15, and 16.

(1) Id. c. 15. v. 8. (2) *Calv. Inſt.* l. 1. c. 1.

This Religion, pure in its beginnings, ſuffered great Alterations afterwards, but 'tis impoſſible to point out the true Date of the Changes it underwent. Only in general we know, that Ignorance, and the Paſſions ſtill more, introduced a Mixture into it which corrupted all. From that time the Idea of God became obſcure: They brought his Works into a competition with himſelf; and by a Perverſion, ſtrange indeed, but too true, the Beauty of the Creatures, which ought to have raiſed Man to the Knowledge of the Creator, made him be forgotten who had raiſed them from nothing, and the Worſhip of his Works ſubſtituted in room of that which was due to himſelf.

One thing well worthy remarking, is, that whatever Alteration was made in the primitive Worſhip, the Subſtance thereof has been always the ſame. Take a ſurvey of all the Religions in the World, and almoſt every where you ſhall find the ſame Miniſters at the Altars, the ſame Character of Sacrifices, the ſame legal Obſervations, as we ſhall ſee when we come to the Prieſthood and Victims: Inſomuch that methinks we may ſay of Worſhip in general, what *Procopius* of *Gaza* ſays of Purifications in particular, when he compares thoſe that were preſcribed by the Law of *Moſes*, with thoſe that were practiſed in the Pagan World. For the ſole difference he finds between them is, that the *Jewiſh* Purifications were more perfect, and without any Mixture of Superſtition, while thoſe of the Pagans were infected therewith.

The dependance of the Soul of Man upon the Senſes and Imagination, not allowing him to ſee God any other way but thro' a Glaſs darkly, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks (1), renders us incapable of being made acquainted with him, but under ſenſible Images; which Images were ſo many Emblems capable of raiſing us up to him, ſo far at leaſt as the preſent State will bear, as the Portrait ſets before us him whoſe Picture it is. Thoſe Emblems were multiplied in proceſs of time to infinity, and caſt an impenetrable Obſcurity upon Religion.

The

(1) 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

The *Egyptians* carried this Symbolical and Hieroglyphical Science, farther than the other Nations; tho' we dare not aſſert that they were the Inventers of it. This much at leaſt is certain, that in all the Religions we know in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, there is not one of them whoſe Theology is not full of the like Emblems. If we take *Diodorus Siculus*'s Teſtimony (1), the *Cretans*, who vaunted that moſt of the Gods had been born amongſt them, boaſted at the ſame time that they had been the firſt who founded for them a Worſhip, Sacrifices, Myſteries, which from them had been propagated to every other Nation.

Be that as it will, the Philoſophers, eſpecially the *Platoniſts*, attempted to eſtabliſh a particular Syſtem, with relation to the Origin of Idolatry, which, if it were well proved, would be very capable to leſſen its Abſurdity. They maintain'd that the Idea which the wiſe Men of Antiquity had formed to themſelves of God, was that of a Being ſuperiour to whatever exiſts; of a Spirit preſent in all the bounds of the Univerſe, who animates all, who is the Principle of all Generation, and communicates Fertility to every Being; of a Flame lively, pure, and always active; of an Intelligence infinitely wiſe, whoſe Providence continually watches over all, and extends over all; in a word, an Idea of a Being to whom they had given different Names, anſwering to his ſuperiour Excellence; but ſuch as always bore the ſtamp of that ſupreme Right of Poſſeſſion, which is only inherent in the abſolute Lord, and in him from whom all things flow.

Sentiments of the Pagans about the Origin of Idolatry.

Porphyry after *Theophraſtus*, even ſtrain'd his utmoſt efforts to prove, that Religion, in its beginnings, was founded upon Uſages of great purity, and upon Ideas very different from what prevail'd in his time. He alledges, that in the beginning, no ſenſible Image was worſhipped, no bloody Sacrifice offer'd, and that the Names and Genealogies of that multiplicity of Gods known in his time, were not then ſo much as invented. Pure

(1) L. 2.

Pure Acts of Homage, said he, were paid to the first Principle of all Things, Herbs and Fruits were presented to him, and Libations of Liquors perform'd, in acknowledgment of his sovereign Dominion.

Such, according to him, was Paganism, and the Religion of the Learned; that which was combated with so much success, was only the Religion of the ignorant Populace. Thus that expert Philosopher pretended, by a refined System, to excuse Idolatry: But those he had to do with were not to be thus imposed upon. It was urged against him, that no where, except among the Patriarchs and the *Jews*, had such a Religion as he described been found; and that the grossest Idolatry was the established System. To direct us in tracing out the Origin of Idolatry, we must have surer Guides than the Pagan Philosophers.

The Fathers consider'd the thing in a moral light, and alledged, with a good deal of reason, that Idolatry came into the World only thro' the corruption of the Heart of Man. Pride, Love of Independence, Propensity to sensual Pleasures, are the true causes of its establishment; and 'tis too evident to be denied.

CHAP. II.

At what period Idolatry began.

BUT when was this Disorder introduc'd, and by what degrees did it arrive at that height of Abomination, which will always put Humanity to the blush? *Epiphanius* is of opinion (1), that *Serug* the Grand-father of *Terah Abraham*'s Father was the Founder of it; but the Scripture barely insinuates (2), that the Forefathers of that Patriarch were engaged in the worship of Idols, without saying they were the Inventors thereof. *Josephus* (3) advances, that this evil was even then so general, that *Abraham* was the first who durst assert that there was but one God, and that the whole Universe was the Work of his hands: And there are Fathers who have not even scrupled to say, that

(1) B. 1. de Hæres. (2) Jos. xxiv. v. 2. (3) Ant. L. 1. ch. 9.

hat this Patriarch himſelf had been an Idolater. Al-ho' I agree with *Joſephus*, and with the more learned *abbi's*, who deny it (*a*), it is certain however, that dolatry was ſpread in his Life-time, and that God pre-rv'd him from this Contagion, or at leaſt put him be-ond its reach, by bringing him out of *Chaldea*, where e dwelt.

It ought therefore to have been traced higher. *Nim-od* is he to whom the Origin of Idolatry is commonly ſcrib'd. 'Tis alledg'd, that it was he who introduc'd he Worſhip of Fire, which has been of ſo long dura-ion (1).

The City *Ur* was ſo called, becauſe there the Fire was worſhip'd, and this is what had given riſe to the Fable, which ſays, that the King who reign'd in the time of *Abraham*, had cauſed him to be thrown into the Fire, be-cauſe he ſet himſelf in oppoſition to that Superſtition, and that God reſcu'd him from it in a miraculous man-ner; a Rabbinical Fable, founded upon what is ſaid in Scripture, that this Patriarch came forth from *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (*b*). But whatever Idea the Scripture gives us of the Inſolence of *Nimrod*, who was Projector of the Tower of *Babel*, a project which one may look upon as a kind of Inſurrection againſt Heaven, yet it gives no inſinuation of his having induced the *Chal-deans* to worſhip ſenſible Beings.

There is as little Foundation for ſaying, that *Ninus* was the firſt Author of Idolatry: It is of an earlier date than his time, ſince he lived only about the time of the firſt Judges, as *Uſher* undeniably demonſtrates (*c*), whereas the Scripture taxes *Terah* and *Nahor* with Idolatry a long time before. We can only allow, not to recede far from the opinion of *Jerom* and *Cyril*, that this Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, was one of the firſt who introduced that ſpecies of Idolatry, which had

(*a*) *Rabbi Maimonides* however is of opinion, that he was an Idolater until the age of forty-eight years.

(1) Hugo Victor in Gen. c x.

(*b*) See *Jerom*'s *Hebraick* Queſtions upon *Geneſis*.

(*c*) This Author places the Reign of *Belus* in the Year of the World 2682, and that of *Ninus* in 2687.

had for its Object the Worſhip of great Men, having built a Temple to the honour of his Father *Belus*. But there was an Idolatry of a much greater Antiquity, as we ſhall ſhew immediately.

ARTICLE I.

That it was in Egypt *and* Phenicia *it had its Riſe.*

'TIS, no doubt, in the Family of *Ham* we are to ſeek for the true Origin of Idolatry. The unfortunate Children of an accurſed Father were the firſt who forgot the wiſe Counſels of *Noah*; and following the Propenſity of their own heart, and abandoning themſelves to their paſſions, ſought out ſenſible Objects, to whom they might offer a ſuperſtitious Worſhip. As the two Sons of *Ham*, *Canaan* and *Mizraim*, ſettled the one in *Phenicia* and the other in *Egypt*, theſe are the two Kingdoms whence Idolatry took its riſe. I believe it began much later in Countries peopled by the Deſcendants of *Shem* and *Japhet*.

Egypt and *Phenicia* then were the firſt Nurſeries of Idolatry: This is the opinion of *Euſebius* (1), who had not a little examined into this Subject; of *Lactantius* (2), and of *Caſſian* (3), the former of whom aſcribes its Original to *Canaan*, and the latter to *Ham* his Father. This is what ſeveral *Rabbi's* have thought upon the Subject, who even reckon that thoſe two Patriarchs had been Idolaters before the Deluge. *Voſſius* (*a*) ſays, it is beyond doubt, that Idolatry had its riſe in the Family of *Ham*, and by conſequence in *Egypt*: This Author adds, that it is agreed to by all the Ancients. And without mentioning *Diodorus*, and ſeveral others, it ſuffices to quote *Lucian* (3), who ſays in ſo many words, that the *Egyptians* are the firſt who honoured the Gods and paid them a ſolemn Worſhip. *Herodotus*, in the beginning of his Hiſtory (4), is not ſo poſitive on the head as *Lucian*, but what he ſays is much the ſame; *The* Egyptians, according to this learn'd Hiſtorian, *are the*

(1) Præpar. Evan. c. 6, & 9. (2) De falſ. Rel. B 2. (3) Collat. 8. c. 21.

(*a*) Remarks upon *Maimonides's* Treatiſe concerning Idolatry.

(3) *De Dea Syria.* (4) Ch. 4.

be firſt who knew the Names of the twelve great Gods, and from them it is that the Greeks *learn'd them.* This Author aſſerts the ſame thing in ſeveral places, and particularly in the fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

Egypt has always been conſider'd as the center of Idolatry; ſo it is repreſented in ſeveral places in Scripture: There prevail'd Magick, Divination, Auguries, the Interpretation of Dreams, the unhappy Fruits of a ſuperſtitious Worſhip. Even from the time of *Moſes*, Idolatry was there at its higheſt pitch, which ſuppoſes a great Antiquity; for, in ſhort, it is a conſiderable time before a compleat Syſtem of Religion comes to be eſtabliſh'd. *Moſes* even ſeems to have given the *Jews* ſuch a multitude of Precepts, only to oppoſe them in every thing to the *Egyptian* Ceremonies: What concerns the Sacrifices, the uſe of Meats, and Polity, theſe were eſtabliſh'd merely to keep them at a diſtance from the practices of that idolatrous People.

This, without doubt, is the Country where Idolatry commenc'd; from thence it paſs'd into *Phenicia*, if it did not even begin there at the ſame time (*a*); and from *Phenicia* it was propagated to the Eaſt, into the places inhabited by the Poſterity of *Sem*, into *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, and the places adjacent, and in the Weſt, where the Poſterity of *Japhet* fix'd their reſidence, that is to ſay, in *Aſia minor*, in *Greece*, and in the Iſles: This is the courſe it is made to take by *Euſebius* and other ancient Fathers; and we are not to hearken to the *Greeks*, when they tell us, that Idolatry took its riſe, either in the Iſland of *Crete* under the reign of *Meliſſus*, or at *Athens* under *Cecrops*, or in *Phrygia*, ſince they were not acquainted with the true Antiquities, and we are ſure they had their Religion and Ceremonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, with the Colonies that

(*a*) Several learned Men maintain, that Idolatry had its riſe in *Phenicia*, and from thence ſpread itſelf into *Egypt*. It is very difficult to debate upon a Fact of ſuch Antiquity. All will be reconciled by ſaying, as I have done, that it began perhaps at one and the ſame time in both theſe Countries, both peopled by the ſame Family.

that came to them from theſe ancient Kingdoms, as all the Learned are agreed, and as *Heródotus* expreſly declares.

We conclude then, that *Egypt* and *Phenicia* are the two Countries where Idolatry took its riſe. Whether it began while *Ham* himſelf was alive, is what I am not able to determine; but this at leaſt is certain, that it was widely diffuſed under the reign of his Son *Mizraim*.

ARTICLE II.

What was the firſt Object of Idolatry.

IF, after having found out the moſt probable Æra of Idolatry, and diſcover'd the Places where it began, we want now to know what was its firſt Object; we are to obſerve the ſame method, and give the different Opinions of the Learned. If we believe the famous *Voſſius* (1), the moſt ancient Idolatry was that of two Principles. Men ſeeing a World full of Good and Evil, and not being able to conceive, that a Being of eſſential Goodneſs could be the Author of Evil, invented two Divinities equal in Power, and eternal; they believ'd all Good came from the good Principle, and that the bad did all the evil he poſſibly could; that the latter ſeeing the good Principle deſign'd to create a World, had thwarted his purpoſe as far as he was able; that upon this enſued a ſharp War between theſe two Beings, which was the thing that retarded this Creation, until the moment that the good Principle got the better; that the other in revenge, had ſcattered up and down in it all ſorts of evils and miſeries. This learned Author adds, there is no poſſibility of determining the preciſe date of this Error, or who was its original Author, but he looks upon it, with reaſon, to be very ancient.

Plutarch (2) gives a long Enumeration of thoſe who taught it, not only among the *Greeks*, but the *Barbarians* too; and to be ſure the *Perſians*, continues *Voſſius*, muſt have had this Opinion very early, ſince the famous *Zoroaſter* found it eſtabliſh'd there: For altho' 'tis

(1) *L. 1. de* Orig. Idol. (2) De Iſide.

is not known who this *Zoroaſter* was, nor in what me he lived, yet we know well that he is very anci-nt, and there is ſome appearance that it is *Mizraim* imſelf, the Son of *Ham*, who was called after his eath *Zoroaſter*, as you would ſay *Living-Star*, be-auſe he had led the *Egyptians* to pay a religious Wor-ip to the Stars.

Here we may remark by the by, that a learned *Eng-ſh* Author (1), who was better acquainted than *Voſſius* vith the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, has given reat light to the Hiſtory of *Zoroaſter*: He was called *Zeratucht* or *Zerducht*, and lived in the time of *Darius* ion of *Hyſtaſpes*. This great Man, far from having ntroduced Idolatry among that ancient People, exerted is utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy it, and reclaim'd the nore reaſonable to the Knowledge of one ſole Prin-iple, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as they had een taught by *Sem* and *Abraham* their primitive Pa-riarchs: But becauſe *Sabiſm* (*a*), that is, the Worſhip of the Stars and Planets, was the predominant Religi-on, he was obliged to ſtrike a medium; and leſt they hould have been obſtinately untractable, he preſcrib'd a ſort of ſubordinate Worſhip to be given to the Sun nd to the Fire, which is the Principle of Fertility, vith ſome Ceremonies purely of a civil nature, ſuch as re ſtill practiſed at this day in the *Indies*, and eſpe-ially in the Neighbourhood of *Surat*, by the *Magi* efcended of thoſe ancient *Perſians*, who, according o this Author, are by no means Idolaters, whatever ay be ſaid of them by the *Mahometans*, who would n draw them over to their Religion; ſince 'tis true, e he aſſerts, that they worſhip but one ſole God, the ſt Principle of all Beings, and offer up to him nothing t their Vows and Prayers; and if they adore the re and the Sun, it is becauſe they look upon him as e pureſt Image of the Creator, and the Temple where e has eſtabliſh'd his Throne (*b*).

(1) *Thomas Hyde*, Religion of the ancient *Perſians*.

(*a*) This Word imports *Copia*, and *Sabaite*, *Copiarius*; as much as to ſay, one who worſhips an Hoſt. See *Hyde*, loc. cit.

(*b*) *See the Hiſtory of the* Worſhip of *Mithras*, L. 7. c. 11. p. 600

But to return to the Idolatry of the two Princ
Voſſius maintains, that it ſpread itſelf in a little tim
all *Egypt*, except *Thebais*, where the Worſhip
true God was preſerv'd; and he alledges, that a
the *Egyptians* fable about *Oſiris* and *Typhon*, an
perſecutions of the latter againſt his Brother, ou
be underſtood of theſe two Principles, and their
nal War: And this, without doubt, is what that a
People, whoſe whole Theology was full of Sy
intended to teach us by the myſterious Fable, wh
timated, that *Oſiris* had ſhut up in an Egg twelve
pyramidical figures, to denote the infinite Bleſſi
was deſign'd to multiply upon Mankind; but th
Brother *Typhon* having found a way to open this
had ſecretly convey'd thither twelve other Py
that were black, by which means Evil came to
ways blended with Good (*a*).

We may add, that whatever the Philoſopher
ſaid concerning this good and bad Principle; wh
the *Perſians* have given out of their two [redacted] Di
Oromaſdes and *Arimanius*; the *Chaldeans* of their
or noxious Planets; the *Greeks* of their ſalutary
nicious *Genii*; all theſe, I ſay, derive their Origi
that ancient *Egyptian* Theology, veil'd und
Fables of *Oſiris* and *Typhon*. This Opinion,
will trace it back to its true Source, was ow
Mens having been always puzzled how to acco
the introduction of Evil into a World, which
Work of a God infinitely good and beneficent.
the other Fables that were there intermix'd, the
their Origin, no doubt, from the Tradition of th
bat between the good and bad Angels.

Be that as it will, this Opinion made vaſt p
Pythagoras fetch'd it from *Egypt*, and then pro
it thro' all *Italy*. The famous *Manes*, not to n
what other progreſs this Error made, ſpread
the Chriſtian World in the fourteenth Century,
he had ſeveral Diſciples. S. *Auguſtin* himſelf we
it for ſome time, but having diſcover'd its abſ

(*a*) See the Hiſtory of *Oſiris*, L. 6. c. 1. art. 1.

he afterwards combated it with ſo much ſucceſs, that it was from that time look'd upon as a cauſe quite deſperate; till M. *Bayle* (*a*) reſolv'd to revive it, and to ſet up for the Advocate of the *Manicheans*, whether, as is highly probable, to cut out work for the Divines of all Parties, or to ſhew that the moſt deſperate Cauſe, by falling into able hands, may be ſo managed as to puzzle the greateſt Genius's, or for ſome other reaſon which we ſhall not dive into; and ſeeing himſelf attack'd on all hands by illuſtrious Adverſaries (*b*), he has employ'd all the Artifice of a curious refin'd Wit, to give ſome credit to ſo bad a Cauſe. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that this Error had its riſe among the *Chaldeans*, from whom it was communicated to the *Perſians* and *Indians*, and to almoſt all the People of the Earth; which holds true, provided we don't mean *Manicheiſm* ſuch as *Manes* taught it, but conſider it under the different Forms it had.

From the Idolatry of two Principles, *Voſſius* proceeds to that of Spirits; and he examines the Cauſes that influenced Men to worſhip them. He finds two; the Knowledge they had of the Excellency of their Nature, and the ſurprizing Effects believed to be produced by them; and doubtleſs Oracles, Apparitions and magical Operations contributed not a little to make their Power and Sovereignty be acknowledg'd. Their Worſhip was almoſt every where eſtabliſh'd, eſpecially towards the bad Angels; and this to be ſure is the ſenſe of the Scripture-language, which calls all the Gods of the Gentiles Demons (1). This ſort of Idolatry is ſtill to be found in all the Countries where the Goſpel has not been embraced, as the Relations of all our Miſſionaries atteſt. But here we muſt apply the judicious Remark of M. *le Clerc* (2), that it is a miſtake to believe, that thoſe Idolaters who worſhip two Beings, the one beneficent and the other malicious, underſtand hereby the good and bad Angels, as if they knew the

N 2 Syſtem

(*a*) See in his Dictionary the Articles of the *Manicheans* and *Paulicians*.

(*b*) Meſſieurs *Bing*, *Le Clerc*, *Bernard* and *Jaquelot*.

(1) *Dii Gentium Dæmonia.* (2) Art. crit.

Syſtem of the Fall of the one, and of the Fidelity of the others; whereas by *Genii* they mean certain Powers diſperſed thro' the World, who produce in it good and evil.

To the Worſhip of *Genii*, *Voſſius* joins that of Souls departed, which was eſtabliſh'd in ſeveral Countries, if we credit *Mela*, *Herodotus* and *Tertullian*, eſpecially in *Africk*, where thoſe of great Men were held in high veneration: But as this is the ſpecies of Idolatry that has made greateſt progreſs in the World, ſince, as we ſhall ſhew, moſt of the Pagan Gods were none other than the great Men who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves among them, let us enlarge upon this Point, and propoſe the Conjectures of a perſon of great ability (*a*), about the Origin of this ſpecies of Idolatry.

Two things, he reckons, introduced it into the World, Gratitude and Fear, or the veneration they bore to the illuſtrious Dead, and apprehenſion of the Evils to which we are obnoxious. The regard they had for their Anceſtors, brought in the Cuſtom of funeral Solemnities; their ambition to pleaſe the Living, made them run out extravagantly in praiſing the actions of the Dead; Panegyricks were ſung at their Funerals, their Names cry'd up to the skies; and as, before the introduction of the poetical Hell and *Elyſian* Fields, it was the opinion, that the Souls wander'd in Houſes and places they had frequented during their union with the Body, they erected in the moſt venerable part of the Houſe a ſort of Altar, where their Pourtraits were preſerv'd with reſpect, and there they burn'd Incenſe and ſweet Odours. They had one conſtituted to have the Over-ſight of the Worſhip they paid them; and hither they repaired upon preſſing Exigencies, to implore their Aſſiſtance. A deſire of continuing a lucrative ſervice, made thoſe Prieſts invent Stories, where they intermixed Miracles and many things ſupernatural, ſometimes to alarm the incredulous, ſometimes to animate the devout. Theſe Miniſters framed Romances too upon the Lives of thoſe great Men, which they conceal'd

(*a*) F. *Tournemine*: See the Journal of *Trevoux*, *Anno* 1702.

al'd for a long time, and paſs'd them upon the World terwards for true Hiſtories: And however their Conmporaries might be proof againſt the Cheat, thoſe ho came a long time after, had no opportunity of learng the Hiſtory of thoſe great Men but from the outh of their Prieſts; and every thing they ſaw carring an air of Divinity, and publick Temples having me in the room of private Chapels (*a*), it became e faſhion in good earneſt to honour thoſe firſt Men as ods. It was even dangerous to be prying into the Oginal of eſtabliſh'd Worſhip: It was like to have coſt *Eſchylus* his Life, that in one of his Plays he was ought to have reveal'd ſomewhat of the Myſteries of *res.* Accordingly in the Temples, thoſe eſpecially *Oſiris*, was to be ſeen a Statue of *Harpocrates* holdg a finger on his Mouth, to denote, as *Varro* has it, at the Myſtery of his Life and Death was prohibited o be reveal'd; and this was likewiſe the ſignification the *Sphinxes* in the ſame Country, placed at the enance of Temples, as the Emblems of Silence.

The ſecond Cauſe of Idolatry, according to the ſame uthor, is the Fear of Evils to which we are liable: hey had a notion, for example, that many Evils were ccaſion'd by the influences of the Stars; theſe were ought to be animated and immortal, becauſe they ſaw em without any alteration. Thus, the moſt effectuway, they thought, to obtain their favour, was to ppeaſe them whenever they believed them incenſed; nd from that time they began to proſtrate themſelves fore the Sun and Moon, and all the Hoſt of Heaven, the Prophets ſo often upbraid the Nations.

Thus, in ſhort, religious Worſhip was regulated acording to human Exigence; the Exigences of Society troduced the Worſhip of illuſtrious Men, thoſe of ature that of things inanimate.

(*a*) Or rather the Tombs they had erected to them were ſo ſtatey that they were afterwards looked upon as Temples, as *Clemens lexandrinus* remarks, *Superſtitio templa condere perſuaſit, quæ, cum ipſa hominum ſepulchra fuerunt magnificentius condita, templorum appellatione vocata ſunt, &c.* And this undoubtedly was one of the principal Sources of Idolatry.

Monſieur *le Clerc* (*a*) alledges the moſt ancient ſpecies of Idolatry to be that of giving a religious Worſhip to Angels. The Opinion that prevail'd about their mediation between God and Men, procured them certain regards out of Gratitude and Fear, in proportion to the Bleſſings that were thought to be deriv'd from them; then they came to pay them a Worſhip ſubordinate to that of the firſt Being; at laſt they gave them Adoration, and they neither ſpared Incenſe nor Sacrifices in order to appeaſe them when they were thought to be out of humour: *Sacrificarunt Dæmoniis, & non Deo* (1). From the Worſhip of Angels, according to this Author, they proceeded to that of the Souls of illuſtrious Men: Then taking into their heads to ſay, that thoſe Souls ſeparate from Bodies, were united to certain Stars, which they animated, they came at laſt to worſhip thoſe Stars themſelves.

Without entering into a critical Examination of theſe different Opinions, which want not probability, I explain in the following Chapter, what is my own Sentiment on a Subject of ſo great Obſcurity.

CHAP. III.

Where we prove that Idolatry commenc'd with the Worſhip of the Stars.

I Am perſuaded, that Idolatry began by the Worſhip of the Heavenly Bodies, and eſpecially of the Sun. As Men could have no other reaſon for abandoning the true God, but that the Idea of a Being purely ſpiritual was defaced upon their carnal Minds (*b*), it is not probable they would chooſe Men like themſelves to be the firſt Objects of their Adoration; 'tis more likely they

(*a*) Index Philol. ad Hiſtor. Philoſop. Orient. in voce *Angelus*.

(1) Deut. c. xxxii.

(*b*) Homines imbecillis intellectus non valentes corporalia tranſcendere, non crediderunt aliquid eſſe ultra naturam ſenſibilem, & ideo inter corporalia poſuerunt præeminere & diſponere mundum quæ pulchriora & digniora eo videbantur, & eis impendebant divinum cultum, & ejuſmodi ſunt corpora cœleſtia, ſcilicet Sol & Luna & Stellæ. *Divus Thomas*, Opuſc. de Symbolo Apoſtol.

they would caſt about for ſuch ſenſible Objects as bore the Character of the Divinity, whoſe Idea they had not entirely loſt, and which might be a more ſignificant Symbol of him. Now nothing was more capable of ſeducing them than the Heavenly Bodies, and the Sun eſpecially: His Beauty, the bright Splendor of his Beams, the Rapidity of his Courſe, *exultavit utGigas ad currendam viam* (1); his Regularity in enlightening the whole Earth by turns, and in diffuſingLight and Fertility all around, eſſential Characters of the Divinity, who is himſelf the light and ſource of every thing that exiſts; all theſe were but too capable of impreſſing the groſs Minds of Men with a Belief, that there was no other God but the Sun, and that this ſplendid Luminary was the Throne of the Divinity, *in Sole poſuit tabernaculum ſuum* (2). God had fix'd his Habitation in the Heavens; *Cælum Cæli Domino* (3); and they ſaw nothing that bore more marks of Divinity than the Sun.

We can't therefore queſtion the Antiquity of the Worſhip of the Sun and other Luminaries: And if there was occaſion for adding Authority to ſo natural Arguments, I ſhould have upon my ſide not only ſeveral great Men who have been of the ſame mind, but alſo almoſt all theRabbins, and eſpecially the learned *Maimonides*, who, in his Treatiſe upon the Origin of Idolatry, thinks it began in this manner, and that before the Deluge.

Conſidering what Ignorance Men were in as to the Nature of the true God, ſays that learned Rabbi, nothing muſt needs have ſtruck them more than the ſight of the Sun and Stars. Men never loſt this Principle, that the Divinity eſſentially comprehends ſupreme Beauty; and not having ſufficient Lights to riſe to the Idea of an immaterial and inviſible Subſtance, they found nothing more admirable in Nature than the Sun and Stars. Gratitude, natural enough to Men when they receive a Benefit, fortify'd them ſtill more in the

 ſame

(1) Pſ. xix. 5. (2) Ib. ver. 4. (3) *Heſiod* ſays much the ſame thing word for word, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει, Qui ſupremas habitat domos. & Ariſt. L. 1. de Cœlo, ch. 3. ſays, all Nations are agreed that the Gods dwell in Heaven.

ſame perſuaſion: They could not doubt of the Sun's being the Source of Fertility, that it was to his heat they ought to aſcribe the Fruitfulneſs of the Earth, which, without the warming influences of his Beams, would be but a barren Lump, without Trees and without Fruits. The Revolutions and regular Motions of the Celeſtial Spheres, ſoon perſuaded them that the Stars were animated: And this Error has found but too many Partiſans. Even learned Men and Philoſophers came to eſpouſe this Opinion, eſpecially the *Platonicks*, and *Plato* their Maſter. It was from that Philoſophy, *Philo* the *Jew* deriv'd this Doctrine, *That the Stars are ſo many Souls incorruptible and immortal* (1). It was upon the Principles of this ſame Doctrine, that *Origen* labour'd to eſtabliſh the ſame Opinion (2). *Auguſtin* ſeems to waver in his ſentiments about this matter; but he afterwards retracts (3). There is a good deal of probability that it was likewiſe *Ariſtotle*'s Sentiment; for however ſome of his Commentators ſay, he only gives the Stars Intelligences to direct them, yet there are others of them who hold, that he look'd upon theſe Intelligences as the internal and eſſential Forms of the Stars.

Euſebius (4) delivers his thoughts more clearly upon this Article: "That Men, ſays he, in the firſt and "earlieſt Times, never dream'd either of erecting "Temples, or Idols, having neither Painting at that "time, nor the Potter's Art, nor Sculpture, nor Ma-"ſonry, nor Architecture, is, I ſuppoſe, what ever-"ry thinking Man evidently ſees: But that over and "above all theſe, they had not ſo much as heard of "thoſe Gods and Heroes ſo renown'd ſince; and that "they had then neither *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*, "*Juno*, *Minerva*, *Bacchus*, nor any other God male "or female, ſuch as have been found in latter Times "by thouſands both among *Greeks* and Barbarians. "Farther, that there was no Demon, whether good or "bad, whom Men reverenc'd; but that they adored the "Stars only, called *Sol*, from *Sio to run*, as we are "told

(1) Lib. de Somniis. (2) In his Books entitled, περὶ Ἀρχῶν. (3) Retract. C. 7. (4) Præp. Evang. L. 2. c. 9.

by the *Greeks* themſelves: In fine, that the Stars not honour'd as they are now by Animal Sacri- nor by Rites of Worſhip ſince invented, is a that depends not upon our ſingle Teſtimony, ; atteſted by the Pagans themſelves."

ight ſubjoin the Authority of profane Authors, ave been of the ſame opinion; but I content with two Teſtimonies; one from *Diodorus Sicu-* , who ſays,

en in earlier times, ſtruck with the Beauty of Univerſe, with the Splendor and Regularity h every where ſhine forth, made no doubt but : was ſome Divinity who therein preſided, and ador'd the Sun and Moon under the Names of *is* and *Iſis*."

ereby this learned Author gives us to under- that the Worſhip of the Stars was the firſt Ob- Idolatry, and that *Egypt* was the place where n.

: other is that of *Plato*, if indeed he be the Au- f the Dialogue, intitled *Epinomis*, where we have Words: *The firſt Inhabitants of* Greece, *as I con-* , *acknowledg'd no other Gods but thoſe which are very day the Gods of the Barbarians, namely, the he Moon, the Earth, the Stars and the Heavens.* ay add, it is likewiſe the Sentiment of *Sancho-* n, as we have ſeen in the Fragment of him I

: nothing proves ſo much the Antiquity of this f Idolatry, as the care *Moſes* took to prohibit it: ce heed, ſays he to the *Iſraelites*, leſt when you up your eyes to Heaven, and ſee the Sun, the on and all the Stars, you be ſeduced and drawn a- y to pay Worſhip and Adoration to the Creatures, ich the Lord your God has made for the Service all the Nations under Heaven:" *Ne forté eleves tuos in Cœlos, & videns Solem, & Lunam, & s, --------- & impulſus adores atque colas ea* (2). which *R. Levi Ben Gerſon* remarks, that *Moſes* men-

L. 1. (2) Deut. iv. 19.

mentions the Sun before the other Stars, becauſe his Beauty and Uſefulneſs are more apt to ſeduce, than that of the Moon and Stars.

As it was after the departure out of *Egypt*, and when the *Jews* were in the Deſert, that God indited to them this Precept of the Law, there is the higheſt ground to believe, that it was to make them forget the *Egyptian* Superſtitions of this nature, and to guard them againſt being drawn into thoſe of the other Nations they were very ſoon to be among; for this Worſhip was at that time ſpread over all, as we ſhall ſhew preſently, and this is the reaſon why *Job*, to teſtify his Innocence, ſays: "If I beheld the Sun when he ſhined, or the Moon walk-"ing in her Brightneſs; if my Heart has been tickled "with a ſecret Joy, and I have put my Hand to my "Mouth to kiſs it; which is the height of Iniquity, "even a Renunciation of the moſt high God." *Si vidi Solem cum fulgeret, & Lunam incedentem clare, & lætatum eſt in abſcondito cor meum, quæ eſt iniquitas maxima, & negatio contra Deum altiſſimum* (1).

Upon which Paſſage, we have four Remarks to make. Firſt, this was therefore the Idolatry of his Age, and the only one too; for to be ſure if there had been other kinds of it, he would have equally clear'd himſelf of them.

Secondly, that to adore the Sun, implied an abſolute acknowledging him for the ſupreme Deity, and no other, *Abnegaſſem Deum deſuper*; or, as the Vulgate has it, *Negatio contra Deum altiſſimum*.

Thirdly, that we learn from this Paſſage, not only the Antiquity of the Worſhip of the Sun, ſince *Job* lived before *Moſes* (a), but alſo that they acknowledged the Divinity of this Luminary, by putting the Hand to the Mouth; and this Cuſtom was likewiſe uſed towards other Gods, as we learn from ſeveral Authors. *Minutius Felix* ridicules *Cecilius*, who kiſſed his Hand as he paſſed by the Statue of *Serapis*: *Cæcilius Simulachro Serapidis*

(1) Job xxxi. v. 26, 27, &c.

(a) This is the Sentiment of *Peda*. See the Interpreters upon it; but it is needleſs here to enter into the Debate.

dis denotato, ut Vulgus ſuperſtitioſus ſolet, manum movens, Oſculum Labiis impreſſit (1). *Apuleius*, contrary, upbraids an impious Perſon, that he) reſpect to the Gods, and that he paſſed by their les without putting his Hand to his Mouth to them: *Nulli Deo ad hoc ævi ſupplicavit, nullum um frequentavit, ſi fanum aliquod prætereat, nefas adorandi gratia, manum Labiis admovere* (2).

the laſt place we obſerve, it was with a view to wledge the Divinity of the Sun, that the Pagans ıyer, turned towards the Eaſt, and had all their les directed to that quarter; whereas the *Jews*, hey might not imitate them, had always their ıary towards the Weſt. The primitive Chriſtians ſe uſed to turn their Churches towards the riſing not to adore that Luminary, but to pay their De- ı to the Sun of Righteouſneſs, who diffuſes Light he Mind (*a*), and warms the Hearts of thoſe who ip him, by the Influences of his Grace.

thors are not agreed as to the Place where the ıip of the Sun was introduced; ſome hold it was *ældea*, becauſe that ancient People were always ed to Aſtronomy, and were the firſt who obſerved lotion of the Stars; as if it required aſtronomical vations to be capable of admiring the Sun, and ing his Influences, when indeed we need but open yes, to be ſtruck with his Glory and his Beauty. nuch more probable, that *Egypt*, which I but juſt ıroved to have been the Nurſery of Idolatry, was lace where the Sun began to be worſhipped under lame of *Oſiris*.

ım *Egypt*, this Idolatry was ſpread thro' the neigh- ng Countries, or rather thro' the World, ſince this inary has been the Divinity of every Nation, even that are moſt barbarous. I am not now to enter up- articular proof of a Truth ſo well known; any thing ld ſay may be ſeen in *Voſſius*, in Father *Thomaſſin*, who

(1) Dial. intit. Octavius. (2) Apul. l. 1.

(*a*) See *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom. 7o. contra Valent. Chap. 3.

who has only copied him, and in ſeveral others. I ſhall only remark, that the *Ammonites* worſhipped him under the Name of *Moloch*, to whom they ſacrificed their Children; the *Chaldeans*, under the Names of *Belus*, *Baal*, or *Baal-Semen*, which imports the Lord of Heaven; the *Arabians* their Neighbours, who, as *Strabo* (1) and *Stephanus* relate (2), made a daily Offering to him of Incenſe and other Perfumes, called him *Adoneus*; the *Moabites*, *Baal-Peegor*; the *Perſians*, *Mithras*. He was named *Aſabinus* by the *Ethiopians*; *Liber*, or *Dionyſius*, by the *Indians*; *Apollo*, or *Phœbus*, by the *Greeks* and *Romans* (3). In fine, others called him *Hercules*, *Belenus*, &c. In a word, there was no Nation but paid a ſuperſtitious Worſhip to this Luminary. *Cæſar* tells us in particular, it was ſo with the *Germans*, who, according to this Author, own'd no other Gods but thoſe from whom they received ſome Benefit, as the Sun, the Moon, and the Fire: *Deorum numero eos ſolum ducunt, quorum opibus apertè juvantur, Solem, Vulcanum, & Lunam.* *Herodotus* ſays as much for the *Maſſagetæ*, who, according to this Hiſtorian, ſacrificed Horſes to him, to ſignify by the fleetneſs of this Animal, the rapid Motion of the Sun (4). In fine, all the Travellers, even the moſt modern, give the ſame account of almoſt all the Nations, of whom they have left us any Hiſtory, eſpecially of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*. If we credit an Author who has publiſh'd a learned Work upon the Manners of the Savages (5), there is not in the vaſt Continent of *America*, any known People, but worſhip the Sun. Even the *Incas* of *Peru*, and their Deſcendants at this day, as well as the *Natches* of *Louiſiana*, like the ancient Kings or Heroes, who pretended to be the Sons of *Jupiter* or *Hercules*, call themſelves the Offspring of the Sun, as we have already remark'd in ſpeaking of their Theogony. The *Jews* themſelves were ſometimes carried away by this Superſtition, ſince the Scripture teaches us, that *Joſias* ſlew

(1) L. 10 (2) L. 9. (3) See upon all theſe, *Voſſius de I-* *l. 2.* (4) Herod. liv. 1. c. 225. (5) P. Laffiteau Mœurs *Sauvages*, Tom. 1 p. 131.

ſlew the Horſes and burned the Chariots that had been conſecrated to the Sun: *Et abolevit equos quos dederant Reges Juda . . . Et currus Solis combuſſit igni* (1).

In the Obelisk which *Sixtus* V. cauſed to be ſet up hard by *S. John de Latran*, (the ſame whereof *Hermapion* had tranſlated into *Greek* the *Egyptian* Characters that were repreſented upon it, and of which we have ſome Fragment preſerv'd by *Ammianus Marcellinus*) the Sun is called the Lord of Heaven, the Creator of the World, *Mars*, the God of War. The *Ethiopians* not only owned the ſame Luminary for their Divinity, as has been already ſaid, but their Princes too made their boaſt of being deſcended from him, ſince *Heliodorus* (2) makes *Charicleus* thus ſpeak; *O Sun, the Founder of the Origin of my Anceſtors. Rhameſes*, King of *Egypt*, takes the ſame Deſignation in the Obelisk I have mentioned. *Semiramis* bears it likewiſe, upon ſome Monuments mentioned by the Ancients. *Adad* and *Ben-Adad*, the firſt of them ſignifying the Sun, and the ſecond, the Son of the Sun, were Names common to the Kings of *Syria*, as *Marſham* obſerves. The Kings of *Perſia* took ſuch-like Titles, as did ſeveral other Eaſtern Princes. *Æetes* King of *Colchis*, valued himſelf upon being deſcended from the ſame Luminary, as well as *Medea*, *Paſiphae*, and ſeveral others, of whom I have no deſign to give a compleat Liſt, nor to ſpeak of all the Towns that bore his Name, or were conſecrated to him. I have ſaid enough to ſhew the Univerſality of his Worſhip.

We may even affirm in general, that there is no People whoſe Religion is known to us, neither in our own Continent, nor in that of *America*, that has not paid him a religious Worſhip, if we except ſome Inhabitants of the torrid Zone, who are continually curſing the Sun for ſcorching them with his Beams.

Every body knows that *Macrobius* (3) undertakes to prove, that all the Gods of Paganiſm may be reduced to the Sun. This Author allows the Poets the honour of

(1) 2 Kings xxiii. 11. (2) Hiſt. of *Ethiop.* l. 1. c. 17, &c. (3) Sat.

of having followed the Sentiments of the Philoſophers, eſpecially in reuniting all the Divinities in the Sun, who being the Ruler of the other Orbs, whoſe Influences act upon this lower World, muſt of conſequence be the Author of the Univerſe. He enters next upon a detail of all the Gods that may be reduced to the Sun, and there he finds not only all thoſe whom we have named, but *Cœlus* too, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Ammon*, *Bacchus*, *Serapis*, *Adonis*, *Eſculapius*, *Hercules*, *Atys*, *Pan*, and ſeveral others.

This ſame Author, and after him *Voſſius*, reduce almoſt all the Divinities of the feminine Sex to the Moon, as *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Lucina*, *Venus*, *Urania*, the Goddeſs of *Syria*, *Cybele*, *Iſis*, *Veſta*, *Aſtarte*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Libitina*, *Proſerpina*, *Hecate*, and ſeveral others, who were only formed from the *Egyptian* Goddeſs *Iſis*, whoſe Name imports *Ancient*, and who was among that People, the Symbol of the Moon; and here, without doubt, we have the firſt Objects of Idolatry, and the Foundation of the whole Pagan Theology (1).

From the Adoration of the Sun and Moon, they went to that of the other Stars, eſpecially of the Planets, whoſe Influences were more ſenſible; in a word, they worſhipped the whole Hoſt of Heaven.

This ſort of Idolatry which has the Stars and Planets for the Objects of its Worſhip, goes under the name of *Sabiſm*. As to what may have given riſe to this Denomination, the Learned are not agreed among themſelves; the thing at bottom is of no great conſequence: but what is more eſſential to be known, is, that this Sect is the moſt ancient of all, as cannot be doubted: It was the moſt general, and continues at this very day, chiefly in *Aſia*, among thoſe whom they call *Pharſis*, *Mendeians*, or the Chriſtians of St. *John*. They who are of opinion that the Origin of this ſort of Idolatry is to be referr'd to *Zoroaſter*, are certainly miſtaken; for whether this Man, ſo celebrated in the Writings of the Ancients, lived only in the time of *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, as is proved by *Thomas Hyde* (2) and *Prideaux*

(1) See *Voſſius loc. cit.* (2) De Rel. Vet. Perſ.

deaux (1), or whether he was much more ancient, as *Moyle* ſeems to demonſtrate (*a*); he cannot be looked upon as the Author of this Sect, much more ancient than himſelf, ſince it was ſubſiſting in the time of *Abraham*, and ſince the City *Charan*, whither this Patriarch repaired, after leaving *Ur* or *Our* of *Chaldea*, has been always looked upon as the Metropolis of *Sabiſm*. I ſhould even be inclined to think, that it was not ſo much *Sabiſm* which *Zoroaſter* eſtabliſhed, as *Magiſm*, another very ancient Sect, whoſe principal Doctrine was the Adoration of Fire. This laſt derived likewiſe its Origin from *Chaldea*, and reigned chiefly in *Ur*, where *Abraham*'s Anceſtors had dwelt, and which he himſelf afterwards abandon'd. This Sect, which we are carefully to diſtinguiſh from *Sabiſm*, altho' both of them had partly the ſame Tenets (2), ſtill continues at this day, if we give credit to *Thomas Hyde*, among the *Gauri*, or *Guebri*, who inhabit the Extremities of *Perſia* to the South, near the Frontiers of the *Mogul*.

There are learned Men of opinion, that the ancient Philoſophers, thoſe eſpecially of *Chaldea*, had given a handle for *Sabiſm*. It is true indeed, that they reaſon a great deal about the Stars, about their Influences, and their Beauty, perhaps too they believed them to be eternal Beings, and conſequently ſo many Divinities, or at leaſt that there were Gods who reſided in them, and regulated their Courſes and Influences. They even gave out, and it is a very ancient Opinion, that the Body of the Star was no more than its Vehicle, or a ſort of Machine, that ſerv'd to carry the Gods who conducted them; but what occaſion was there for ſuch refined Reaſoning, to influence groſs and carnal Men to addreſs their firſt Prayers to thoſe luminous and reſplendent Bodies? Was it not enough for them to turn their Eyes towards the Sun, to behold how he both enlightens the World, and communicates to it Heat and Fertility, in order to judge that he was as the Parent of Nature,

(1) Connections of, vol. 2.

(*a*) See Letters upon this Subject, in the 6th Vol. of Prideaux's *History*.

(2) *See Prideaux in the Place* quoted above.

Nature, that by him it was vivify'd, and without him would be nothing but a lifeleſs Expanſe, without Light and without any Production, as we noted before? All the Nations that worſhipped the Sun, the *Mexicans*, the *Peruvians*, and other Savages of *America*, did they wait for the Deciſions of Philoſophers to teach them to prefer their Vows and Prayers to this Luminary? But be that as it will, *Sabiſm* is to be looked on as the moſt ancient Sect in the Pagan World. It aroſe not long after the Deluge, ſince it was known to *Abraham*'s Anceſtors, to *Terah* and *Serug*, and perhaps before them too. This is the Sect which has made the greateſt progreſs; I have mentioned the different Nations that adopted it; and if we believe the moſt learned Rabbi's, and the eaſtern Authors, almoſt the whole World has been infected by it. In fine, of all the Sects, this has been of longeſt duration, ſince there are ſtill numbers of Idolaters who adhere to it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Progreſs of Idolatry.

THE firſt Race of Men, ſome time after their Diſperſion, were extremely rude; even the *Greeks*, who became afterwards ſo polite, were no better at firſt, if we credit *Diodorus Siculus*, than thoſe whom they were wont to call *Barbarians*. We are not therefore to imagine that Idolatry, in its firſt ſetting out, was a ſtudy'd Syſtem; that Theology was then encumber'd with that Apparatus of Ceremonies they added to it in after-times. Nothing could be more ſimple, nor at the ſame time more groſs, than the Religion of the primitive Idolaters. They were at little or no charge either to repreſent the Gods, or pay them a religious Worſhip. We learn from *Pauſanias*, that the *Athenians*, in the time of *Cecrops*, made Offerings to *Jupiter Cæleſtis*, of nothing but ſimple Cakes; and theſe being called *Bous*, made People take up a groundleſs Notion that they ſacrificed to him Oxen. The *Scythians*, according to *Clemens*

lemens Alexandrinus (1), in ancient times adored a cymitar; the *Arabians*, a rough unhewn Stone; and among other Nations, they contented themſelves with erecting a Trunk of a Tree, or ſome Pillar without Ornament. Theſe Pillars they called *Zoara*, becauſe they were peeled when of Timber, and a little ſmoothed when they were of Stone. In the *Orkneys*, the Image of *Diana* was a Log of Wood unwrought; and at *Cyberon*, the *Juno Theſpia* was nothing but a Trunk of a Tree cut off; that at *Samos*, but a ſimple Plank; and ſo of others.

What began to enlarge the Sphere of Idolatry, and conſequently is to be reckon'd one of the main Cauſes of its Propogation, was the Invention of Arts, eſpecially of Painting and Sculpture. Fine Statues commanded higher Veneration, and People were more eaſily induced to believe, that the Gods whom they repreſented reſided in them. Statues even frequently augmented the number of the Gods, as St. *Auguſtine* obſerves with reſpect to the Muſes, who originally were but three, as ſhall be ſhewn in their Hiſtory; but having been repreſented by three different Statuaries, their Statues appeared ſo fine, that they conſecrated all the nine; and thus enlarged the number of theſe Goddeſſes.

From the Worſhip of the Stars, whom we ſhew'd in the former Chapter to have been the firſt Gods of Paganiſm, they proceeded to that of other material Objects; the Heavens eſpecially, the Elements, the Rivers and the Mountains; laſt of all to the Worſhip of Men, whom they raiſed to the rank of Gods.

I have told the Reaſons that induced Men to adore ſome of their own Species. Gratitude, the Affection of a Wife to her beloved Spouſe, or of a Mother to her darling Son; the Beauty of the Work of a Statuary, illuſtrious Atchievements, the Invention of neceſſary Arts; all theſe made them honour the Memory of ſome great Men, were Obligations upon them to preſerve their Pictures, diſtinguiſh their Sepulchres, which at

(1) Orat. ad Gentes.

laſt became publick Temples, as is prov'd by *Euſebius* (1) and *Clemens Alexandrinus*: Such were the Tombs of *Acriſius*, of *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, *Iſmarus*, *Cleomachus*, *Cinyras*, and ſeveral others. We ſhall ſhew at greater length, in a ſeparate Article, from the Authority of the Fathers and profane Authors, that moſt of the Pagan Gods had been Men.

I am aware that the order, which I have followed in tracing the Progreſs of Idolatry, diſagrees with *Sanchoniathon*, who places the Apotheoſis of Men in the firſt Ages; but it is more probable that they did not run out at firſt to that exceſs of Folly, but directed their Adoration to the Stars, and the different parts of the Univerſe, before they made Gods of Men like themſelves.

In fine, if the Progreſs of Idolatry was not preciſely in the manner I have deſcribed it, there is at leaſt a ſtrong Probability that it was ſo; for, tho' the Author juſt now mentioned tells us, that *Cælus* or *Uranus*, one of the firſt Men he ſpeaks of, was deify'd after his Death, he intimates however, that there had been an Idolatry of another ſort before this. "The *Phenicians*, ſays he, "and the *Egyptians*, are the moſt ancient of the *Barbarians*, and from them every other People derived "the Cuſtom of ranking among the Great Gods all the "Inventers of things uſeful in Life, and to this uſe "they apply'd *the Temples that were built before.*"

But be that as it will, it is plain from this Author, that it was ſtill in *Phenicia* and *Egypt* that this ſort of Idolatry began; and in the latter, probably not long after the Death of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*. They two having diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſhining Merit (2), the People whom they had taught Agriculture, and ſeveral neceſſary Arts, thought they could no otherwiſe acquit themſelves of the infinite Obligations they had laid them under, but by honouring them as Divinities. But becauſe it might have appeared ſhocking to ſee divine Honours paid to Perſons but newly dead, it was probably given out, that their Souls were reunited with the Orbs, from

(1) Præp. Evang. l. 2. c. 6. (2) See the Hiſtory of *Oſiris*.

from whence they had formerly come to animate their Bodies. From that time, they were taken for the Sun and Moon, and their Worſhip was confounded with that of theſe two Luminaries, as has been ſaid already.

This Cuſtom of deifying Men, was propagated from *Egypt* to the other Nations, and we find that the *Chaldeans*, much about the ſame time, raiſed their *Belus* to the Order of the Gods. The *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, all of them imitated the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*; and Heaven, as *Cicero* obſerves, was ſoon peopled with deify'd Mortals: Which was likewiſe true in another ſenſe, ſince upon their Deification, they gave out that their Souls were united to certain Stars which they choſe for their Habitation. Thus, *Andromeda*, *Cepheus*, *Perſeus* and *Caſſiopeia*, made up the Conſtellations that bear their Names; *Hippolytus*, the Sign of the *Charioteer*; *Eſculapius*, the *Serpents*; *Ganymede*, *Aquarius*; *Phaeton*, the *Chariot*; *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Gemini* or the *Twins*; *Erigone* and *Aſtrea*, *Virgo*; *Atergatis*, or rather *Venus* and *Cupid*, *Piſces*, or the *Fiſhes*; and ſo of others. This Cuſtom paſſed to almoſt every Country, and penetrated even into *China*, where the Aſtronomers called the twenty-eight Conſtellations, which in their Syſtem comprehend the whole Stars, by the Names of as many of their Heroes, whom they affirm to have been transformed into Stars. The *Egyptians* only gave the Names of Animals to the Conſtellations, and this was the Foundation of that Worſhip afterwards paid to them (*a*).

Such is the Progreſs of Idolatry, which was carry'd at length to that exceſs, which I am to deſcribe.

They worſhipped at firſt, as we have ſaid, only the Sun, Moon, and Stars; next, they looked upon Nature herſelf, or the World, as a Divinity. This is what the *Aſſyrians* adored under the Name of *Belus*; the *Phenicians*, under that of *Moloch*; the *Egyptians*, of *Hammon*; the *Arcadians*, of *Pan*; the *Romans*, of *Jupiter*: And as if the World had been too great to be governed by one ſole Deity, they aſſign'd every part of it to a par-

(*a*) See what is ſaid on this Subject in the ſixth Book.

ticular God, that he might have the more leiſure and leſs trouble in governing it; or, to ſpeak more properly, 'twas Nature in her various Scenes they intended to adore, and over each of her parts a Divinity was made to preſide. They worſhipped the Earth, under the Names of *Rhea*, *Tellus*, *Ops*, *Cybele*, *Proſerpina*, *Maia*, *Flora*, *Faunus*, *Pales*, and *Vertumnus*; the Fire, under thoſe of *Vulcan* and *Veſta*; the Water of the Sea and Rivers, under thoſe of *Oceanus*, *Neptune*, *Nereus*, the *Nereids*, *Nymphs* and *Naiads*; the Air and Winds, under the Names of *Jupiter* and *Æolus*; the Sun, under thoſe of *Apollo*, *Titan*, *Oſiris*, &c. the Moon, under thoſe of *Diana*, *Iſis*, &c. *Bacchus* was the God of Wine; *Ceres*, the Goddeſs of Corn; every River and Fountain had its tutelar Deity; Hell, its *Pluto*; the Sea, *Neptune* and *Tethys*; the Woods and Mountains, their Nymphs and Satyrs.

The Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia* which ſettled in *Greece*, brought thither their religious Worſhip, and this Worſhip ſpread itſelf by degrees thro' the different Provinces of which *Greece* was compoſed. This was even one of the higheſt marks of Eſteem, that a City could give its Neighbours, to adopt their religious Worſhip and Ceremonies; for each of them had their own Prieſts, and other Miniſters, who regulated divine things, added to or retrenched from the primitive Worſhip. Of all theſe, a confuſed Medley was made up, whereby the Religion of the *Greeks* became, of all others, the moſt monſtrous and ſuperſtitious. Read *Pauſanias*'s Travels, you ſhall find all along, Temples, Altars, Statues of Gods, of different Metals, of different Forms, and with particular Names, which they had got either from the Place, from ſome pretended Prodigy, or ſome publick Vow.

The Paſſions too and Affections had Divinities aſſign'd to them: *Venus* and *Priapus* preſided over Generation; *Morpheus* over Sleep; *Hebe* and *Horta* over Youth; *Juturna* among the *Latins*, and *Hygieia* among the *Greeks*, were the Goddeſſes of Health; and

Jaſo

aſo of Sickneſs (*a*). They eſtabliſhed a *Bellona* for *ſar*, a *Pomus* for the Gardens, *Furies* for the infernal egions. All theſe Divinities had Temples, Altars, id Sacrifices; and as the Paſſions never forget themlves, there was no Crime but had a Patron God. he Adulterers own'd *Jupiter*; the Ladies of Gallantry, *enus*; Jealous Wives, *Juno*; and the Pick-pockets, *ercury* and the Goddeſs *Laverna*. This is not all; ere were Deſtinies to over-rule every Action in life. ver Marriage preſided *Juno*, *Hymeneus*, *Thalaſſius*, *ucina*, *Jugatinus*, *Domiducus*, and ſeveral others, whoſe famous Occupations are enough to put every virtuous erſon to the bluſh (1). Big-bellied Women, or in hild-bed, invoked the *Bona Dea*, *Juno*, *Lucina*, *Hecate*, *ſpita*, *Mena*, the *Nixii Dei*, *Intercidona*, *Mater Matuta*, *Deverra*, *Egeria*, *Fluonia*, *Pertunda*, *Prorſa*, *Poſtverta*, *Rumilia*, Divinities whoſe Names, as well as hoſe of the other Gods who preſided over every Action life, denoted their Functions. For Children, they voked the Goddeſs *Naſcio* or *Natio*, *Opis*, *Rumina*, *tina*, *Cunina*, *Levana*, *Paventia*, *Carnea*, *Eduſa*, *ſilago*, *Statilinus*, *Vagitanus* *, *Fabulinus*, *Juventa*, *ndina*, *Orbona*; and this laſt Goddeſs was for Orhans, or to comfort Fathers and Mothers for the loſs f their Children. When the Child was laid down on e ground, they recommended him to the Gods *Pimus* and *Picumnus*: For fear too that the God *Silnus* ſhould do him harm, there were three other Deis who watched at the Gates, *Intercido*, *Pilumnus*, and *everra*. For we muſt know, that at the Nativity of a hild, they knocked at the Gate firſt with an Ax, then ith a Mallet. and laſt of all, they ſwept the Porch, lieving that *Sylvanus* ſeeing theſe three Signs, durſt t attempt to harm the Children, whom he thus judge l be under the protection of thoſe three Divinities. *atilinus* preſided over Children's Education; *Fabulis* taught them to ſpeak; *Paventia* kept away from them

(*a*) At preſent we only name all theſe Gods. In the third Vol. ey make up a part of the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Divinities.
(1) S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. * Commonly called *Vaticanus*.

them frightful terrifying Objects; *Nondina* * preſide over the Names given them; *Cunina* had the charge c the Cradle; in fine, *Rumia* preſerv'd the Milk to the Mothers. The *Epidotes* were Gods that preſided ove the growth of Children, as their Name declares (*a*).

Tho' Gods who watched over the Birth and Preſer vation of Children were thus numerous, yet there wer at leaſt as many for the Fruits and Harveſts. S. *Augu tine*, who in his Book of *the City of God*, has preſerv' to us the Names of ſeveral Gods, whom it would b in vain to ſearch for elſewhere, enumerates ſixteen o 'em who watched over the ſown Corn and over the Crop A *Seia* for the Grain new ſown: *Segetia*, when it be gan to ſpring up: *Tutilina*, to preſerve it in the Gra nary; *Proſerpina*, while the Stalk was forming; *Pate lina*, when it was ready to put forth the Ear; *Nodotus* when it began to knot; *Patilena*, *Flora*, *Hoſtilina*, *Lac turtia*, *Matuta*, *Rumina*, and *Robigus*, and ſeveral o thers, to whom they offered Sacrifices in the differen Seaſons of the Year. They had beſides a *Venus Libi tina*, to preſide at Death; *Plutus* and *Ops*, for Riches *Janus*, *Forculus*, *Cardea*, and *Limentina*, to take care o the Gates; *Cluſius* and *Patuleius* were the Gods the invoked at opening or ſhutting them (*b*); *Laterculu* and the *Penates*, for the Hearths; *Jupiter Erceus* †, fo the Walls; the Goddeſſes *Flora*, *Pomona*, and the God *Vertumnus* and *Priapus*, were Guardians of Orchards Flowers, and Fruits, as *Deverrona* watched over th Crop. The God *Terminus* took care of the Fields an Marches. They had likewiſe a *Hippona* for Horſes *Bubona* for Oxen, *Mellona* for Bees. *Murcia* was th Goddeſ

* The Males were purify'd and got a Name on the ninth day a ter their Birth, and the Females on the eighth day. See *Macro Sat.* l. 1. c. 16.

(*a*) Ἐπίδω, ſuperaddo, augeo, to augment.

(*b*) Forculus quaſi a Foribus; Cardea, a cardinibus; Limentina, Limine. All the other Gods had Names conformable to their O fices, both among *Greeks* and *Romans*. See S. *Auguſtine de Civita Dei*, l. 4, 5, and 6. *Lactantius* after *Pauſanias*, *Pliny*, &c.

† Or *Herceus*, from ἕρκος Septum; to him Altars were con crated by private Perſons, within the *Aula* or Court of the Hou *Suidas in voce* Ἕρκειος Ζεὺς, & *Arnob.* l. 7.

Goddeſs of Sloth; *Offilago* was invoked when they were about to rectify ſtrain'd or broken Bones. *Agenoria* was for inſpiring Courage. *Hebe* preſided over Youth, *Senuius* over Old-age; *Momus*, for Raillery; for Jollity, *Vetula*; for Pleaſures, *Volopta*; for Poverty, *Penia*. The great Talkers invoked *Aius Locutius*; *Harpocrates* and *Sigalion* were the Gods of Silence. *Pellonia* was eſtabliſhed to free them from whatever was annoying; *Populonia*, to divert all ſorts of Devaſtation. They had made a Divinity of Life under the Name of *Vitula* *, and the Fever too had its Altars. They had a God of Ordure, named *Stercutius*; one for other Conveniencies, *Crepitus*; a Goddeſs for the Common-ſewers, *Cloacina*.

Over Juſtice preſided *Aſtrea*, *Themis*, and *Dicé*. Over the coining of Braſs Money, *Æs*, *Æſculanus*, and *Æres*; over Specie of all ſorts, *Juno-Moneta*, or ſimply, *Moneta*. *Ariſtæus* and *Mellonia* were the Gods of Bees; *Salacia*, the Goddeſs of Tempeſts; *Æolus* the God of the Winds. *Vallonia* and *Epunda* took care of things expoſed to the Air. *Myagrus*, *Muyodes*, and *Achor*, were the Gods of Flies. *Pavor*, *Timor*, *Pallor*, were thoſe whoſe Invention was owing to Terror, Fear, and Paleneſs which accompanies them. Imprudence itſelf had its tutelar Divinity, whom they named *Coalemus*: *Catius* made Perſons ſmart and witty, and *Comus* the God of Revels, gay and contented. In fine, there was nothing which had not a friendly Divinity. The *Romans* had two of 'em for Love; the one for mutual Flames, the other to avenge ſlighted Lovers (*a*); and this Paſſion was the Divinity of greateſt Antiquity, and moſt univerſally ador'd. The ſame People had likewiſe two Temples of Modeſty, one dedicated to the Chaſtity of the Nobles, and the other to that of the Populace: In fine, there were of them every where to be ſeen erected to Peace, Victory, Poverty, Faith, Clemency, Piety, Juſtice, Liberty, Concord, Fortune, Diſcord, Ambition. Men

* Vid. Macro. Sat. l. 3. c. 2.

(*a*) *Ovid* calls him a Love of Forgetfulneſs; *Lethæus Amor*, l. 2. *de Remed. Amoris*.

were apprehenſive of Evil, deſirous of Good, wanted to gratify their Inclinations without remorſe; and this was the Original of all thoſe Divinities, natural and metaphorical, whoſe Names correſpond to their Employments, who were looked upon as ſo many *Genii* diſperſed thro' the World, whoſe Motions they thought were regulated by them, and believing them to be of a malevolent Diſpoſition, they courted their Favour by Prayers and Sacrifices. The Poets invoked *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and the *Muſes*; the Orators, *Suada* and *Pitho*; the Phyſicians, *Eſculapius*, *Meditrina*, *Conſus*, *Hygieia*, and *Teleſphorus*; the Servants and Maids, the Gods named *Anculi*, and *Anculæ*; Shepherds, the God *Pan*; Cow-herds, the Goddeſs *Bubona*; Horſemen, *Caſtor* and *Hippona*.

As each Profeſſion had its Gods, ſo had every Action in Life: Thus over different Actions preſided, *Volumnus*, *Volupia*, *Libentia*, *Horſa*, *Horſilia*, *Stimula*, *Strenua*, *Stata*, *Adeona*, *Agcronia*, *Agonis*, *Abeona*, *Feſſoria*, *Fugia*, *Pellonia*, *Catius*, *Fidius* or *Sanctus-Fidius*, *Sanctus* or *Dius*, *Murcia*, *Nonia*, *Numerica*, *Vacuna*, *Vertumnus*, *Victus*, *Veſtitus*, *Vibilia* (*a*). They likewiſe invented Gods for every part of the Body; the Sun preſided over the Heart, *Jupiter* over the Head and Liver, *Mars* over the Entrails, *Minerva* over the Eyes and Fingers, *Juno* over the Eyebrows, *Pluto* over the Back, *Venus* over the Reins, *Saturn* over the Spleen, *Mercury* over the Tongue, *Tethys* over the Feet, the Moon over the Stomach, the Genius and Modeſty over the Forehead, Memory over the Ears, Faith or *Bona Fides* over the right Hand, Compaſſion over the Knees.

They deify'd every Virtue, as we ſaid before; Clemency, Concord, Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Modeſty, Prudence, Wiſdom, Honour, Truth, Peace, Liberty, and many others.

It

(*a*) We have quoted no Authorities for all this; they who want 'em need but read the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, eſpecially *Pauſanias*, *Strabo*, *Livy*, &c. and S. *Auguſtine*.

not to be expected that I ſhould give a larger
it of theſe ſubaltern Divinities; their Names ſuf-
point out their Offices, and the bare naming
enough to give one a notion of them, when they
n the Poets and Mythologiſts. I ſhall only re-
1. That almoſt the whole of theſe Divinities
Roman Invention, as their Names ſufficiently
r; whereby we ſee how many Gods, known to
it the *Romans* themſelves, had been introduced
e Lords of the World, tho' they had beſides a-
almoſt all the Gods of every Nation which they
l. 2. That the greater part of theſe Divinities
e Invention of Sculptors and Painters. 3. That
f them were peculiar to certain Families, and
nes even to ſingle Perſons. 4. That all theſe
Virtues were nothing but Symbols that repre-
them, either upon Medals, where numbers of
re to be found, or upon other Monuments, and
iptions. 5. That their Worſhip was neither in
t Reputation nor Extent, as that of the great
and yet a great many of 'em had their Altars
apels, and were invoked at certain times; as
Harveſt, at the Vintages, when they gather'd
uits, in Diſeaſes upon Men or Beaſts, *&c.*
les theſe Gods, whoſe number is already exor-
every Nation had ſome peculiar to itſelf; as o-
vere affected by certain Towns; and this parti-
among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whether they
eliev'd to have been born in thoſe Towns, or to
them a particular Protection. In a word, the
world almoſt was divided among ſeveral Divini-
ıd excepting the great Gods who were acknow-
univerſally, tho' honoured more particularly in
Places, the reſt were worſhipped only among
Nations, and in certain Countries. Hence thoſe
were called *Topick*, or Popular, and have moſtly
d their Names, as we ſhall ſee in their Hiſtory,
:he different Places where they were honoured.
us *Jupiter* was peculiarly honoured in *Crete*,
he was believed to have been brought up, at
Dicte,

Dictæ, on Mount *Ida*, on Mount *Olympus*, at *Pirea* in *Epirus*, at *Dodona*. *Juno* at *Argos*, at *Mycenæ*, at *Phaliſca*, at *Samos*, at *Carthage*. *Ceres* in *Sicily*, and at *Eleuſis*. *Veſta* or *Cybele*, throughout all *Phrygia*, above all at *Berecynthus*, and *Peſſinus*. *Minerva* at *Alalcomene*, *Athens* and *Argos*. *Apollo* at *Chryſa*, a City in *Phrygia*, at *Delphos*, at *Cylla*, at *Claros* one of the *Cyclades*, at *Cynthus* a Mountain in *Delos*, at *Grynium*, at *Lesbos*, at *Miletos*, *Patara*, *Phaſelis* a Mountain in *Lycia*, at *Smynthus*, *Rhodes*, *Tenedos*, *Cyrrha*, among the *Hyperboreans*, and elſewhere. *Diana* at *Epheſus*, *Delos*, *Mycenæ*, at *Brauron* in *Attica*, at *Magneſia*, upon Mount *Menala*, at *Segeſta*, &c. *Venus* at *Amathus* in *Cyprus*, at *Cythera*, *Gnidus*, *Paphos*, *Idalia*, upon Mount *Eryx* in *Sicily*, upon *Ida* in *Phrygia*. *Mars* at *Rome*, among the *Getes*, and other northern People, as the *Scythians* and *Thracians*. *Vulcan* in the *Æolian Iſlands*, at *Lemnos*, near Mount *Ætna*; and in earlier times in *Egypt*, whoſe firſt Divinity he was, according to the beſt Authors. *Mercury*, upon *Helicon*, and the *Cyllenian* Mountains, at *Nonacria*, and generally thro' all *Arcadia*. *Neptune*, in the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, at *Tænarus*, and upon all the Seas. *Nereus*, upon the Sea-Coaſts, and by Seamen. *Saturn*, in ſeveral Places of *Italy*. *Pluto*, in all the Sacrifices offered to the Dead. *Bacchus*, at *Thebes*, *Nyſa*, *Naxos*, &c, *Eſculapius*, at *Epidaurus*, at *Rome*, and elſewhere. *Pan*, upon *Menalus* in *Arcadia*, &c. *Fortune*, at *Antium*; *Æolus*, in the Iſles that bore his Name. Theſe were the principal Places in *Greece*, in *Aſia minor*, and in *Italy*, where the Gods were honoured with a particular Worſhip.

Laſtly, to compleat the Abſurdity, they worſhipped the brute Animals and Reptiles: Nor was it only particular Perſons that offer'd them Incenſe and Sacrifices, but whole Cities where their Worſhip was eſtabliſhed; thus *Memphis* and *Heliopolis* ador'd the Ox, *Sais* and *Thebes* the Sheep, *Cynopolis* the Dogs, *Mendes* the Goats, the *Aſſyrians* the Pigeons (*a*). In ſome Towns they worſhip'd

(*a*) We ſhall explain in the 6th Book, what we are to think of the Worſhip paid to mere Animals.

worſhip'd the Monkeys, in others the Crocodiles and Lizards, the Ravens, the Storks, the Eagle, the Lion; and theſe Towns even frequently bore the Name of the Animals that were the Objects of their Worſhip, as *Cynopolis*, *Leontopolis*, *Mendes*, &c. The Fiſhes too became the Object of a ſuperſtitious Worſhip, not only among the *Syrians*, who durſt not ſo much as eat of them, but alſo in ſeveral Towns in *Egypt*, *Lydia* and other Countries. Some placed upon their Altars Eels, others Tortoiſes, and others Pikes (*b*).

They did not ſtop here: The Inſects, the very Serpents were worſhip'd in *Egypt*, and in ſeveral other Countries. *Epidaurus* and *Rome* had Temples erected to the Adder, which they believ'd repreſented *Eſculapius*. There was nothing, even to the ſmalleſt Inſects, but became the Object of this fooliſh Superſtition: The *Theſſalians* honour'd the Piſmires, to whom they thought they ow'd their Original; the *Acarnanians* the Flies; and if the Inhabitants of *Accaron* did not worſhip them, they at leaſt offer'd Incenſe to the Genius who drove them away, and *Beelzebub* was their great Divinity. In fine, the very Stones were the Objects of publick Worſhip; as that which *Saturn* had ſwallow'd inſtead of *Jupiter*, and that which among the *Phrygians* repreſented the Mother of the Gods, and the God *Terminus*, who was a ſort of March-ſtone or piece of a Rock.

Were we now to ſpeak of the Heroes and Demi-Gods, what a prodigious Number of them ſhall we find? Their Temples were diffuſed over all the Earth, and their Worſhip, tho' leſs ſolemn than that of the Gods, made a conſiderable part of the Pagan Religion. *Æneas*, ſurnam'd *Jupiter-Indigetes* had a Chapel erected to his honour upon the banks of the River *Numicus*; *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Picus*, *Evander*, *Fatua* or *Carmenta*, *Acca-Laurentia* or *Flora*, *Matuta*, *Portumnus*, *Mania*, *Anna-Perrenna*, *Vertumnus*, *Romulus*, and ſeveral others, were honoured in the *Latin* Country. *Her-*

(*b*) For all theſe, conſult *Voſſius* de Idol. who treats of them at great length.

Hercules (*a*), *Theſeus*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Helen*, *Agamemnon*, and moſt of the Heroes of the Golden Fleece or of the Siege of *Troy*, had Temples and Altars in moſt of the Cities of *Greece*. *Laconia* honour'd *Hyacinthus*, and *Timomarchus* who fought for the *Lacedemonians* againſt the People of *Amyclæ*; not to mention *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Paris* and *Dëiphobus*. The *Meſſenians* offer'd Incenſe and Sacrifices to *Polycaon*, to his Wife *Meſſena*, to their Son *Triopas*, and to the celebrated *Machaon* Son of *Eſculapius*. The *Arcadians* granted divine Honours to *Caliſto*, to his Son *Arcas*, to *Ariſteus* who had quitted the Iſland of *Cos* where he was born, for *Arcadia* where he taught that People the Art of training up Bees. The People of *Argos* honour'd *Perſeus*, *Lynceus*, *Hypermneſtra*, *Io*, *Apis*. The *Acarnanians* rever'd *Amphilochus*, and conſulted his Oracles. The People of *Athens* had fill'd that famous City with the Temples of *Cecrops*, of his Daughters *Aglauros*, *Herſe* and *Pandroſos*, of *Celeus* and *Triptolemus* his Son, of *Erectheus* and his Daughters: There alſo were to be ſeen the Temples of *Ægeus*, *Theſeus*, *Dedalus*, of *Perdix* his Nephew, of *Androgeos*, *Alcmena*, *Æacus*, of *Iolaus* the famous Companion of *Hercules* in his Labours, of *Codrus*, and an Infinity of others. At *Delphos* was to be ſeen that of *Neoptolemus*; at *Megara* that of *Alcathous*; among the *Oropians* that of *Amphiaraus*. *Thebes* was famous, not only for the Worſhip of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, *Cadmus*, *Hermione*, but alſo of that whole illuſtrious Family: Thus *Ino* and *Melicerta* had their Temples and their Altars there, as well as *Hercules*, *Iolaus*, and *Amphiaraus*. In *Elis* the Women ſacrificed once a year to *Hippodamia*, the Daughter of *Pelops*. *Teleſphorus* was honour'd at *Pergamus*; *Damia* or *Lamia*, at *Epidaurus*; *Nemeſis* at *Rhamnus*; *Sanctus* or *Semo*, among the *Sabines*; *Adramus* and *Palicus*, in *Sicily*; *Coronis* at *Sicyon*; *Thegen-*

(*a*) There is none of the Gods *Indigetes*, whoſe Worſhip was more extenſive than that of *Hercules*. *Greece*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africk*, *Libya*, *Egypt* and *Phœnicia* had Temples and Altars erected to him.

Agenes among the *Thaſians*; *Boreas* in *Thrace*; *Paterſuris* among the *Volſcans*; *Telienus* at *Aquileia*; *Tanais* in *Armenia*; *Ferentina* at *Ferentum*; *Tages* in *Etruria*, the modern *Tuſcany*; *Feronia* in ſeveral Places of *Italy*; *Marica* at *Minturnæ*; the Graces at *Orchomenos*; the Muſes in *Pieria*, and at *Lesbos*; and *Amphilochus* at *Oropos*. *Theſſaly* ſacrificed to *Peleus*, to *Chiron*, to *Achilles*. The Iſland of *Tenedos* to *Tenes*; that of *Chios* to *Ariſteus* and *Drimachus*; *Samos* to *Lyſander*; *Naxus* to *Ariadne*; the *Æginetæ* to *Æacus*; the People of *Salamis* to the famous *Ajax*, Son of *Telamon*; the Iſland of *Crete* to *Europa*, *Idomeneus*, *Molon* and *Minos*. In *Africk* were to be ſeen the Temples of ſeveral Kings. The *Moors* honour'd *Juba*; the *Cyrenians Battus*; the *Carthaginians Dido*, *Amilcar*, &c. The *Thracians Orpheus*, and their Legiſlator *Zamolxis*.

There would be no end of it, were we to run over all the other Places celebrated for the Worſhip of ſome particular Divinity, ſince the whole Earth was full of Temples and Altars, raiſed not only to the great Gods, but alſo to the *Indigetes* (*a*); and, generally ſpeaking, every People and City advanced their Founders and Conquerors to a Place among the Gods. If Proofs ſhould be thought neceſſary for all that I have ſaid upon this laſt Article, we need but read *Strabo*, *Pauſanias*, who mentions Temples conſecrated to all thoſe Heroes; and among the Moderns, *Meurſius* in his excellent Treatiſe of the Feſtivals of *Greece*; the firſt Book of *Voſſius*, and *Roſinus* (1).

In fine, if to all theſe Gods we add the *Genii* and the *Junones*, who were as guardian Angels to every Man and Woman, we ſhall have no difficulty in believing what *Pliny* ſays, that the number of the Gods ſurpaſſed that of Men (*b*); far leſs what *Varro* reports, who makes the number amount to thirty thouſand.

I

(*a*) For all theſe *Indigetes* and their Worſhip, conſult *Pauſanias* and *Strabo*; and, among the Moderns, *Meurſius*, *Græcia Feriata*, and *Voſſius de Idol.* Lib. 1. (1) L. 2, & 3.

(*b*) Major cœlitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi poteſt, cum ſinguli quoque ex ſemetipſis totidem Deos faciant, Junones, Geniosque adaptando ſibi. *Plin.* L. 2.

I am far from denying there were ſome in every Age, thro' almoſt every Country of the World, who ſincerely rejected thoſe ridiculous Deities, at leaſt the moſt of them. I know God reſerved to himſelf ſome Servants among the moſt idolatrous Nations; that *Salem* had its *Melchiſedeck*, the *Idumeans* their *Job*, the *Chaldeans* their *Abraham:* But excepting theſe, we may believe that the whole Earth was overſpread with the Darkneſs of Idolatry; that there were none but the *Jewiſh* People in a Corner of the World, who retained the Idea and Worſhip of the true God; nay, that ſame People, who are but too juſtly charged with Ingratitude, and always immers'd in Senſuality, notwithſtanding the conſpicuous Favours they received from their God, and the continual Prohibitions of the Prophets, ſuffered themſelves but too often to be drawn away by the fatal Propenſity which they had to Idolatry.

It may be objected againſt what I have been now ſaying of the Progreſs of Idolatry, that all the falſe Divinities of the Pagans were but different Attributes of the true God; that they adored his Juſtice, for example, in *Themis*, his Sovereign Power in *Jupiter*, his Eloquence in *Mercury*, his Wiſdom in *Pallas*, and ſo of the reſt; but this would not make them the more excuſable, having thus diſtributed and parcel'd out among the ſeveral Gods, the Perfections of a Being who is one in Eſſence. We may judge the ſame way of the Poets and Philoſophers, who believed God to be the Soul of this vaſt Univerſe, that gave it Life and Motion.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.
. . . . . *Deum namque ire per omnes*
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum (1).

This was the favourite Opinion of the Stoicks, as *Cicero* tells us (2): Every one gave to this univerſal Soul of the World, the Name of ſome Divinity. *Strabo* ſaid it was *Jupiter*; according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, it was *Saturn*; *Macrobius* would have it to be the Sun; *Apu-*

(1) Æn. l. 6. (2) Quæſt. Acad. l. 4.

ius the Moon: Others *Pan*, or *Juno*, or *Minerva*; rather, according to the Opinion of *Zeno* (1), it was ne and the ſame Soul of the World, that took all theſe ifferent Names, according to the different Relations its Power: That it was called *Dios*, becauſe by it all ings are made; *Athena*, becauſe its Empire is in the leavens; *Hera*, or *Juno*, becauſe it preſides over the ir; *Poſeidon* or *Neptune*, becauſe it reſides in the Wa-r; *Vulcan*, becauſe it dwells in the Fire (2). To ac-nowledge and adore as a Divinity, this univerſal Soul, hich is a portion of the World, extended like the ody it animates, this is indeed a more refined ſort of dolatry than that of the Vulgar; but ſtill 'tis to pay hat Homage to a material Object, which is due to od alone; or rather it was an Atheiſm like that of *trato*, *Pliny*, *Spinoſa*, and the greateſt part of the *Chi-eſe* Literati.

But having proved that Idolatry arrived only by de-rees at that pitch of Abſurdity we have ſeen, it re-ains to ſhew in a few words, in what manner the Worſhip paid to falſe Gods, aroſe to the very height of Abomination.

As in the firſt Ages, moſt Nations knew neither Towns nor Houſes, and dwelt only in Huts, or under moveable Tents, wandering about to different Places in queſt of fix'd Settlements, it was neither eaſy nor convenient for them to build Temples and ſet up Idols; and this is what obliged them at firſt to chooſe for the Exerciſe of their Religion, Caverns, Groves, and Mountains, the Prieſts and Legiſlators having con-ſidered thoſe retired Places, as exceeding proper to give a more venerable Aſpect to the Myſteries of Religion. *Pliny* expreſſes himſelf clearly upon this Subject. The Trees, ſays he. and Fields were in old times the Tem-ples of the Gods. *Arbores fuere Numinum Templa, priſcoque ritu ſimplicia rura.* This is what gave riſe to the Conſecration of Groves, a Cuſtom that laſted as long as Idolatry itſelf.

We

(1) See *Diog. Laert.* (2) This was likewiſe the Sentiment of *Varro*. See S. *Auguſtine de Civ. Dei*, l. 27. c. 23.

We are to obſerve, in the firſt place, that when they came to build Temples, the ſacred Groves ſtill continued to be in uſe, and oft-times they incloſed them with a Plantation. Secondly, that thoſe firſt Temples had no Idols. 'Twas not till the Invention of Architecture that the Art of making Figures came to be known. *Herodotus* (1) and *Lucian* (2) let us know this much of the *Egyptians* and *Scythians*. If we may believe *Plutarch* after *Varro* (3), the *Romans* were 170 Years without Statues or Idols, and even *Numa Pompilius* prohibited them by a Law equally wiſe and judicious: Accordingly, when they found the Books of that Prince, which had been a long time loſt, they cauſed them to be burned, probably becauſe they condemned a Cuſtom then become too univerſal to be aboliſhed, unleſs we will ſay they burned them as doubtful or ſpurious Books. In like manner, *Silius Italicus* tells us, that the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon* was without any Idol, and that the eternal Fire they preſerved there, repreſented the Divinity of the Place. In fine, not to be tedious by too many Quotations, *Tertullian* lets us know, that even in his time there were ſeveral Temples that had no Statues; and this is the meaning of the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom*, when ſpeaking about Idols: *Neque enim erant ab initio, neque erunt in perpetuum.*

We are to remark in the third place, that before Statuary was invented, they paid a religious Worſhip to ſhapeleſs Stones, to Pillars, and other things of that nature; this is what we learn from ſeveral Authors. *Sanchoniathon* ſays, the moſt ancient Statues were nothing but unhew'd Stones, which he calls *Bætilia*; which Word probably comes from *Bethel*, the Name which *Jacob* gave to the Stone he ſet up for an Altar, after his wreſtling with the Angel (4). *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the Statues of *Hercules* and of *Cupid*, that were nothing but two Maſſes of Stone. The ſame Author adds, that there were ſeen even in one Place, thirty ſquare

(1) Lib. 1. (2) De Dea Syria. (3) See *S. Auguſtine de Civ. Dei*, l. 4. c. 31. (4) Gen. 28.

tones, which had the Names of ſo many Di-
. The *Scythians*, according to *Herodotus* (1),
ped a Sword which repreſented the God *Mars*.
Nations, as *Juſtin* has it, directed their Wor-
a Spear; and hence came the Cuſtom of giving
to the Statues of the Gods, *Ab Origine rerum*
immortalibus haſtas coluerunt: Ob cujus religio-
oriam, adhuc Deorum Simulachris haſtæ adduntur.
The famous Scepter of *Agamemnon* which *Homer*
f, was worſhipped by the People of *Chæronea*,
bol of *Jupiter*. In fine, we learn from *Arno-*
at the *Perſians* worſhipped the Fire and the
the *Arabians*, a ſhapeleſs Stone; the *Theſpians*,
. of a Tree; the *Carians*, Wood; the People of
a Flint-Stone; the *Romans*, *Romulus*'s Spear;
Samians, a Well. *Videtis temporibus priſcis*
uvios coluiſſe, memoralia ut indicant ſcripta;
n Arabas Lapidem, Acinacem Scythiæ nationes,
pro Cynthia Theſpios; Lignum Cariis pro Diana
; Peſſinuntios ſilicem pro Deûm matre, pro Marte
s haſtam, Puteum Samios pro Junone (2). When
: of making Statues (the Honour of which is
to *Prometheus*) was invented, and *Dedalus* had
it to perfection, all theſe Divinities without
ere rejected, and from that time Idolatry be-
make conſiderable progreſs. They carry'd Su-
n ſo far, as even to believe that the Deities them-
eſided in the Statues that repreſented them; and
erſally was this Opinion received, that *Stilpo* the
pher having undertaken to prove that the *Mi-*
of *Phidias* was not a God, was arraigned before
eopagus, where he was obliged in his own defence,
e recourſe to a pitiful Evaſion, and to ſay he had
d, the Statue was not a God, becauſe it was a God-
which however did not hinder him from being
ed.

all Religion neceſſarily requires a Worſhip, after
g treated of the Riſe and Progreſs of Idolatry,

L. 4. (2) Arnobius adv. Gentes, l. 6.

and of the Gods it introduced, it is neceſſary to conſider the Worſhip they paid to thoſe different Divinities; the Altars, Temples, Prieſts, Sacrifices, Victims, Inſtruments of Sacrifice, Oracles, Feſtivals, *&c.* which ſhall be the Subject of ſo many Chapters.

CHAP. V.

Of the Temples of the Pagans, of their Form, Antiquity, &c.

THE Antiquity of Temples is a thing as unqueſtionable, as the Time when they began to be uſed is uncertain. As 'twas in *Phenicia* and *Egypt* that Idolatry took its riſe, not long after the Deluge, theſe are the two Countries, to be ſure, where we are to ſeek for the Origin of whatever concerns the Worſhip of falſe Gods, and the Uſe of Temples, which they introduced. *Herodotus* and *Lucian* expreſſly tell us ſo of the *Egyptians*; but we are to obſerve at the ſame time, that the Syſtem of that falſe Religion was not eſtabliſhed all at once, and that its Ceremonies were only introduced by piece-meal. At firſt, the Gods were honoured after a groſs manner; ſimple Altars of rough Stone, or Turf, ſet up in the open Fields, were all the Apparatus of the Sacrifices they offered them. Chapels, that is, cloſe Places, and at laſt Temples, were only introduced in later times; and accordingly, we do not find that the *Egyptians* had any in *Moſes*'s time, otherwiſe he had mentioned them, as he had frequent occaſion to do. Thus, I am confident that the Tabernacle he made in the Deſart, which was a portable Temple, is the firſt of the kind that is known, and perhaps the Model of all the reſt. The Tabernacle had a Place more ſacred than the reſt, the *Sancta Sanctorum*, which anſwers to the holy and more ſacred Places in the Pagan Temples, which they called *Adyta*. This Temple, expoſed to the view of Nations, bordering upon the Places which the *Iſraelites* paſſed thro' for forty Years, might give occaſion to thoſe Idolaters to build others like to it,

not portable; at leaſt it is certain, they had of re the building of the Temple of *Jeruſalem.* made mention of in Scripture, is that of *Dagon* he *Philiſtines.* But be that as it will, the Cu- building Temples in honour of the Gods, was from *Egypt* to the other Nations. *Lucian* (1) was propagated from that Country to the *Iſ-* under which Name he muſt needs comprehend cent Countries, *Phenicia*, *Syria*, and others. *gypt* and *Phenicia*, it paſſed to *Greece* with the , and from *Greece* to *Rome*; this is the Courſe s and Idolatry, as we obſerve ſo frequently in rk; and this Opinion is grounded upon *He-* and upon all the Evidence Antiquity can af- *Deucalion* has the glory aſcrib'd to him of hav- : the firſt Temples in *Greece*, and *Janus* in *I-* s for *Italy*, others will have it that the Honour belongs to *Faunus*, from whom was derived the *Fanum*, which among the *Latins* ſignifies a ; but all theſe Inquiries are equally frivolous ertain. What we are better warranted to ſay, the ſmall Chapels, moſtly rear'd up by private , in the open Fields, were very ſoon ſuc- by regular Buildings, and at laſt by Maſter- f Architecture. We may ſee in *Herodotus*, and Authors, what was the Magnificence of the e of *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, which ſo many Kings had do to finiſh: A Prince gained no ſmall Ho- f, in the courſe of a long Reign, he was able to one Portico of it. In *Pauſanias* you have the ption of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (2), I ſhall give at the end of this Chapter, with that er Temples I here mention. That of *Delphi*, as s for its Oracles, as for the immenſe Preſents which it was enrich'd, deſerves to be known. of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, that Maſter-piece of Art, renown'd, that a mad Fool (3) thought to im- lize his Name by burning it, was as rich as mag- t. The *Pantheon*, a Specimen of the Magnifi-

(1) De Dea Syria. (2) In Elia. (3) Eroſtratus.

cence of *Agrippa*, *Auguſtus*'s Son-in-law, is ſtill ſubſiſting, and is dedicated to all the Saints, as it was formerly to all the Gods. In fine, the Temple of *Belus*, or rather that grand and magnificent Tower, compoſed of ſeven Stories, whereof the higheſt contained the Statue of that God, with the other things *Herodotus* ſpeaks of, as it was the ancienteſt of all thoſe I have named, ſo it was the moſt ſingular, and the moſt magnificent.

Theſe are the moſt ſtately of the Pagan Temples, whereof the Memory is preſerved to us in Hiſtory. The others of leſs Diſtinction are ſo numerous, that it would require whole Volumes to deſcribe them, nor would it be a thing of any uſe. In *Rome* alone, there are reckoned to have been upwards of a thouſand, great and ſmall together. The Antiquaries have given us the Plan and Elevation of ſome of thoſe Temples, eſpecially F. *Montfaucon* (1), who may be conſulted.

As the *Latins* uſe a variety of Words for a Temple, *Templum*, *Fanum*, *Ædes*, *Sacrarium*, *Delubrum*, &c. the Grammarians and Commentators have ſearch'd into the Etymology of each of theſe Denominations; but when all is well examined, it appears that theſe Names ſignify'd Places conſecrated to the Gods, diſtinguiſhed from one another more by their Size than Form, altho' very good Authors make other Diſtinctions between them. *Fanum* in early times ſeems to have denoted the Place deſigned for a Temple, and to have been the Word appropriated afterwards, to ſignify a little Temple, as likewiſe the word *Sacrarium*. Accordingly, *Cicero* (2) twice makes uſe of theſe two Words, to deſcribe a ſmall Temple which *Ceres* had at *Catana* in *Sicily*. That Orator elſewhere uſes the word *Sacrarium*, for the private Chapels every one had in his own Houſe; but theſe Chapels were more frequently expreſs'd by the word *Lararium*. *Ædes*, if we believe *Varro*, whoſe Teſtimony is quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (3), imply'd that the Temple was conſtituted by the Augurs; whence he concludes, that every thing they

(1) Ant. expl. Vol. 2. B. 2. (2) In his fourth againſt *Verres*.
(3) Noct. Att. l. 14. c. 7.

called *Ædes*, was not a Temple; but this Di-
ion is without foundation, for Authors uſe both
eſſions promiſcuouſly for Buildings conſecrated to
Gods. The Caſe was otherwiſe as to the word
rum, which, according to *Aſconius*, properly ſig-
l a Temple conſecrated to ſeveral Divinities, and
h had in it ſeveral Chapels, as the *Pantheon* was
mple conſecrated to all the Gods. The word
lum did not even always denote a Building, ſince
Augurs apply'd it to the Plots of Ground incloſed
Palliſadoes or Nets, which they mark'd out with
Augural Staff, in order to take the Auguries *.
ie Temples of the Ancients were divided into ſe-
Parts, which it is proper to diſtinguiſh, for un-
nding the Deſcriptions they give of them. The
vas the Porch, where was the Pool, whence the
s, *Ædituï*, drew the Holy-Water for the Expia-
of ſuch as were to enter into the Temples; the
ναὸς; and the holy Place called *Penetrale*, *Sacra-*
Adytum, into which private Perſons were not
itted to enter; and laſt of all, the back Temple,
δόμος; but this laſt Diviſion was not in every one.
Temples had often Porticoes, and always Steps
ent. There were ſome of them too with Galle-
arry'd quite round; theſe Galleries were compoſed
Range of Pillars, ſet at a certain diſtance from the
, cover'd with large Stones: Temples of this ſort
called *Peripteres*, that is to ſay, wing'd all around;
Dipteres, when the Gallery had two Rows of Pil-
Proſtyles, when the Pillars form'd the Portico
out a Gallery; and laſtly, *Hypethres*, when they
two Rows of Pillars on the Outſide, and as many
ie Inſide, the Middle being wholly uncovered,
1 after the form of our Cloyſters. *Vitruvius* takes
e of ſome other Particularities, that may be ſeen in
York.

Or to thoſe Spaces in the Heavens, which the Augur circum-
l with his Eye. Hence *Varro* derives the Word *a Templando*, *Contemplando*.

The inner part of the Temple was often very much adorned; for beſides the Statues of the Gods, which were ſometimes of Gold, Ivory, Ebony, or of ſome other precious Materials, and thoſe of the great Men (*a*) which were ſometimes very numerous, it was ordinary to ſee there Paintings, Gildings, and other Embelliſhments, among which we muſt not forget the Offerings, or the *Ex voto*; that is to ſay, Prows of Ships, dedicated upon their being ſaved from Shipwreck, by the aſſiſtance, as they thought, of ſome God; Tablets, *Tabellas*, for the cure of a Diſeaſe; Arms won from the Enemy, Colours, Tripods, and votive Bucklers, like thoſe two which are in the King of *France*'s Cabinet of Medals, the Hiſtory whereof is in the ninth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres* (*b*). There were eſpecially in the Temple of *Delphos*, and in ſeveral Temples at *Rome*, immenſe Riches of this kind. Beſides theſe ſorts of Ornaments, they were not wanting on Holidays to deck the Temples with Branches of Laurel, Olive, and Ivy.

When they were to build a Temple, the *Aruſpices* were employed to chooſe the Place where, and Time when they were to begin the Work. This Place was purify'd with great Care; they even encircled it with Fillets and Garlands (1). The Veſtals, accompanied with young Boys and Girls, waſhed this Spot of Ground with Water, pure and clean, and the Prieſt expiated it by a ſolemn Sacrifice. Then he touched the Stone that was to be firſt laid in the Foundation, and which was bound with a Fillet; and the People, animated with a mighty Zeal, threw it in thither with ſome Pieces of Money, or Metal which had never yet paſſed thro' the Furnace. When the Edifice was finiſh'd, there was alſo a Conſecration of it, with grand Ceremonies, wherein the Prieſt, or, in his abſence, ſome of his College preſided.

Tacitus

(*a*) See the Deſcription of the moſt celebrated Temples, at the end of this Chapter.

(*b*) See the Treatiſe *de Donariis*, by *Thomaſinus*.

(1) See *Tacitus Hiſt.* L. 4. c. 53.

Tacitus (1) ſpeaking of the Reſtoration of the Capitol, has tranſmitted to us the Form, and other Ceremonies in conſecrating Ground, ſet apart for building a Temple. *Veſpaſian*, ſays he, having committed to *L. Veſtinus* the Care of reſtoring the Capitol, that *Roman* Knight conſulted the *Aruſpices*, who informed him, that he was firſt to tranſport the Remains of the old Temple into the Marſhes, and build a new one upon the ſame Foundations. On the 21ſt day of *June*, the Sky being clear and ſerene, the whole ſpace of Ground deſigned for the Edifice, was encloſed with Fillets and Garlands. Such of the Soldiers as had auſpicious Names, enter'd this Incloſure with Boughs in their hands; the Veſtal Virgins ſucceeded, accompany'd by Boys and Girls, whoſe Fathers and Mothers were ſtill alive, who beſprinkled the whole Ground with Water from Fountain, Lake, or River. Then *Helvidius Priſcus* the Prætor, preceded by *Plautus Ælianus* the Pontif, compleatly expiated the Incloſure, by ſacrificing a Cow and ſome Bulls, as an Offering to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and the Tutelar Deities of the Empire, praying them to bring to a happy Iſſue this Building, which the Piety of Men had begun for their Habitation. The other Magiſtrates who aſſiſted at this Ceremony, the Prieſts, the Senate, the Knights and People, full of Ardour and Joy, exerted themſelves to remove a Stone of an enormous Bulk, in order to drag it to its proper Place. Laſtly, they threw into the Foundation, ſeveral ſmall Gold Coins, and other pieces of Metal, as we have ſaid.

Of thoſe Temples, ſome were not to be built within the Precincts of Cities, but without the Walls; as thoſe of *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Venus*, for the Reaſons given by *Vitruvius* (2). "When Temples are to be built to the "Gods, ſays that Author, eſpecially to thoſe of them "who are Patrons of the City, if it be to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, "or *Minerva*, they muſt be ſet on Places of the greateſt Eminence, whence one may have a view of the "bulk of the Town-walls. If it is to *Mercury*, they

(1) Hiſt. ibid. (2) L. 1. c. 2.

" muſt be ſet in the Forum or Market-place, as is o
" ſerved in thoſe of *Iſis* and *Serapis*. Thoſe of *Apo*
" and *Bacchus* muſt be near the Theatre. Thoſe
" *Hercules*, when there is neither Gymnaſium n
" Amphitheatre, ſhould be placed near the Circ
" Thoſe of *Mars* without the City, in the Fields;
" thoſe of *Venus* at the City-Gates. We find, co
" tinues he, in the Writings of the *Tuſcan* Soothſayer
" that they have a cuſtom of placing the Temples
" *Venus*, *Vulcan*, and *Mars*, without the Walls, le
" if *Venus* was within the City itſelf, it might be
" means of debauching young People, and Matron
" too. *Vulcan* was alſo to be without, that Houſ
" might not be in danger of taking fire. While *Ma*
" is without the Walls, there will be no Diſſenſio
" among the People; nay more, he will be in th
" place of a Rampart, to ſecure the Walls of th
" City from the Hazards of War. The Temples
" *Ceres* were likewiſe without the Cities, in Places n
" much frequented, unleſs to offer Sacrifices to he
" that their Purity might not be defiled." Theſe D
Rinctions however were not always ſtrictly obſerved.

The Idolaters had all poſſible Veneration for the Temples. If we may believe *Arrian*, it was forbid blow one's noſe, or ſpit there; and *Dion* adds, th ſometimes they clamber'd up to them upon their knee They were a Sanctuary for Criminals and Debtors, we obſerve in the following Chapter. In fine, in tim of publick Calamity, the Women proſtrated themſelv in the ſacred Places, and ſwept the Pavements of the with their Hair. Sometimes, however, it happene that when publick Diſaſters obſtinately continued, th People loſt all due Reverence for the Temples, a were ſo outrageous, as to fall a pelting the Walls wi ſtones; an Inſtance whereof we find in *Suetonius* (1).

Tho' commonly both Men and Women enter'd in the Temples, yet there were ſome where the M were forbid to enter; for inſtance, that of *Diana Rome*, in the Street called the *Vicus Patricius*, as

lea

(1) In Calig.

learn from *Plutarch*, altho' they might enter into the other Temples of that Goddeſs. The Reaſon of this Prohibition is thought to have been, that a Woman, as ſhe was praying in that Temple, had received a moſt cruel Inſult.

Having taken a curſory View of the Pagan Temples, I judge it will not be from the purpoſe to give a particular Deſcription of ſome of the moſt famous ones. By this we may judge to what a pitch Magnificence and Profuſion had been carried.

The Temple of Belus.

As this Temple is allowed to be the moſt ancient of any in the Pagan World, as cannot be doubted; ſo likewiſe was its Structure the moſt curious. *Beroſus*, as *Joſephus* relates (1), aſcribes the building of it to *Belus*, who was himſelf worſhipped there after his Death. But certain it is, if the *Belus* of that Hiſtorian be the ſame with *Nimrod*, as is very probable, his Deſign was not to build a Temple, but to erect a Tower, in order to ſhelter himſelf and his People from Inundations, if ſuch a one as the Deluge ſhould again happen. We know in what manner God put a ſtop to that mad Deſign. The Work continued in the ſame State it was in at the Confuſion of Tongues, and was afterwards ſet apart for a Temple to *Belus*, who was deify'd after his death. This famous Tower, commonly called the *Tower of Babel*, formed a Square in its Baſe, each ſide containing a Stadium in length (*a*), which made a half Mile in circumference. The whole Work conſiſted of eight Towers, raiſed the one above the other, and diminiſhing gradually, from the loweſt to the higheſt. Some Authors, as *Prideaux* remarks (2), being miſled by the *Latin* Verſion of *Herodotus*, alledge, that each of theſe Towers was a Furlong in height, which would make the whole a Mile high; but the *Greek* Text ſays no ſuch thing, nor is any mention made of the height of the Edifice (*b*). *Strabo*,

(1) Antiq. L. 10. (2) Connec. Vol. 1.

(*a*) The Stadium, or Furlong, was a Space of 120 Toiſes.

(*b*) *Herodotus* only ſays, the Building was one Furlong in length, by one in breadth.

bo, who has alſo deſcrib'd this Temple, allows no more than a Furlong for its height; and as much for each ſide. The learned Publiſher of the Edition of *Prideaux* at *Trevoux*, ſays, that according to the Meaſure of the Stadia uſed in the Time of *Herodotus*, the only ancient Author, who deſcribes the Edifice from having ſeen it, it could not be more than ſixty-nine Toiſes or thereabout in height; that is but a little more than twice the height of the Towers of the Church of *Paris*; which is not very extraordinary, conſidering the Magnificence of ſome Buildings in *Europe*. The ſame Editor farther remarks, that as this Work was framed only of Bricks, which Men carried upon their Backs, as we learn from the Ancients (1), and as Scripture tells us, concerning the Tower of *Babel*, its Conſtruction has nothing in it ſurprizing; and tho' it was higher than the great Pyramid, by a hundred and nineteen Feet, yet as the latter was built, or at leaſt faced with Stones of an exceſſive length, which were to be hoiſted up to ſo prodigious a height, the building of it muſt needs have been infinitely more difficult. But be that as it will, we learn from *Herodotus*, that they went up to the top of this Building by a winding Stair, which was on the outſide. Theſe eight Towers compoſed as it were ſo many Stories, each of which was ſeventy-five feet high, and in them they had diſpoſed ſeveral great Chambers ſupported by Pillars, and other leſſer ones, where People might reſt themſelves in going up. The higheſt was the moſt richly adorned, and that for which they had the greateſt Veneration. In this Chamber, according to *Herodotus*, there was a ſtately Bed, and a Table of maſſy Gold, but no Statue.

Until the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, this Temple contained nothing but the Tower, and Chambers now mentioned, which were ſo many private Chapels. But that Monarch, as *Berojus* relates (2), enlarged it a great deal by the Edifices he built all around it, with a Wall that ſurrounded them, and brazen Gates; in framing

(1) Herod. L. 1. Strabo, Lib. 16. Diod. Sic. L. 2. Arri. L. 7.
(2) Apud Joſeph. Ant. L. 10.

ming whereof, the Sea of Braſs, and the other Uten- of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, had been employed. is Temple was ſtill ſubſiſting in the time of *Xer-* (1), who, as he returned from his unfortunate Ex- lition into *Greece*, order'd it to be demoliſhed; ing firſt pillaged its immenſe Riches, among which e Statues of maſſy Gold; one of them, as *Diodorus ulus* has it (2), being forty feet high, and which probably the ſame that *Nebuchadnezzar* had con- ated in the Plain of *Dura*. The Scripture, indeed, es this Coloſſus ninety feet in height; but this is e underſtood of the Statue and Pedeſtal taken both ether.

There were likewiſe in the ſame Temple ſeveral ls of ſolid Gold, and a great number of ſacred Va- of the ſame Metal; whoſe Weight, according to ſame Author, came to 5030 Talents; which, added the Statue, amounted to immenſe Sums. In fine, it s from the Temple enlarged by *Nebuchadnezzar*, t *Herodotus*, who had ſeen it, took the Deſcription his firſt Book; and his Authority ought to be more garded than that of *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſpoke of only as he had heard from others. 'Tis true, *He- dotus* ſays, that in a low Chapel of this Temple, was large golden Statue of *Jupiter*, that is of *Belus*; but e gives neither its Weight nor Dimenſions, content- g himſelf with ſaying, that the Statue, with a golden able, a Throne, and a Foot-ſtool, were all together imated by the *Babylonians* at 800 Talents. The ſame uthor adds, that without this Chapel was likewiſe an ltar of Gold, and a larger one, on which they ſacri- ced Animals full-grown, becauſe it was not permitted offer any ſuch upon the Golden Altar, but thoſe ly that were not yet weaned; and that they burned arly upon the great Altar Incenſe to the weight of hundred thouſand Talents. Laſtly, he mentions nother Statue of maſſy Gold, which he had not ſeen; t was told it amounted to twelve Cubits, or eigh- een Feet in height. 'Tis, no doubt, the ſame that *Dio-*

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Ant. L. 7. (2) Lib. 2.

Diodorus ſpeaks of, tho' he gives it forty Feet in height: which Account is the more credible of the two, if it was that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we have great reaſon to think.

But whatever be in that, I have obſerved from *Herodotus*, that in the higheſt Tower there was a magnificent Bed; and this Author ſubjoins, that none was allowed to lie there, except a Woman of the City, whom the Prieſt of *Belus* choſe every day, making her believe, that ſhe was honoured there with the Preſence of the God.

The Temple of Vulcan *at* Memphis.

The *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, were the firſt People in the World who built Temples in honour of the Gods. I have no deſign to ſpeak of all thoſe that were in that Country; but that of *Vulcan*, and ſome others, deſerve a particular Conſideration upon account of their Antiquity.

Altho' we have not any very full Deſcription of the Temple of *Vulcan*, we may judge from what *Herodotus* ſays of it in ſeveral places of his Hiſtory (1), that it muſt have been of ſurpaſſing Magnificence. Firſt, as to its Antiquity, it ſeems to be unqueſtionable, ſince that Hiſtorian tells us it was built by *Menes*, the firſt who reigned in *Egypt* after the Gods and Demi-Gods. Probably 'twas not that Prince who gave all that Beauty to the Work, for which it was afterwards admired; altho' *Herodotus* ſays, that even then it was grand and highly celebrated, ſince the primitive Buildings ſpoke nothing but a noble Simplicity. But the Succeſſors of *Menes* ambitiouſly vied with one another in embelliſhing the Work of the Founder of their Monarchy, and in adorning it with the Statues we are going to mention; for, according to the beſt Hiſtorians, there were no Statues in the ancient Temples of *Egypt*. *Meris*, a powerful Prince, and extreamly rich, added to the firſt Temple the ſtately Porch, that was on the North ſide. *Rhamſinitus*, *Proteus*'s Succeſſor, raiſed, according to the ſame Author, that which fronted to the Weſt,

(1) Lib. 2. C. 99.

Weſt, and placed over-againſt the Porch two Coloſſal Statues, each twenty-five Cubits, that is thirty-ſeven or thirty-eight Feet in height. The one, which the *Egyptians* worſhip'd, was called by them *Summer*, becauſe it faced to the North: the other, for which they had no regard, was ſtiled *Winter*, and look'd to the South. In fine, *Amaſis* ſet up before the ſame Temple an inverted Statue, ſeventy-five Feet high; and upon this Coloſſus, which ſerved for a Foundation, or rather Pedeſtal, he erected two other Statues, each twenty Feet in height, and of the ſame Marble with the great one.

It is eaſy judging, from *Herodotus*'s Account, of the Magnificence and Extent of this Temple. In the mean time the inner Part of the Edifice, ſo far from inviting the Admiration of thoſe who entered into it, only provoked the Contempt and Raillery of *Cambyſes*, who broke out into an immoderate Fit of Laughter, at ſeeing the Statues of *Vulcan*, and the other Gods, like *Pygmies* (1); which, in truth, muſt needs have made a very ridiculous Contraſt with the Coloſſus's in the Porches of which we have ſpoke. This perhaps was the ſame Temple which *Menes* had built: for the Works of the *Egyptians* were made to laſt an immenſe time.

Egypt had beſides a great number of Temples every one of them richer than another; ſuch as that of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* or *Dioſpolis*; and that of *Andera* at *Hermunthis*; that of *Proteus* at *Memphis*, mentioned by *Herodotus*; and that of *Minerva* at *Sais*, which, as the ſame Author tells us, *Amaſis* had taken great pains to embelliſh with a Porch, which far ſurpaſſed in Grandeur and Magnificence, all the Monuments which the Kings his Predeceſſors had left. That ſame Prince added to it Statues of a prodigious ſize; for the *Egyptians* loved Coloſſal Figures, not to mention Stones, that were hardly to be meaſured for their enormous Bigneſs, which came moſt of them from *Elephantina*, a Town at the diſtance of twenty days ſailing from *Sais*.

(1) See the *Article of the Cabiri*, in the 6th Book.

Sais. The Particularities neceſſary to be entered into, in order to give a tolerable Notion of ſo many fine Works, would be too great a Digreſſion; but I can't forbear to take notice of a ſort of Temple, the only one in its kind, I mean that Chapel of a ſingle Stone, which the ſame *Amaſis* had cauſed to be cut out of the Quarries in the upper *Egypt*, and be tranſported with incredible Labour and Pains, as far as *Sais*, where it was to be ſet up in the Temple of *Minerva*. Here is the Account given of it by *Herodotus*. "But what I "admire more than all the other Works done by *Ama-* "*ſis*'s Orders, ſays that Author, he cauſed to be "brought from *Elephantina* a Houſe made of one "ſingle Stone; which two thouſand Men, all of them "Pilots and Sailors, were not able to tranſport in leſs "than three Years. The Front of this Houſe was "twenty-one Cubits (1), by fourteen in breadth, and "eight in height; and within the Walls five Cubits "high, and eighteen in length."

This Houſe never entered the Temple of *Minerva*, but was left at the Gate, whether *Amaſis* was provoked to ſee the Architect, who conducted it, complain heavily of the Labour this Work had coſt him, or becauſe one of them, who had been aſſiſting to convey it along the *Nile*, was cruſh'd to death, as the ſame Hiſtorian relates.

The Temple of Diana *at* Epheſus.

This Temple, which has paſſed for one of the ſeven Wonders of the World, was of very great antiquity; but at firſt it was not ſo magnificent as it became afterwards, ſince, according to *Pliny* (2), all *Aſia* conſpired for two hundred and twenty, or as he ſays elſewhere, for four hundred Years, to adorn and embelliſh it. *Pindar*, in one of his Odes, ſays, it was built by the *Amazons*, when they were going to make war upon the *Athenians* and *Theſeus*; but *Pauſanias* (3) aſſures us, that this great Poet was ignorant of the Antiquity of that Temple; ſince thoſe very *Amazons* had come from the

(1) Thirty-one Feet and a half. (2) Lib. 36. C. 14.

(3) Lib. 7. ad Init. where the ſame Author tells us, that one *Creſus* and *Epheſus*, who built the City, were the Founders of it.

anks of *Thermodon*, to ſacrifice to *Diana* of the *ians* in her Temple, with which they were ac-ted, becauſe ſome time before, being defeated by *cles*, and antecedently to him by *Bacchus*, they had hither for Refuge as into a Sanctuary.

onyſius, the Geographer, informs us, there was yet more ancient, built by the ſame *Amazons*, a remarkably declared the Simplicity of the firſt , ſince it only conſiſted in a Niche, hollow'd out a Elm, where was probably the Statue of *Diana*. which I am going to ſpeak of, was not ſo ancient; ow magnificent it was, the following Deſcription *liny* will ſhew. It was built, ſays he, in a marſhy nd, to ſecure it from Earthquakes, and Openings e Earth that ſometimes happen there; and that oundations of ſuch a weighty Building might ſtand upon this ſoft and fenny Ground, they ſtrew'd it a quantity of beaten Coals, and laid over them p-ſkins with their Wool. This Temple, conti- the ſame Author, was four hundred and twenty- Feet long, and two hundred Feet broad. The ired and twenty-ſeven Columns, which ſupported Edifice, were placed there by ſo many Kings, and each of them ſixty Feet high. Of theſe Pillars, e were thirty-ſix beautifully carved, and one of by the famous *Scopas*. The Architect, who car- on this great Work, was *Cherſiphron*, or *Cteſi-*; and 'tis a wonder how he could place Archi- s of ſo prodigious a weight. The Artifice which ſkilful Workman made uſe of for his purpoſe is fin- r; he laid great Bags full of Sand upon the top of Columns, then letting the Sand gently run out, the hitraves came inſenſibly to their proper Seat. *Cher-* found ſtill more difficulty in placing a Stone of a h greater weight, above the Temple-Gate. Here ight be expected that *Pliny*, if he was not inform'd he thing, ſhould at leaſt have thought upon a way r this immenſe Stone might have been placed; but ead of that, he coldly relates a Viſion of the Archi-, to whom *Diana* appeared, exhorting him to take

courage;

courage; and the next Morning, says he, the Stone was seen to descend of its own accord, and settle in the intended Situation. *Atque ita postridie apparuit Lapis, pondereque ipso correctus videbatur.* 'Tis credible enough, that the Roof of the Temple was made of Cedar-planks, as the same Author tells us; but I don't know if we are to credit what he says of the Stair by which they went to the very top, that was made of a single Vine-stock. Neither *Cheirsiphron*, nor his Son *Metagenes*, finished this so grand and magnificent a Work: other Architects wrought at it; and it was not entirely compleated till after a Period of 220 Years.

The Riches of this Temple must have been immense, since so many Kings contributed to embellish it; and since nothing was more famous in all *Asia* than this Fabrick, either for Devotion, or the infinite Concourse of People that resorted to *Ephesus*. The Account given by St. *Paul* (1) of the Sedition hatch'd by the Goldsmiths of that City, who earn'd their living by making small silver Statues of *Diana*, shews us effectually how celebrated the Worship of that Goddess was.

'Tis further probable, that the Description given by *Pliny*, respects the Temple which was burnt by *Erostratus*, in the manner every body knows. For that which subsisted in his time, had been raised by *Cheirmocrates*, the same who built the Town of *Alexandria*, and who proposed to cut Mount *Athos* into a Statue of *Alexander*. This last Temple, which *Strabo* had seen, was not inferiour in Beauty and Riches to the former; and there were to be seen the Works of the ablest Statuaries in *Greece*. The Altar was almost wholly of *Praxiteles*'s Workmanship. *Xenophon* speaks of a Statue of massy Gold, whereof *Herodotus*, who had visited this Temple, says nothing. *Strabo* assures us likewise, that the *Ephesians*, in gratitude, had erected in the same place a Statue of Gold, in honour of *Artemidorus*. *Vitruvius* tells us, that this Temple, of the *Ionick* Order, was Dipterick, that is, that there went quite round it two Ranges of Pillars, in form of a double

(1) Acts 19. 24.

ouble Portico; that itwas ſeventy-one Toiſes in length, ith more than thirty-ſix in breadth, and that there ere reckoned in it 127 Pillars of ſixty Feet high.

This Temple was one of the moſt celebrated Aſyums, which, according to the Author laſt quoted, xtended to 125 Feet of the adjacent Ground. *Mibridates* had confined it to the ſpace of a Bow-ſhot. *Marc Anthony* doubled that Extent; but *Tiberius*, to orrect the Abuſes that were occaſioned by thoſe ſorts of Privileges, aboliſhed this Aſylum.

Nothing is remaining at this day of ſo ſtately a Fabrick but ſome Ruins; an Account of which may be ſeen in *Spon*'s Voyage. We often ſee this Temple repreſented upon Medals, with the Figure of *Diana*; but the Frontiſpiece, becauſe of the ſmall room left in thoſe ſorts of Monuments is never to be ſeen there charged with more than eight Pillars; ſometimes with ſix, with four, or only with two.

The Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Greece had ſo great a number of Temples, Chapels, and Altars, that they occur'd every where, in Cities, Villages, and in the open Fields. To be convinced of this, one needs but read the Ancients, and eſpecially *Pauſanias*, who has apply'd himſelf particularly to deſcribe them, and ſpeaks of them in almoſt every Page of his Travels through *Greece*.

Of all theſe Temples, there were four which *Vitruvius* eſpecially admired; they were built of Marble, and enriched with ſuch fine Ornaments, that they drew the Admiration of the ableſt Judges, and were become the Standard and Model for Buildings in the three Orders of Architecture, the *Dorick*, the *Ionick*, and the *Corinthian*. The firſt of theſe fine Works was the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, of which we have given the Deſcription. The ſecond, that of *Apollo* in the City of *Miletus*; both theſe of the *Ionick* Order. This celebrated Architect placed in the third Rank the Temple of *Eleuſis*, built in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, which *Iictinus* made of the *Dorick* Order, of ſo wide Extent, that it was capable of containing thirty

thouſand Souls; for there were at leaſt ſo many, and oftentimes more, at the Celebration of the Myſteries of thoſe two Goddeſſes (1). At firſt, *Vitruvius* remarks, this Temple had no Columns on the outſide, to leave the more room and ſcope for the religious Ceremonies that were performed at the Sacrifices; but *Philo* afterwards added to it a magnificent Portico. The fourth was the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Athens*, of the *Corinthian* Order. It had at firſt been begun by *Piſiſtratus*; but the Broils that followed upon his Death, left the Work unfiniſhed for near three hundred Years, till at laſt *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, undertook the Expence neceſſary for finiſhing the Nave, which was very large, and the Columns of the Portico. *Coſſutius*, a *Roman* Citizen, and ſkilful Architect, was choſen for the Execution of this great Work; and he ſucceeded in it ſo well, that there were few Edifices equal to it in Grandeur and Magnificence.

In purſuance of my Deſign, I ſingle out two of theſe Temples, that of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which were the two moſt magnificent. The former, according to *Pauſanias* (2), and the admirable Statue of *Jupiter* which was there, were the Product of the Spoils, which the *Eleans* had won from the *Piſans* and their Allies, when they ſacked the City *Piſa*. This Temple, whereof *Libo*, a Native of the Country, was the Architect, was of the *Doric* Order, and on the outſide was ſurrounded with Columns, inſomuch that the Place where it was built, formed a ſtately Periſtyle. In this Fabrick, they made uſe of the Stones of the Country, which however were of a ſingular nature and exquiſite beauty. The Height of the Temple, from the Area to the Roof, was ſixty-eight Feet, its Breadth ninety-five, and its Length two hundred and thirty. The Roof was not of Tiles, but of a fine pentelick Marble, cut in the form of Tiles. From the middle of the Roof hung a gilded Victory, and under this Statue, a golden Shield, on which

(1) See Herod. L. 8. c. 65. & Strabo, L. 9. p. 365. (2) In Eliac. p. 303, & ſeq. Edit. Wechel. 1613.

1 was repreſented *Meduſa*'s Head; and at each
mity of the ſame Roof hung two gilded Kettles.
ıe Outſide above the Columns, a Rope went
the Temple, to which were faſtened twenty-
lt Bucklers, conſecrated to *Jupiter* by *Mummius*,
he ſacking of *Corinth*. Upon the Pediment, in
ront, was repreſented with exquiſite Art the
ot-Race between *Pelops* and *Oenomaus*, and *Ju-*
n the middle. *Oenomaus* and his Wife *Sterope*,
the Daughters of *Atlas*, the Chariot with four
s, and *Myrtilus* the Charioteer of *Oenomaus*, were
the right hand of the God: *Pelops*, *Hippodamia*,
e Charioteer with his Horſes, were on the left. All
igures were done by *Pæonius*, a Native of *Thrace*.
ack Pediment, the Work of *Alcamenes*, the beſt
ry in his time next to *Phidias*, repreſented the
of the *Centaurs* with the *Lapithæ*, at the Mar-
of *Pirithous*. A great part of *Hercules*'s Labours
repreſented upon the Inſide of this Fabrick; and
the Gates, which were all of Braſs, were to be ſeen
g other things, the Hunting of the Boar of *Ery-*
ıus, and the Exploits of the ſame *Hercules* againſt
des King of *Thrace*, *Geryon*, &c. In fine, for
an't particularize every thing, there were two
es of Columns, ſupporting two Galleries raiſed
ling high, under which was the Way that led to
er's Throne.

ıis Throne and the Statue of the God were *Phidi-*
laſter-piece; and Antiquity produced nothing ſo
ificent nor ſo finiſh'd. The Statue, of an immenſe
it, was of Gold and Ivory, ſo artificially blen-
that it could not be beheld but with aſtoniſhment.
God wore upon his Head a Crown, which re-
led the Olive-Leaf to perfection; in his right hand
ld a Victory, likewiſe of Gold and Ivory, and in
ft a Scepter of exquiſite Taſte, refulgent with all
of Metals, and ſupporting an Eagle. The Shoes
Mantle of the God were of Gold; and upon the
ıtle were all ſorts of Animals and Flowers engrav'd.
: Throne was all ſparkling with Gold and precious

Stones. The Ivory and Ebony, the Animals there repreſented, and ſeveral other Ornaments by their Aſſemblage formed a delightful Variety. At the four Corners of the Throne were as many Victories, that ſeem'd to be joining hands for a Dance, beſides two others that were at *Jupiter*'s Feet. The Feet of the Throne, on the foreſide, were adorn'd with *Sphinxes*, who were plucking the tender Infants from the Boſom of the *Theban* Mothers; and underneath were to be ſeen *Apollo* and *Diana*, wounding *Niobe*'s Children to death with their Arrows. Four Croſs-bars that were at the Feet of the Throne, and went from one end to the other, were adorned with a great number of Figures extremely beautiful; upon one were repreſented ſeven Conquerors at the *Olympick* Games; upon another appeared *Hercules*, ready to engage with the *Amazons*, and the number of Combatants on either ſide was twenty-nine. Beſides the Feet of the Throne, there were likewiſe Pillars to ſupport it. In fine, a great Balluſtrade painted and adorned with Figures, rail'd in the whole Work. *Panænus*, an able Painter of that time, had repreſented there, with inimitable Art, *Atlas* bearing the Heavens upon his Shoulders, and *Hercules* in an Attitude ſtooping to eaſe him of the Load: *Theſeus* and *Pirithous*, the Combat of *Hercules* with the Lion of *Nemea*, *Ajax* offering violence to *Caſſandra*, *Hippodamia* with her Mother, *Prometheus* in Chains, and a thouſand other Subjects of fabulous Hiſtory. In the moſt elevated Place of the Throne, above the Head of the God, were the Graces and Hours, of each three in number. The Pedeſtal which ſupported this Pile, was equally adorned with the reſt. There *Phidias* had engraved upon Gold, on the one ſide, the Sun guiding his Chariot; on the other, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, the Graces, *Mercury*, and *Veſta*.

There *Venus* appeared riſing out of the boſom of the Sea, and *Cupid* receiving her; while *Pitho*, or the Goddeſs of Perſuaſion, was preſenting her with a Crown. There alſo appeared *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Minerva* and *Hercules*. At the bottom of the Pedeſtal,

you

you might have ſeen *Amphitrité* and *Neptune*, and *Diana* or the Moon, who appeared mounted on horſe-back. In fine, a woollen Veil, of a purple Dye and magnificently embroider'd, the Preſent of King *Antiochus*, hung from top to bottom. I ſay nothing of the other Ornaments of this noble Structure, nor of the Pavement which was of the fineſt Marble, nor of the Preſents conſecrated to the God by ſeveral Princes, nor of the prodigious number of Statues that were in the Temple, as well as in the Neighbourhood of it. For all theſe, *Pauſanias* may be conſulted, from whom I have taken this Deſcription. I only add, that in order to judge of the Greatneſs of *Jupiter*'s Statue, about which the Ancients are not agreed, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Throne and Statue reached from the Pavement to the Roof, whoſe Elevation I have marked. It will readily be granted, that a Work of ſuch a nature, of ſo prodigious an Extent, of ſo conſiderable an Height, where Gold blended with Ebony and Ivory, caſt a dazzling Splendour, where ſo many Figures, Bas-reliefs, and Paintings were to be ſeen, the whole done by the greateſt Maſters, could not fail to have a very delightful Effect upon thoſe who entered into the Temple. We muſt not forget that this Edifice was of the *Dorick* Order, the moſt ancient of all the Orders in Architecture, and at the ſame time the moſt ſuitable to Works of Grandeur.

The Temple of Apollo *at* Delphi.

If the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi* was not ſo magnificent in its Structure as that I have been deſcribing, it was a great deal richer in immenſe Preſents that were ſent to it from every Quarter: I ſay richer, if indeed it be poſſible to eſtimate the Maſter-piece of *Phidias*. At firſt the Temple of *Delphi* was of very little conſideration. A Cavern, whence iſſued certain Exhalations, that infus'd Vivacity and a ſort of Enthuſiaſm into thoſe who approached it, having made People believe there was ſomething in it divine, an Oracle was founded in this place, as I ſhall explain at greater

length, in ſpeaking of the Oracles (1). The Concourſe which this pretended Miracle drew, obliged the neighbouring Inhabitants to conſecrate the place; and they firſt built there a Chapel, or rather a Hut made of Laurel-Boughs. They gave out, adds *Pauſanias* (2), that the Bees raiſed a ſecond Chapel there, which was of Wax; and that *Apollo* ſent it to the *Hyperboreans*. It is eaſy to ſee that this is a mere Fable, which I ſhall explain in the Chapter of Oracles, and *Pauſanias* judges of it the ſame way. The third Temple of *Delphi* was built of Braſs; which needs not ſeem very ſurprizing, as the Author remarks, whom I have now quoted, and whom I tranſcribe almoſt word for word; ſince *Acriſius* King of *Argos* cauſed an Apartment to be made of Braſs, to ſhut up in it his Daughter *Danaë*; and in his (*Pauſanias*'s) time was ſtill extant at *Sparta* the Temple of *Minerva Chalciæcos*, ſo called becauſe it was wholly of Braſs. But that this Temple had been built by *Vulcan*, is what *Pauſanias* ſays he did not believe; nor that there were upon the Cielings golden Virgins, who ſung charmingly, as *Pindar* had imaged, in imitation, no doubt, of the *Sirens* in *Homer*. The Ancients were not agreed about the manner how this Temple was deſtroyed: ſome ſaid, the Earth had opened and ſwallowed it up; others, that it having taken fire, the Braſs whereof it was made melted down. Be that as it will, the Temple was built a fourth time of Stone, and had for its Architects *Agamedes* and *Trophonius*. This Edifice was burnt down to the ground, the firſt Year of the fifty-eighth *Olympiad*. The laſt, in fine, which was ſubſiſting in *Pauſanias*'s time, and which excelled the reſt in Grandeur and Riches, was built by the direction of the * *Amphictyones*, with the Money which the People had conſecrated for that uſe.

Altho' we have not a particular Deſcription of this laſt Temple, it is eaſy to judge of its Extent, and of the immenſe Riches it contained, from that Concern which ſo many Kings and whole Nations had to ſend Preſents to

(1) See B. 4. c. 1. (2) In Phoc.

* The General Council of Greece.

to it. Few or none came to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*, (and who was there but either came or ſent to it?) without bringing ſome Offering to the God: And of theſe Offerings there muſt needs have been an infinite number; ſince altho' this Temple had been pillag'd ſeveral times, as may be ſeen in the Author whom I am copying, *Nero* carried off from it five hundred Statues all of Braſs, partly of the Gods, and partly of illuſtrious Men.

The Pantheon *at* Rome.

Rome and *Italy* abounded with Temples as much as *Greece*. They were to be met with every where; and ſeveral of them remarkable either for their Singularity or Magnificence. Among the moſt elegant, we are to reckon that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Peace*; which, according to *Pliny*, were two of the fineſt Ornaments of *Rome*. But as I know none of 'em more noble, nor more ſolidly built than the great Pantheon, commonly called the *Rotunda*, ſince it ſubſiſts at this day entire, under the name of the Church of *All Saints*, to whom it is conſecrated, as in Paganiſm, it was to all the Gods; I chuſe to give the Deſcription of it in preference to others. The Draught of it may be ſeen in the ſecond Volume of *Montfaucon*'s Antiquities, who has taken the Plan of it from *Serlio*, and the Profil from *Lafreri*.

The moſt common opinion is, that it was built by the Direction, and at the Expence of *Agrippa*, *Auguſtus*'s Son in Law; tho' there are Authors who maintain, that it was before his time, and that he only repair'd it, and made an addition to it of that fine Portico, which is there ſtill to be ſeen. Be that as it will, this grand Fabrick, which receives Light only from a hole in the middle of the Dome, ſo ingeniouſly contrived, that the whole is ſufficiently lighted by it, is of a round figure; the Architect, it ſeems, deſigning to imitate the Figure of the World, as is to be remark'd of a great number of other Temples of the earlieſt Antiquity. This at leaſt is *Pliny*'s Opinion: *Quod forma ejus*

ejus convexa faſtigiatam Cæli ſimilitudinem deret.

The Portico, the Work of *Agrippa*, more be and more ſurprizing than the Temple itſelf, is poſed of ſixteen Columns of granate Marble, e one ſingle Stone. Theſe Columns are fiv Feet i meter, and above ſeven and thirty Feet high, w including the Baſe and Chapiter. Of theſe ſixte lumns, there are eight in the Front, and as ma hind them, all of the *Corinthian* Order. As time of Pope *Eugenius*, there was found near thi fice, a Part of *Agrippa*'s Head in Braſs, a Horſe's and a Piece of a Wheel of the ſame Metal; it ſeem that this great Man had himſelf been repre in Braſs upon this Portico, riding in a Chariot four Horſes.

When I ſaid that this Temple is ſubſiſting er this day, I would be underſtood to mean the B the Work, raiſed on ſo ſolid Foundations, that n has been able to move it. And no wonder; f cording to a *Roman* Architect, whoſe Manuſcri *F. Montfaucon*'s hands, theſe Foundations were not only extending itſelf under the whole Edifi alſo a great way beyond its Walls. As for the ficent Works, the Statues, and other precious of which it was full, theſe are all gone to wreck. Plates of gilt Braſs, that covered the whole Roo carried off by the Emperor *Conſtantius* the Third *Urban* the Eighth made free with the Beams ſame Metal, to form the Canopy of St. *Peter*, a great Pieces of Artillery, which are in the Ca St. *Angelo*. The Statues of the Gods which were Niches, that are ſtill to be ſeen within the T have either been pillaged, or buried under g nor is it very long ago, ſince in digging near th fice, they found firſt a Lion of Baſalt, which is *Egyptian* Marble; and then another, which for Ornaments to the Fountain of *Sixtus V.* mention a large beautiful Vaſe of Porphyry, th placed by the Portico. In general, this Edifice

c

ceedingly magnificent, perfectly well built, in juſt Proportions, and it ſtill makes one of the faireſt Ornaments of *Rome*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Altars.

AFTER this ſummary Account of the Temples, it is neceſſary to ſpeak of the Altars. But as we all along follow the ſame Method, in ſaying nothing upon each Subject but what is moſt material, referring thoſe who would ſee things more fully handled, to better Treatiſes; we would premiſe this Intimation, that F. *Berthold* of the Oratory has compoſed one upon Altars, in which there are few things of moment omitted (1); of this, we are going to give an Abſtract, referring to Antiquaries for the Figures.

Without inſiſting upon the Etymology of the Word *Altare*, a Name which we commonly reckon to have been given to Altars, becauſe they are high built, we ſay with *Servius*, that the Ancients made ſome diſtinction between *Altare* and *Ara*; for altho' the laſt was equally uſed, either in ſpeaking of the Celeſtial or Infernal Gods, yet the word *Altare* was peculiarly ſet apart to denote the Altars of the former: *Novimus, inquit, aras Diis eſſe ſuperis & inferis conſecratas, altaria vero eſſe ſuperorum tantum Deorum* (2). This was *Servius*'s Diſtinction, tho' ſome Authors add another, and ſay, that to the Celeſtial Gods, Sacrifices were offered upon Altars; to the terreſtrial Gods, upon the Earth itſelf; and to the infernal ones, in Holes: F. *Berthold* ſubjoins, that to the Nymphs, Victims were offered in Dens and Caverns.

The Antiquity of Altars is not to be called in queſtion: No doubt it was prior, as we have hinted already, to the building of Temples, not only among the Patriarchs, but among the Pagans too. And as the ſuperſtitious Pagan Worſhip commenc'd in *Egypt*, as

(1) *Tractatus Singularis de Ara*, printed at *Nantes*, *An.* 1636, in 12mo. (2) *Servius* upon the 5th Ecl. of *Virg.*

as has been ſaid, this is probably the Country where the firſt Altars were erected. Accordingly, this is the Opinion of *Herodotus*, and of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, who has copied him (1). Simplicity having always been a Concomitant of Uſages newly invented, 'tis plain that the firſt Altars were nothing but ſimple heaps of Earth or Turf, which were called *Aræ ceſpititiæ*, or *gramineæ*; or of rough Stones, *&c.* and Idolaters at firſt imitated that ſimple manner of raiſing Altars, which was uſed by *Noah* and the other primitive Patriarchs; but in later times, Altars came to be quite changed, both in Matter and Form. Accordingly, Paganiſm had of them of ſeveral Forms; four-ſquare, long-ſquare, round, triangular; as of different Materials, of Stone, Marble, Braſs, and of Gold itſelf, at leaſt *Herodotus* (2) ſays ſo of the Table that was in the Temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*. *Pauſanias* obſerves, that ſome of them were of Wood, but that it was rare to find any of that ſort. That of *Jupiter Olympius* was nothing but a heap of Aſhes; others were but a mere Collection of Horns of different Animals: *Innumeris ſtructam de cornibus Aram*, as *Ovid* ſpeaks. *Euſtathius*, who mentions this Altar (3), ſays it was at *Epheſus*, and that *Apollo* had built it of the Bulls Horns which *Diana* had kill'd in hunting. *Moſes* ſpeaks often of the Horns of the Altar, but in another ſenſe, meaning thereby nothing but their Corners.

Altars were no leſs diſtinguiſhed in proportion to their Height, than by their Matter and Form. Some reached no higher than to the Knee, others came up to the Waiſt; ſome were yet higher, eſpecially thoſe of *Jupiter*, and the other celeſtial Gods (4), while thoſe of *Veſta*, and the other terreſtrial Divinities, were the loweſt. Among thoſe Altars, ſome were ſolid, others were hollow at the top, to receive the Libations and Blood of the Victims; others, in fine, were portable, to be uſed in travelling, and upon other occaſions. Altars were not all in Temples; there were ſome of 'em in the

(1) Var. Lec. l. 16. (2) L. 1. (3) Upon the 8th Book of the *Iliad*. (4) Vitruv. l. 1. c. 7.

the ſacred Groves, and expoſed in the open Fields; as thoſe of the Gods *Terminus*, *Sylvanus*, *Pan*, *Vertumnus*, and thoſe which *Epimenides* cauſed the *Athenians*, in the time of a Plague, to ſet up in places where the Victims, left to their own liberty, happen'd to ſtop. Theſe are the ſame St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, which were dedicated to unknown Gods. But it was ſtill more common to ſet up Altars upon the Mountains, where frequently too, they had ſacred Groves; and this Cuſtom of going to ſacrifice upon high Places, was ſo ancient and univerſal, that the Scripture inceſſantly reproaches the *Iſraelites* with it (1), and even blames the better Kings for not having aboliſhed it: *Attamen excelſa non tulit.*

As the *Greeks* called an Altar Βωμὸς, they uſed the term Τριβωμὸς for a triple Altar. There was one of this ſort in the Temple of *Eſculapius* at *Rome*, according to an Inſcription quoted by the Antiquaries. Another Inſcription, which is in *Fabretti*, proves, according to that ingenious Author, that the *Tribomos* was to be met with in ſeveral other Temples; and theſe, as it would ſeem, were three Altars, placed ſo as to be very near one another, being allotted to three Divinities. *Herodotus* ſays (2), that in *Egypt*, in a great Temple of *Apollo*, there were Βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι, theſe three Altars were for *Latona*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*.

Among the Altars which Time has preſerved to us, and whereof the Repreſentations are to be found in the Antiquaries, ſome are ſimple and without any Figure; others, upon which are ſeveral Divinities, Genii, Players on Flutes, and other Figures done in Bas-relief. Moſt of 'em at the four Corners, have Heads of Animals, of Oxen, Rams, &c. In fine, every private Perſon had in his own Lararium, that is, in the Place appropriated to the honour of the Gods *Lares*, or of the Gods *Penates*, *Genii*, and *Junones*, who were the *Genii* of the Women, with ſmall Altars on which he ſacrificed to them.

They

(1) In the *Books of Kings*. (2) In Euter.

They were at great pains, before they offered Sacrifice, to deck the Altars, and for that purpoſe they were ſure to employ ſuch things as were judged agreeable to each Divinity. As we ſhall have occaſion in the ſubſequent Chapter to ſpeak of the Plants and Trees, that were thought peculiarly ſacred to each Divinity, we ſhall only ſay here, that it was with the Branches of thoſe Trees they adorned the Altars.

It would require a Volume to deſcribe all the Altars mentioned by the Ancients; their number was beyond reckoning. *Athens* and *Rome*, as every other Pagan City, were full of 'em. *Virgil* takes notice, that *Hiarbas* had erected an hundred Altars, and as many Temples, to *Jupiter* alone (1). They were to be met with every where, in the Fields, upon the Mountains, in the Croſs-Streets of the Cities, and in High-ways; in the *Circi*, in the *Hippodromes*, in the *Stadia* for the *Olympick* Games, and in a thouſand other places: In a word, they had of them erected not only to all the Gods, but to the very Cities, and Men while yet alive. Thus, not to mention other Emperors, *Auguſtus* had his Altars in ſeveral Places. For all theſe Particulars, F. *Berthold* may be conſulted, whom I have cited at the beginning of this Article: but as ſome of theſe Altars were more curious than others, it is proper that we ſay ſomewhat of them.

We find two Altars in Antiquity, to which they gave the Name of *Ara Maxima*: The firſt in *Greece*, was ſet up in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*, as we learn from *Pauſanias*; the ſecond, in *Italy*, had been built for *Hercules*, after the defeat of *Cacus*, as is elegantly deſcribed in *Virgil* (2), where he makes *Evander* ſpeak in this manner:

Ex illo celebratur honos, lætique Minores
Servavere diem; primuſque Potitius Author,
Et domus Herculei cuſtos Pinaria ſacri,
Hanc Aram luco ſtatuit, quæ maxima ſemper
Dicetur nobis, & erit quæ maxima ſemper.

This

(1) Æneid. l. 4. (2) *Æn.* l. 8. *Sil. Ital.* l. 7. *Ov. Faſt.* l. 1. *Tacit.* l. 15. calls it only *Ara Magna.*

This Altar erected in the Fields, in that very Place where the City of *Rome* was ſince built, ſtood in the Cow-Market, near by the *Porta Carmentalis*; the *Potitii* and *Pinarii* alone could ſacrifice at it. After the extinction of theſe two Families, the charge of this Altar was given to the Slaves, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (1), and from *Valerius Maximus* (2), who tells us, this Change had been brought about by *Appius Claudius* the Cenſor. The Women were not permitted to approach this Altar, nor to be preſent at the Sacrifices offered upon it, according to *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who tells us, they took care to keep at a diſtance from it, all Slaves, or ſuch as were not free-born, the Dogs and Flies, *&c* (3).

There was another Altar yet more extraordinary: I mean that which was in the Heavens, under the Name of the Conſtellation the *Altar*. *Hyginus* ſays, this was the Altar on which the Gods, ready to engage the Giants, had ſacrificed and ſworn a League offenſive and defenſive, againſt thoſe formidable Enemies.

As the Pagans believ'd the Gods dwelt in Temples, in their Statues, and in the Altars, we are not to be ſurprized at the high reſpect they bore to all thoſe things; but becauſe their Reſentment broke forth, as they imagined, more remarkably in ſome Places than in others, their Veneration increaſed proportionally for thoſe Places. Thus, nothing was more awful nor more dreaded, than the Altars of the Gods *Palici*, where the Perjured were puniſh'd by theſe two Divinities, and plung'd headlong into the Lake, near which they had ſworn, as we ſhall take notice in their Hiſtory. Such was alſo the famous Altar of *Lyons*, ſo formidable to Orators.

This great Veneration for Altars, introduced the Cuſtom of having recourſe to 'em upon every occaſion. There they ſtruck up Alliances, Treaties of Peace, Reconciliations, Marriages, *&c*. *Virgil*, ſo knowing in the

(1) Dec. 1. l. 9 (2) L. 1. c. 2. (3) Gen. Dict. l. 2. c. 14.

the Cuſtoms of his Country, ſhall be our firſt Author, for what concerns the Treaties of Peace.

Poſt iidem, inter ſe poſito certamine, Reges
Armati Jovis ante aras, pateraſque tenentes,
Stabant, & cæſa firmabant fœdera porca (1).

The ſame Author repreſents *Æneas* thus complaining of the Infringement of the Peace by the *Rutuli:*

Multa Jovem, & læſi teſtatur fœderis aras.

Silius Italicus taxing the *Carthaginians* with their Treachery, in the Treaties they had made with the *Romans*, ſpeaks of the ſame Cuſtom:

Sed pacis faciem, & pollutas fœderis Aras, &c.

Upon this occaſion, when they took an Oath of Peace, they embraced the Altar, or only touched it; which *Virgil* has well explained, in the Treaty made between *Æneas* and *Latinus.*

Tango Aras, medioſque ignes, & numina teſtor,
Nulla dies pacem hanc Italis, nec fœdera rumpet,
Quo res cunque cadent (2).

And *Juvenal:*

Atque adeo intrepidi quæcunque altaria tangunt (3).

As Men have always been too ready to play faſt and looſe with one another, not thinking themſelves ſecure enough by Treaties of Peace and Alliance, made in face of the Altars, they added to them the ſacred tye of an Oath, which was taken by the Party, laying his Hand upon the Altar (4), as we at this day, on like occaſions, make uſe of the Holy Goſpel. Magiſtrates, before they enter'd upon Offices of Judicature, likewiſe took an Oath at the Altar of *Themis*. St. *Ambroſe* informs us of this Cuſtom (5), in that fine Epiſtle where he exhorts *Valentinian* the Emperor, not to give orders for repairing one of the Altars of that Goddeſs, which was ruinous.

As for the Marriages that were ſolemnized in face of the Altars, eſpecially of *Juno* or *Lucina*, F. *Bertbold* may be conſulted, who brings many Authorities for the proof of it, and ſome Examples to confirm it.

Laſtly,

(1) Æn. l. 8. (2) Æn. l. 12. (3) Sat. 13. (4) See *Lucian* in *Jove Tragœdo*. Tit. Liv. l. 21. Polyb. l. 3. (5) Ep. 32.

Laſtly, it was nigh the Altars that they kept publick Entertainments; as may be ſeen in ſeveral Places of *Virgil* (1), and in other Authors.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſacred Groves.

BEſides the Temples, Chapels, Lararies, Altars, Paganiſm had alſo other Places devoted to the Service of the Gods. Theſe were the conſecrated Groves, the Inſtitution of which is ſo ancient, that it is even thought to have been antecedent to that of Temples and Altars. As the *Romans* called theſe Groves *Luci*, *Servius* thinks they got that Name, becauſe they kindled fire to let the Myſteries be ſeen that were there celebrated. *Luci* a *Lucendo*, for whether (as was probably their way at firſt) they choſe for the purpoſe natural Woods, with which every place was anciently furniſhed; or planted them on purpoſe, as was done in later times; they were always the thickeſt Groves of their kind, Places dark and gloomy, impenetrable even to the Sun-beams.

'Twas in theſe dark Retreats, apt to overcaſt the mind with I know not what Horrour, that the firſt Myſteries of Paganiſm were celebrated. Here it was our ancient Druids aſſembled, who got their very Names from the Oaks which they frequented.

It appears however, to have been the opinion of the Ancients, that theſe Groves, at firſt conſecrated to *Lucina*, who was the ſame with *Diana* and *Hecate*, had been ſo called from the Name of that Goddeſs (*a*).

Be that as it will, the uſe of ſacred Groves for the Celebration of Myſteries, is of very great antiquity, and perhaps of all others the moſt univerſal. At firſt, there were in theſe Groves neither Temples nor Altars: They were ſimple Retreats, to which there was no acceſs

(1) Geor. l. 4. *Æn.* l. 8, *&c.*

(*a*) See the Scholiaſt on the fourth Book of the *Thebaid* of *Statius*. *Horace's Art of Poetry*, *Virgil's Æneid*, B. 6. and Servius his Commentator.

cess for the Profane; that is, such as were not devoted to the service of the Gods. Afterwards, they built Chapels and Temples in them; and even to preserve so ancient a Custom, they took care, whenever it was in their power, to plant Groves round the Temples and Altars, to inclose them with Walls, Hedges, or Ditches; and these Groves were not only consecrated to the Gods, in honour of whom the Temples in the Centers of them had been built, but they were themselves a place of Sanctuary for Criminals, who fled thither for refuge.

Moses, to hinder the *Hebrews*, too prone to imitate the idolatrous Practices of the People about them, from following this pernicious Custom, forbids them to plant Groves about the Altars of the true God: *Ne conserito tibi lucum ullis arboribus secundum altare Jehovæ Dei tui, quod feceris tibi* (1). Nay, every time this sacred Legislator commands the *Jews* to destroy Idols, he orders them at the same time to cut down the hallowed Groves: *Aras eorum destrue, & confringe Statuas, Lucosque succide* (2): And in another place; *Lucos igne comburite* (3). The same Orders were renewed to *Gideon*, and the Prophets always speak with indignation of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, who had a Custom of sacrificing in the consecrated Groves. The *Jews* were so prone to imitate the idolatrous Nations in this, that one of their Kings carried the Impiety so far as to plant at *Jerusalem* one of these Groves, which *Josias* cut down, and burned in the Valley of *Cedron* (4). The Rabbins add, that the *Jews* were not permitted to enter these Groves, to cut a Tree of them for their use, to rest under their Shade, to eat the Eggs or the little Birds that nestled there, nor to take the dead Wood, nay, nor to eat Bread that had been baked with that Wood; upon which, the Curious may consult *Selden* (5).

The

(1) Deut. xvi. 21. (2) Ex. xxxiv. and in other places.
(3) Deut. xii. (4) 2 Kings xxiii. 6. (5) De Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 2. c. 6.

ſacred Groves, in after-ages, became extremely
ited: There they aſſembled on Holidays, and
ie Celebration of the Myſteries, they kept pub-
itertainments there, accompany'd with Dancings
other demonſtrations of the moſt vigorous Mirth.
s deſcribes theſe Feſtivals and Entertainments,
good deal of Humour.

icus e lucoque vehit, male ſobrius ipſe,
xorem plauſtro, Progeniemque domum (1).

were at pains to deck theſe Groves with Flowers,
ts, Garlands, and Noſegays; and hung them
with Donations and Offerings, ſo laviſhly, that
hey had been leſs buſhy and condenſed, they
have been quite darkned thereby, and ſhut out
y Light of Day; which makes *Statius* ſay:

. . . . *Hic arcus & feſſa reponere tela,*
aque curva ſuum & vacuorum terga Leonum
re, & ingentes æquantia cornua Sylvas.
ramis Locus, &c (2).

vid ſays:

. . . *Equidem pendentia vidi*
a ſuper ramos (3)

cut down the ſacred Groves, or to waſte them,
piece of Sacrilege, and perhaps that which they
it the moſt unpardonable. *Lucan*, ſpeaking of
rees which *Cæſar* cauſed to be felled near *Mar-*
to make warlike Engines of them, well deſcribes
onſternation of the Soldiers, who refuſed to be in-
ental in this Work, till that great General taking
, fell'd one of 'em himſelf. *Struck with a reli-*
Awe for the Sanctity of the Grove, they were full
Belief, that if they had preſumptuouſly attempted to
wn any of its Trees, the Ax would have recoiled upon
elves:

Horrore fortes tenuere manus, motique verenda
majeſtate Loci, ſi robora ſacra ferirent,
In ſua credebant redituras membra [illegible]. (4) *ſecures.*

It

(1) L. 1. El. 11. v. 51. (2) Theb. l. 9. v. 588.
(3) Met. l. 8. v. 722. (4) L. 3. v. 429.

It was lawful however to prune them, to clear them, and to cut down the Trees which they thought attracted the Thunder. We have the Hiſtory of ſome of theſe ſacred Groves, handed down to us by the Ancients, ſuch as of thoſe of *Lucina*, of the Goddeſs *Feronia*, of *Auguſtus*, and ſome others. They all reſembled one another, and were in equal Veneration.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Sanctuaries, or Aſyla.

THE Temples, Altars, and ſacred Groves, having been among the Pagans Places of Refuge for Criminals, we muſt explain wherein this Right of Aſylum conſiſted, what were the Privileges belonging to it, and whence the Origin of the thing was derived.

From the time that Men began to devote Places to the Worſhip of the Gods (1), there to acknowledge them in an authentic and ſolemn manner as their Lords, and ſovereign Diſpoſers of their Deſtiny, and to conceive hope of being aided by them, they believed them to be there preſent in a peculiar manner; and hence, that they might not ſeem inexorable towards others, while they were ſupplicating the Gods to be propitious to themſelves, it is highly credible that they looked upon thoſe ſacred Places, whither the Guilty had repair'd, as Sanctuaries inviolable.

The Tabernacle and Temple of *Jeruſalem*, were places of Refuge (2), and doubtleſs the firſt Altars raiſed by the Patriarchs were ſo too, ſince *Moſes* excluded Murderers, who fled for Refuge to thoſe he himſelf ſet up. The Cities of Refuge appointed by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, were likewiſe Aſyles (3). Paganiſm, which imitated many of the Cuſtoms of God's People, from them, no doubt, had likewiſe taken this of appropriating Aſyla; thus, could we know the Date of the Foundation of their firſt Temples and Altars, this would lead us

(1) See an Extract of the *Diſſert.* of *M. Simon* upon the Aſyles *Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let.* Tom. 3. p. 37.

(2) Mac. l. 2. c. 40. (3) Num. xxxv. Deut. iv. Joſ. xx.

us to the Original of this Privilege. We can only affirm, that it is very ancient, without being able to determine the preciſe time when it commenc'd. We know from *Pauſanias* (1), that *Cadmus* granted it to the City or Citadel, which he built in *Bœotia*; and it is probable, as *M. Simon* remarks, that this Prince, a Native of *Phenicia*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Paleſtine*, having learn'd how much the Confluence of Criminals and Debtors into the *Jewiſh* Cities of Refuge had been of uſe to that People, had uſed the ſame means, to draw Inhabitants into his. *Theſeus* for *Athens*, and *Romulus* for his new City (*a*), had recourſe to the ſame piece of Policy, if we believe *Plutarch* (2). *Diodorus Siculus* (3) aſſures us, that *Cybele* founded an Aſyle in *Samothracia*. The *Egyptian Hercules* paſſed for the Author of that of *Canopus*: That of *Diana Stratonia* at *Smyrna*, and that of *Tenean Neptune*, owed their Inſtitution to Oracular Reſponſes. But as this Privilege granted to Criminals, not only in the Temples and near the Altars, but even in the Cities that claimed it, and actually enjoyed it time immemorial, was capable of producing very bad Conſequences, and of authoriſing Crimes in hopes of Impunity, the Aſylum was reſtrained to involuntary Offences. This, according to *Thucydides* (4), was the way how the *Athenians* repelled the Charge of the *Bœotians*, by letting them know that their Altars were only Sanctuaries for Crimes of this ſort. We learn from *Titus Livius* (5), that the Murderer of King *Eumenes* was obliged to quit the Temple of *Samothracia*, where he had taken ſanctuary.

Thus the Aſyles were properly for involuntary Delinquencies, for thoſe who were oppreſſed by an unjuſt Power, for Slaves ill uſed by cruel Maſters, and for Debtors who were injuriouſly dealt with. But as the wiſeſt Inſtitutions are liable to be abuſed, even Criminals condemned to Death, found a ſecure Sanctuary in

(1) In Bœot.

(*a*) This Sanctuary of *Romulus* was between two ſacred Groves, and named from thence, *inter duos Lucos*.

(2) In his Life of *Theſeus*. (3) In Rom. l. 3. (4) Hiſt. l. 4. (5) Dec. 5. l. 9.

the Temple of *Pallas* at *Lacedemon*; Bankrupts, in that of the Goddeſs *Hebe* at *Phlius*, and in that of *Diana* at *Epheſus* (1).

It was not only Cities and Temples that ſerv'd for Sanctuaries; the ſacred Groves, the Altars, wherever they were, the Statues of the Gods, thoſe of the Emperors, and the Tombs of Heroes, had the ſame Privilege; and it was enough for a Criminal to be within the compaſs of thoſe Groves, or to have embraced an Altar, or the Statue of ſome God, to be in perfect Safety. Being once within the Protection of an Aſyle, the Criminal remained at the feet of the Altar or Statue, and had his Victuals brought to him, till he found the opportunity of making his eſcape, or of ſatisfying the offended Party.

The Aſyle was not always inviolable; either the Offender was ſometimes forcibly torn from it, or left to die there for Hunger, by cutting off his Proviſions, or walling about the place of Refuge, as the *Ephori* did to *Pauſanias*, as we learn from *Cornelius Nepos* (2). The Sanctity of the Aſyles would no doubt have been oftner violated than it was, had it not been for the Puniſhments appointed by Gods and Men, againſt the Profaners; I ſay the Gods, becauſe the Calamities that ſometimes enſued upon the Profanation of thoſe Places, were conſtrued to be the Effect of divine Vengeance. This accordingly was the Judgment pronounced upon the deſolating Plagues that befel *Epirus*, after the Murder of *Laodamia*, who was ſlain in the Temple of *Diana*. The Hiſtory is thus related by *Juſtin*. There were none remaining in all *Epirus*, of the Blood Royal, but *Nereis* and *Laodamia* her Siſter. The former married the Son of *Gelo* King of *Sicily*; and *Laodamia*, who had fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Diana*, was aſſaſſinated there by the People: But the Gods revenged this Sacrilege by Plagues and Calamities, which proved the Ruin of almoſt the whole Nation. To Barrenneſs, Famine, and Civil War, ſucceeded other Wars, which brought all to the greateſt Extremity; and *Milo*, he who had given that

(1) Vol. 1. 4. Pauſ. in Cor. Cicer. 6. in Verrem. (2) In Pauſ.

at unfortunate Princeſs her mortal Wound, was ſeized ith Madneſs to ſuch a pitch, as to tear out his own owels, and died in extreme Agony on the twelfth ay after the Murder (1).

They pronounc'd the ſame Judgment upon the inamous Diſeaſe that finiſh'd the days of *Sylla*, who had iolated the Right of the Aſyles. The Oracles conſulted after ſuch kind of Profanations, preſcrib'd, not nly for the Offenders, but for whole Cities, ſolemn Expiations, or publick Reparations to be made; and hus the *Lacedemonians* were obliged to erect two Statues of Braſs to the unhappy *Pauſanias*, in the very Place where he died.

Though M. *Simon*, of whoſe Diſſertation I have given an Abſtract, ſeems to think that all the Temples, acred Groves and Altars, *&c.* were Aſyles, there is however, a great deal of probability, that all theſe Places did not enjoy that Privilege; and what I take to be a convincing Proof of it is, the Exceptions which the Ancients make, in aſcribing it to certain Places, without taking notice of others. Thus, according to *Servius*, the Temple of Compaſſion was an Aſylum, at *Athens*, and probably at *Rome* too, where one was built to the ſame Divinity. In like manner, the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* enjoyed the ſame Privilege, according to *Cicero* (2); as well as that which was built at *Epirus* in honour of the ſame Goddeſs, as we learn from *Juſtin* (3).

Be that as it will, the Aſyla occaſioned more harm, by the Impunity they gave to Offenders, than they did good by protecting ſome that were innocent; and *Tiberius*, as has been ſaid, was obliged to aboliſh them.

(1) Juſt. l. 28. cap. 3. (2) In Verrem. (3) L. 28.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Statues of the Gods, and of the Manner of repreſenting them.

AFTER having ſpoke of the Temples and Altars, ſomething is neceſſary to be ſaid of the Statues of the Gods, of the Places where they were ſet up, and of the Manner how thoſe Gods were repreſented. To reduce within bounds a Subject in itſelf ſo extenſive, I ſhall firſt examine what the Figures of the Gods were, before Sculpture was invented. 2. What they were, when this Art was but rude and imperfect. 3. The pitch of Perfection to which Statuary was afterwards carried. 4. The Materials they uſed for the Statues of the Gods. 5. The extreme Greatneſs or Smallneſs of ſome of thoſe Figures. 6. The Places where they were moſt ordinarily ſet up. 7. Laſtly, by what Symbols the Gods were therein diſtinguiſhed.

For the firſt Article, it ſuffices to recollect what we have ſaid in the fourth Chapter, upon the rude manner in which they repreſented the Gods, before the Invention of Sculpture. It is equally impoſſible and uſeleſs, to find out when and by whom that Art was invented. Its Origin is loſt in the moſt remote Antiquity. It is enough that we know, the *Egyptians* had it in *Moſes*'s Time, and perhaps, long before the Statues of their Gods, ſpoken of in the Books of that ſacred Legiſlator, the Statues of their God *Apis*, too faithfully imitated by the *Iſraelites*, who worſhipped him in the Wilderneſs, under the form of an Ox or Calf, prove it beyond contradiction; and I make no doubt, but in the very time when the yet rough and barbarous Nations worſhipped either ſhapeleſs Maſſes, or ſimple Trunks of Trees, Sculpture was then known, not only in *Egypt*, but alſo in *Syria*, and the adjacent Countries. For the Arts ſprung originally from the Countries I have named, were but gradually propagated to the Weſt.

At

At firſt Sculpture itſelf was extremely rude, and roſe but ſlowly to that height of Perfection when it became admired, eſpecially in *Greece*, for the Maſter-pieces it form'd. Conſequently we may ſuppoſe, that the firſt Statues of the Gods, tho' modelled by this new Art, were ſtill exceeding coarſe. The Legs and the Arms were not ſeparated, but joined to the reſt of the Matter which they made uſe of to the Formation of the Figure. They had the Eyes ſhut, and at moſt the Arms hanging down, and as it were glued to the Body, and the Feet joined; neither Expreſſion, nor Attitude, nor Geſture. They were moſtly ſquare, and like miſ-ſhapen Figures, that ended like thoſe Figures called *Termes**.

The Cabinets of the Curious furniſh ſeveral Models of theſe Statues; they are dug up yet every day, eſpecially in *Egypt*, and the moſt uncontroverted Mark of their Antiquity, is when they are ſuch as I have deſcribed them.

They continued in this State, at leaſt in the Weſt, until *Dedalus*, that is, until the time of *Minos* the Second, and of *Theſeus*. This is not the proper place to ſpeak of that celebrated Artiſt, the Article about him will be found in its proper place; but I ſhall only ſay, that he had the art of giving to his Statues, Eyes, Feet, and Hands. In ſome meaſure he put Soul and Life into them, and ſo ſurprizing was this Change, as to give riſe to a common Report of his having animated them, made them walk, *&c.* The Statues of the Gods improv'd by this, it was to bring them to perfection that the moſt ſkilful Artiſts mainly apply'd themſelves; and time at length produced the Maſter-pieces of a *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, *Myron*, which were the principal Ornaments of *Greece*, and drew the juſt Admiration of Perſons of Taſte, as at this very day do thoſe of them that are yet remaining. Such, among others, are the *Venus* of *Mediciis*, the *Antinous*, the *Hercules*, and the fine *Jupiter* ſtill to be ſeen at *Verſailles*.

* Vide *Montfaucon*'s Antiquity, V. 1. B. 3. c. 9. where thoſe Figures are repreſented.

However, from I know not what Veneration for Antiquity, they ſtill kept up the old Taſte, in thoſe Statues they called *Hermes's*.

That was the Name they gave to thoſe Statues of *Mercury*, that were of a ſquare Figure, ordinarily without Feet, and which were placed in the croſs Streets, upon the High-ways, before Temples, and before Houſes. *Cicero* remarks on this Occaſion, it was unlawful to place them upon Sepulchral Monuments, but he gives no Reaſon for it. It would ſeem, on the contrary, that theſe were the Places with which they ſuited beſt, ſince that God had the Charge of Souls, and it was he who conducted them into the infernal Regions, and brought them back from thence.

Tho' the *Hermes's* ought to have ſtood only for the Statues of *Mercury*, ſince they bear his Name, yet it was given to all thoſe which imitated their Form. Thus, when it was *Apollo* they repreſented, they named them *Hermapollos*. If it was a Buſt of *Minerva*, in *Greek Athene*, they were ſtiled *Hermathenæ*; and *Hermeras*, thoſe that repreſented the Buſt of *Cupid*, whoſe *Greek* Name is *Eros*, and ſo of others. In fine, this antique manner was ſtill preſerved in the Statues of the God *Terminus*, which were nothing but miſ-ſhapen Stones.

The Cities of *Greece*, notwithſtanding the Advancement of Sculpture, were full of thoſe ſorts of Statues; and from *Thucydides* we learn, that in one night the Heads of all thoſe that were at *Athens*, were cut off. *Alcibiades*, we know, was ſuſpected to have been the Author of this Impiety, and was baniſhed for the ſame. As to the manner in which the Statues of the Gods were to be made, no Rule was laid down.

Sculpture being an Art which imitates Nature, both in the Deſign and Solidity of its Materials, it has for its Subject, Timber, Stone, Marble, Ivory, different Metals, as Gold, Silver, Braſs, precious Stones, *&c.* As it comprehends alſo Founding, which is ſubdivided into the Art of moulding Figures in Wax, and that of caſting all ſorts of Metals; the Statuaries were at liberty

to

to uſe all theſe Materials, and all theſe Forms for the Statues of the Gods. Hiſtory informs us, there were ſome of 'em of each ſort; ſome made of Wood, the moſt precious of its kind and leaſt liable to Corruption. That of *Jupiter* at *Sicyon*, was of Box-wood; and at *Epheſus*, that of *Diana* was of Cedar. Elſewhere, they were to be met with of Citron-wood, of Palm-tree, of Olive-wood, of Ebony, and of Cypreſs. We have already ſpoke of thoſe golden ones that were in the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. We have given a Deſcription of that of *Jupiter Olympius*, where Gold was artfully blended with Ivory, Ebony, and precious Stones; a Maſter-piece, which, as *Pliny* tells us, no body durſt imitate: *Præter Jovem Olympium quem nemo æmulatur* (1). It would be to no purpoſe to dwell upon thoſe of Marble, or of Stone, whoſe number was immenſely great. I have named the principal Artiſts, who of thoſe different Materials had compoſed Maſter-pieces of Skill. One who has the Curioſity to find Statues of Gods, of all the Forms and Materials I have mentioned, needs but read *Pauſanias*, who deſcribes of 'em of all ſorts.

Generally ſpeaking, the Statues of the Gods, after the Invention of Sculpture, were nothing but of moulded Earth, and brittle like ſimple Vaſes. This Art of moulding Earth or Clay, is called *fictili*, and the Works it produces, *fictilia*. The ſacred Writers, eſpecially the Prophets, are continually reproaching the Pagans for worſhipping theſe ſorts of Idols. In later times, thoſe Statues were laid over with different Colours, and at laſt they were gilt. The *Romans*, whoſe Religion for a long time declared the Simplicity of their Manners, were very late in beginning to have theſe gilded Statues; till then they had only the Colour of the Earth of which they were made. *Pliny* praiſes this primitive *Roman* Simplicity. *Men*, ſays he, *who ſincerely honoured ſuch Gods, give us no reaſon to be aſham'd of 'em. Hæ tum effigies Deorum erant laudatiſſimæ, nec pœnitet nos illorum qui tales Deos coluere.* To them, con-

(1) *Plin. l. 34. c. 8.*

continues he, Gold was of no conſideration, either for themſelves or for their Gods. *Juvenal* ſpeaking of the earthen Statue, which *Tarquin* the elder ſet up in the Temple of *Jupiter*, calls it the earthen *Jupiter*, whom Gold had not tarniſh'd nor defiled,

Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.

Titus Livius has inform'd us at what Period gilt Statues were firſt introduced; it was, according to him, under the Conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A.U.C.* 571. or 572.

As there was no fixed Rule as to the matter of the Statues of the Gods, there was as little for their ſize, and it depended upon the Caprice of the Workmen, or the Will of thoſe by whom they were employ'd, either to make them great or ſmall. Accordingly while the *Egyptians* valued themſelves upon thoſe Coloſſal Statues that were to be ſeen in the Porches of their Temples, frequently nothing was to be found within thoſe Edifices but ſome pitiful Monkeys or Pygmies, which provoked the Contempt and Ridicule of Spectators; witneſs *Cambyſes*, when he was introduced into the Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, as we ſaid above.

Greece choſe ſometimes to imitate the *Egyptian* Manner in thoſe Coloſſus's, and had ſeveral Statues of her Gods of an enormous bigneſs. That of *Jupiter Olympius*, whereof we have given a Deſcription; and ſeveral others beſides were much larger than the Life; but the moſt extraordinary one, was the Coloſſus at *Rhodes*, repreſenting *Apollo*, which was looked upon as one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. This Statue, done by *Chares*, was twelve Years in finiſhing, and its height was ſeventy Cubits, being ſo placed, that its two Feet ſtood upon the two Moles, which formed the Harbour of *Rhodes*, Ships at full ſail paſſed through between its Legs. We may judge of what an enormous Size this Coloſſus muſt have been, when few Perſons were able to embrace one of its Thumbs. Notwithſtanding the weight of this prodigious Maſs; notwithſtanding the dangers of the Sea, and for how long a time it was expoſed, yet it continued ſtanding for the

ſpace

ace of 1360 Years; and its Fall at laſt was only ow-ig to an Earthquake. A *Jewiſh* Merchant bought it om the *Saracens*; and having taken it to pieces, load-l nine hundred Camels with it.

Nor was it only the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* who had hoſe Coloſſal Figures, the *Romans* would needs imi-ate their Example; and at *Rome* there were no fewer han five of them, two of *Apollo*, two of *Jupiter*, and one of the *Sun*, (for the *Sun* was often diſtinguiſhed from *Apollo*;) not to mention two others, one of them repreſenting *Domitian*, the other *Nero*: But as if Sta-tues of this ſort had of right belong'd to none but Gods, they cauſed an *Apollo*'s Head to be ſet on the latter.

Theſe Works were Curioſities of their kind; but for the moſt part the Statues of the Gods imitated beautiful Nature, eſpecially when they were to be planted with-in the eaſy reach of the Eye. Thus, thoſe of the Gods were a Degree larger and more robuſt than thoſe of the Goddeſſes, with reſpect to whom the expert Artiſts made it their buſineſs chiefly to imitate the Softneſs and Delicacy of the Sex.

There were however Gods, whoſe Statues were ordi-narily little, and perhaps there was a Neceſſity for them to be ſo. Thoſe of the *Pataici* or *Patæci*, which they ſet upon the Sterns of Ships, were of this kind, if we credit *Herodotus* (1), as alſo thoſe of the *Lares*, the *Cabiri*, and ſome others. There were others, whoſe Statues were monſtrous, repreſenting the Heads of a Dog, a Cat, a Goat, a Monkey, a Lion, *&c.* as we ſhall ſhew when we come to the Gods of *Egypt*.

The number of Statues of the Gods was immenſe, not only in *Greece* and *Italy*, but likewiſe in the eaſtern Countries; and nothing ſets it forth to us more ſtrong-ly, than that Scripture-Expreſſion, which ſtiles *Chal-dea* a Land of Idols. Accordingly they occur'd every where, in Temples, where they were upon Pedeſtals, or ſet in Niches; in publick Places, at the Gates of Houſes; and without the Cities, in the Highways and Fields. Their Veneration for them was carried as high

as

(1) L. 2.

as poſſible: they would not paſs by them without proſtrating themſelves, or putting their Hand to the Mouth, as a Mark of Adoration. On them their whole Confidence depended; to them Vows were made, Sacrifices offer'd, Prayers addreſs'd. From them they expected Health and other Bleſſings, as well as Deliverance from Evils, and from publick Calamities. This Veneration and Confidence were owing not only to their being Repreſentations of the Gods, but alſo to their Belief, that in them the Gods themſelves reſided, and conſequently were liſtening to their Vows and Prayers. On the Holidays of each of thoſe Gods, care was taken to deck their Statues with all the Embelliſhments they could deviſe; Ribbons, Fillets, Boughs, were all apply'd to that uſe. They were anointed with Oil, or beſmear'd with Wax, to give them a greater Luſtre; and this Cuſtom was eſpecially practiſed towards their *Dii Lares* and *Penates*. Tho' the manner of repreſenting the Gods was not uniform, there were however certain Uſages generally obſerved. Thus to *Jupiter* was given a noble and majeſtick Air, which ſpoke the Sovereign of the World; and he appeared always with a Beard. *Apollo*, who is painted like a young Man, wears none. *Bacchus* ſometimes has one, and then he is called *Barbatus*; but moſt frequently he has it not. *Juno* appears with an Air becoming the Conſort of *Jupiter*, and Queen of the Gods. *Minerva* has a maſculine Beauty but ſweet, ſuch as is befitting the wiſeſt and chaſteſt of Goddeſſes. *Venus*, on the contrary, exhibits I know not what Softneſs and Effeminacy, which ſpeaks forth the Mother of Love. *Mars* has a warlike Mien; *Neptune* has a ſtern awful Look, &c.

The Gods, generally, wore upon their Statues the Symbols conſecrated to them. Thus *Jupiter* appears with his Thunder; *Apollo* with his Lyre; *Neptune* with his Trident; *Pluto* with the ſame Scepter, but only two-forked; *Bacchus* holds in his hand Cluſters of Grapes; *Ceres* Ears of Corn; *Hercules* his Club; and *Diana* her Arrows and Quiver. The Dog appears in the Statues of *Mercury*; the Owl in thoſe of

Minerva; and the Serpent wreath'd about a Pillar in hoſe of *Eſculapius*. The Chariot of *Neptune* is drawn y Sea-horſes; that of *Venus* by Doves; that of *Juno* y Peacocks; and that of *Cybele* by Lions. Sometimes hoſe Symbols are ſingle, ſometimes multiplied; and when it appears, they are proper to ſeveral Gods, the Statues that bear them get the Name of *Pantheons*, ſuch as are for the moſt part thoſe of *Harpocrates*, and ſome others. The *Egyptian* Statues were more charged with Symbols than thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as maybe ſeen in the Antiquaries. The Symbols were taken either from Trees or Plants, or ſuch Animals as, for ſome particular Reaſons, were dearer to the Gods than others, as ſhall be ſhewn in ſpeaking of the Sacrifices, Offerings, and Victims, which were commonly taken from things wherein they were thought to take delight.

The reaſons of this Preference given by the Gods were ſometimes myſterious, and the Ancients durſt not reveal them; but then it is frequently an eaſy matter to ſee thro' them. Thus, to give but a few Examples, the Laurel was belov'd by *Apollo* for the ſake of *Daphne*; the Pine by *Cybele*, upon account of *Atys*; and the Poplar by *Hercules*, becauſe he had fetch'd one from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, &c.

For the moſt part, the Statues of the Gods were ſimple, and preſented but one ſingle Figure; ſometimes they were group'd, and contain'd ſeveral Figures together. The Philoſopher *Albricus*, who has left us a ſmall *Latin* Treatiſe upon the manner of repreſenting the Gods, ſeems to have particularly conſidered theſe laſt Figures; as one may be eaſily convinced by reading that ſmall Piece, and by the Example of *Saturn*, which I am going to quote.

Saturn, ſays he, the firſt of the Gods, was pictured under the Figure of an old Man, with grey Hairs and a long Beard, ſtooping with Years, his Mien ſad and dejected, his Head veiled, and his Complexion pale and wither'd; in his left hand he holds a Scythe, and a Serpent biting its own Tail; and in the right a young Child,

Child, which he is juſt going to devour. He has by him *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, *Juno*, and *Ops* his Wife, one of whoſe Hands is extended, to denote her Readineſs to relieve all the World; while, with the other, ſhe is preſenting Bread to thoſe who might have need of it.

When we come to the particular Hiſtory of every God, we ſhall deſcribe the Manner in which he was wont to be repreſented.

CHAP. X.

Of the Sacrifices and Victims.

SAcrifice is an Act of Religion, whereby Man acknowledges the Divinity of him to whom he offers it up, profeſſes to honour him in the moſt ſolemn manner, to thank him for Bleſſings received, and to ſupplicate him for new ones. In the firſt times of Paganiſm, the Worſhip paid to the Gods was exceeding ſimple. The *Egyptians*, if we believe *Theophraſtus*, cited by *Porphyry* (1), made an Offering in ancient times to their Gods, not of Incenſe and Perfumes, but of the green Herbs, which they gathered, and preſented to them as the firſt Productions of Nature. *Ovid* paints very well the Simplicity of thoſe primitive Sacrifices: *No Incenſe*, ſays he, *as yet was brought from the Banks of* Euphrates, *nor the fragrant Coſtus from the Extremity of* India. They were ſtrangers then to the bluſhing Saffron, and the richeſt Offerings with which the Altars were crown'd, were Herbs or Bay-Leaves.

Thura nec Euphrates, nec miſerat India coſtum,
Nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis
Et non exiguo Laurus aduſta foco (2).

The

(1) Lib. de Abſt. apud Euſ. Præp. Evang. L. 1. c. 9. (2) Faſt. b. 1.

The ſame *Theophraſtus* adds, that they join'd Libaon to thoſe firſt Sacrifices; and doubtleſs it was Wa-r they poured out in honour of the Gods: for the *gyptians*, of whom he ſpeaks, made uſe of no other iquor, as we ſhall ſee afterwards. *Pliny*, *Macrobius*, *lutarch*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, and *Thucydides*, ake frequent mention of the Simplicity of the Feſti-als and Sacrifices of the ancient *Egyptians*, and of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as may be ſeen in *Voſſius*, who has ited them in proof of this Truth (1).

This primitive Simplicity laſted a very long time, and there were Places where it always ſubſiſted. *Pauſanias* (2) ſpeaking of an Altar at *Athens*, conſecrated to *Jupiter* the Moſt High, tells us, that no living Thing was offered there, but that they made only ſimple Offerings, without ſo much as uſing Wine in the Libations. This Cuſtom was derived from *Cecrops*, who, in regulating the Worſhip of the Gods, and the Ceremonies he had brought from *Egypt* into *Greece*, ordain'd that nothing which had Life ſhould be given in Sacrifice, but that they ſhould only offer ſimple Cakes, as we learn from the ſame Author (3).

As they offer'd in Sacrifice the ſame things they fed upon, when Bread came to be ſubſtituted in the room of Herbs, they apply'd to that uſe a ſort of Flower and Cakes baked with Salt. To this cuſtom *Horace* alludes:

Non ſumptuoſa blandior hoſtia
Mollibit averſos Penates,
Farre pio, et ſaliente mica (4).

To theſe Sacrifices they joined the Productions of the Earth, Honey, Oil, and Wine; and when they came afterwards to feed upon the Fleſh of Animals, they began alſo to make Offerings thereof in honour of the Gods: For there always was a remarkable Connection between the Food of Mankind and the Matter of the Sacrifices, ſince the Law ordained, that one part of 'em ſhould

(1) De Orig. & Progr. Idol. P. 47. Hanov. 1613. (2) In Att. (3) In Att. (4) L. 3. Od 23.

ſhould be eaten, and they were always accompanied with feaſting, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

It would be hard to determine at what Period of time the uſe of bloody Sacrifices was introduced among the Pagans. No great ſtreſs will be laid on the Authority of *Ovid*, who alledges, that the Sow was the firſt animated Victim which was offered to *Ceres*, upon account of the Ravages which that Animal makes in the Fields.

Prima Ceres avidæ gaviſa eſt ſanguine porcæ
Ulta ſuas meritæ cæde nocentis opes (1).

Homer at leaſt will tell us, that the uſe of this ſort of Sacrifices was common in the time of the *Trojan* War; and I don't believe we have more early Examples. I know that *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the human Sacrifice *Lycaon* offered up to *Jupiter Lycæus* (2); that the Authors of the *Argonauticks* tell us, the Heroes of the Golden Fleece ſtow'd a Hecatomb in their Ship, as an Offering to *Apollo*; that they mention a Sacrifice of the Deer taken in hunting, which thoſe Heroes ſacrificed inſtead of the other Animals; but theſe Authorities are to be leſs regarded than *Homer*, the moſt ancient of Poets, and conſequently nearer to the Events he deſcribed.

Be that as it will, there can be no doubt but the uſe of bloody Sacrifices in the Pagan World is of very great antiquity, if what is advanced by ſome of the Fathers of the Church be true, that God accepted thoſe ſorts of Sacrifice, and *Moſes* enjoin'd them to the *Iſraelites*, only to prevent their offering them to the Gods, as was done by the neighbouring Nations. But this Account is by no means juſt; and it is certain, that in the true Religion thoſe Sacrifices were as old as the World, ſince *Cain* offered to God the Fruits of the Earth, and *Abel* ſacrificed to him Victims taken from his Flocks, *Factum eſt autem—ut offerret Cain de fructibus terræ munera Domino. Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis ſui, et de adipibus eorum* (3). *Noah* at

(1) Faſt. L. 1. (2) See Pauſanias in Arc. (3) Gen. iv. v. 3, & 4.

his coming out of the Ark, offered a Sacrifice to God all the clean Animals : *Et tollens de cunctis pecoribus et volantibus mundis obtulit Holocauſtum ſuper altare* (1). Now as Idolatry is but a Corruption of the ue Religion, there is no doubt of its having borrow'd s Rites from thence, and in particular, the uſe of loody Sacrifices, and that from the earlieſt Ages. It however as true, that there were Countries where his Practice was not received till very late, and with eluctance too, as the Fact I am going to relate teſtiies ſufficiently. Among the *Athenians*, the Sacrificer, fter having ſtruck the Animal that was to be offer'd p, was obliged to fly with all his might. He was urſued, and to prevent his being arreſted, he threw way the Axe he had made uſe of, as being alone guilty f the Death of the Victim. The Purſuers ſeized the Axe, and entered an Action againſt it. He, who poke in defence of the Axe, alledg'd it was leſs guilty han the Grinder, who had ſharpen'd it ; the Grinder being queſtion'd, laid the blame upon the ſharpening Stone he had uſed, and thus it became an endeſs Proceſs : A Ceremony ridiculous indeed, but which proves the Averſion the *Athenians* had to bloody Sacrifices.

But it is fit to obſerve, that at the very time they were accuſtom'd to offer up Victims which had Life, they did not forget the ancient Form of Sacrifices, which conſiſted only in Herbs, Salt, and Meal ; and to this they ſtill had recourſe, as the moſt proper way to appeaſe the Gods ; which makes *Horace* ſay,

Te nihil attinet
Tentare multa cæde bidentium (2).

Thus, according to *Feſtus* and *Servius*, they always threw Meal and Salt upon the Victims, upon the Fire, and upon the ſacrificing Knives. *Sal et far, quod dicitur mola ſalſa qua & frons Victimæ, foci, et cultri aſperguntur* (3). *Numa Pompilius*, as *Pliny* has it, even laid the *Romans* under a Prohibition not to uſe bloody

(1) Gen. viii. 20. (2) L. 3. Od. 23. (3) Servius in 2 Æn.

Victims, or any other Sacrifice, but thoſe in which they employ'd Fruits, Salt, and Corn (1). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (2) ſeems to aſcribe to *Romulus* what we have been ſaying of *Numa*; and he adds, that this Uſage was ſtill ſubſiſting in his time, altho' they had ſuperadded to it that of bloody Sacrifices. *Plutarch* obſerves there were Gods among the *Romans*, among others, the God *Terminus*, towards whom they kept up the ancient way of offering up to them nothing that had Life.

At laſt, they came to ſuch a pitch of Superſtition, as to offer up human Victims. Who was the firſt Author of theſe barbarous Sacrifices is not known; but be it *Chronos* or *Saturn*, as it is in the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*, or *Lycaon*, as *Pauſanias* ſeems to inſinuate, or ſome other, ſtill it is certain, that this barbarous Cuſtom was propagated to almoſt every known Nation. Fathers themſelves, acted by a blind Fury, ſacrificed their Children, and burned them inſtead of Incenſe. Theſe horrid Sacrifices, preſcrib'd even by the Oracles of the Gods, were known in *Moſes*'s days, and conſtituted a Part of thoſe Abominations with which that holy Legiſlator reproaches the *Amorites*. The *Moabites* ſacrificed their Children to *Moloch*, and burned them in the Cavity of the Statue of that God (3). According to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (4), they offered Men in ſacrifice to *Saturn*, not only at *Tyre* and *Carthage*, but even in *Greece* and *Italy*. The *Gauls*, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (5), ſacrificed to their Gods their Priſoners of War; thoſe of *Tauris*, all the Strangers who landed upon their Coaſts; the Inhabitants of *Pella* ſacrificed a Man to *Peleus*. Thoſe of *Temeſſa*, as *Pauſanias* has it *, offered every Year a young

(1) Plin. l. 18. c. 7. (2) Lib. 2. (3) Lev. ch. xx.
(4) Lib. 5. (5) Lib. 3.

* I ſhall give this Story from *Pauſanias*. *Ulyſſes*, ſays he, having in the courſe of his Voyages landed at *Temeſſa*, there one of his aſſociates raviſh'd a Virgin; for which he was ſtoned to death by the Inhabitants. They were ſo infeſted by the Perſon's Ghoſt, that they had Thoughts of leaving their Country: But the Oracle directed them to offer an Attonement to the Ghoſt or Demon,

young Virgin to the Genius of one of *Ulyſſes*'s Aſſociates, whom they had ſtoned; and *Ariſtomenes* * the *Meſſenian*, ſacrificed three hundred Men at one time. *Strabo* (1) mentions thoſe abominable Sacrifices offered by the ancient *Germans*. *Athanaſius* gives the ſame Account of the *Phenicians* and *Cretans*; and *Tertullian* of the *Scythians* and *Africans*. In the *Iliad* of *Homer* we ſee twelve *Trojans* ſacrificed by *Achilles* to the *Manes* of *Patroclus*. In fine, *Porphyry* gives a long detail of all the Places, where, in old times, they offer'd up human Sacrifices; among which he enumerates *Rhodes*, the Iſland of *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Athens*, &c.

From all theſe Teſtimonies put together, and from ſeveral others, which 'tis needleſs to quote, it follows, that the *Phenicians*, the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, *Canaanites*, the Inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Carthage*, thoſe of *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, the *Ionians*, all *Greece*, the *Romans* and *Scythians*, the *Albanians*, the *Allemans*, the

men, by conſecrating to him a Temple, and there Διδοναι κατ' ἐτος αὐτῳ γυναικα των εν Τεμεσσῃ παρθενων την καλλιστην, give him yearly one of their moſt beautiful Virgins. They obey'd the Oracle, and were no more moleſted by the Demon. Some time after *Euthymus* came to *Temeſſa*, at the return of this annual Solemnity, and hearing how it was, deſired Acceſs to the Temple; where the ſight of the young Lady thus barbarouſly devoted firſt moved his Compaſſion, and then his Love. He reſolved to ſave her if poſſible, and accordingly waited the Arrival of the Demon, fought and vanquiſhed him in his own Temple; upon which the Demon left the Country, ſunk in the Sea, and was ſeen no more. In Eliac. Poſter. p. 335. Hanov. I leave the intelligent Reader to judge, who this amorous daſtardly Devil muſt have been.

* I am ſorry to find that my Author has taken this Story upon truſt, as *Montfaucon* and many others had done before him. The Fact is this, *Ariſtomenes* offered to *Jupiter* at three different times the *Hecatomphonia*, a Sacrifice which none had a right to offer but one who had killed a hundred of his Country's Enemies. This, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and after him *Euſebius*, improved into that of his ſacrificing three hundred Men, and among the reſt *Theopompus*. For not to inſiſt on the Inconſiſtency of this Action, with the generous and heroick Character of *Ariſtomenes*, we learn from *Pauſanias*, that *Theopompus* was Great Grandfather to that King of *Sparta*, who was Contemporary with *Ariſtomenes*, and conſequently that *Theopompus* muſt have been dead a conſiderable time before *Ariſtomenes* was born. Vid. Pauſan. in Meſſen. p. 244. & Rowe's Lives in Ariſtom.

(1) *Geo. L. 1.*

Assyria, the *Ammonites*, and the *Gauls* were equally guilty of this horrid Superstition.

The late Abbé *le Beuf*, in a Dissertation he read to the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, a Copy whereof is printed [1], ascribes the Origin of that barbarous Custom of sacrificing Men, to an imperfect Knowledge of *Abraham*'s Sacrifice. The *Canaanites*, says he, the *Assyrians*, and the other People in the Neighbourhood of those Places, where that holy Patriarch had lived, no doubt would hear honourable mention made of the Zeal and Steadiness of that holy Man, who stifled all the Impressions of natural Affection to an only Son; they probably knew something of the Rewards God promis'd to his Faith; but being ignorant that the Sacrifice was not accomplished, they understood the thing in the literal Meaning, and thought by imitating so heroick an Action, to obtain the same Benedictions from Heaven. And indeed, according to Poets and Historians, it was *Saturn* who introduced the detestable Custom of sacrificing Men. Now *Saturn*, in the judgment of the best Authors, is the same with *Abraham*. The Proofs of it are clear; but I must refer them till we come to the Article of that God.

The Ancients came at last to see these inhuman Sacrifices in a true light; and the Facts which I am going to relate, were the occasion at last of their ceasing by degrees. An Oracle, says *Plutarch*, having ordered the Lacedæmonians, in time of a Plague, to sacrifice a Virgin; and the Lot having fallen upon a young Maid named *Helen*, an Eagle carried off the sacrificing Knife, and laid it on the Head of a Heifer, which was sacrificed in her stead. The same Author tells us, that *Philip*, the Athenian General, having, the Night before the Battle, been directed in a Dream to sacrifice a fair Virgin to the Manes of the Daughters of *Sicelus*, who had been murther'd and sacrificed in the same place; he under great Terrour, deliberated about the Inhumanity of such a Sacrifice, which he believed to be odious to the Gods; and seeing a red Mare, he sacrificed

[1] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 1. p. 47.

ficed it by the advice of *Theocritus* the Soothſayer, and gained the Victory. In *Egypt*, *Amaſis* made a Law, that only the Figures of Men ſhould be offer'd up inſtead of themſelves. In the Iſland of *Cyprus*, *Diphilus*, in the room of human Sacrifices, ſubſtituted Sacrifices of Oxen; as *Hercules* did in *Italy* waxen Heads named *Oſcillæ*, inſtead of real Men.

Anciently the Head of the Family was equally King and Prieſt, and he was the Perſon by whom Sacrifices were offered; but in later times, every State had Prieſts and other Miniſters, ordain'd to this Function, as we ſhall ſhew in the following Chapter. But yet at that very time when there were Prieſts inſtituted, the Head of the Family ſtill retain'd the ſame right. Thus we may diſtinguiſh two ſorts of Sacrifices; the private ones, which every Man might offer in his own Houſe, to his *Lares* or *Penates* (*a*); and the publick Sacrifices, eſtabliſhed by the Laws, for which there were Miniſters authoriſed, and a Prieſt who preſided over them. Theſe ſorts of Sacrifices were offer'd at *Rome* and in *Greece*, according to certain Rules they were obliged ſtrictly to obſerve. To this purpoſe *Cicero*: "Our Anceſtors, "ſays he, have laid down Rules for divine things; "ſo that for Ceremonies inſtituted at high Solemnities, "we have recourſe to the Prieſts, who are well in-"ſtructed in them; and for managing the Affairs of "the Common-wealth, we conſult the *Augurs*," &c.

The principal Buſineſs of theſe Miniſters conſiſted in making a right Choice of Victims; for, in order to be acceptable to the Gods, they were to have certain Qualities, of which I ſhall ſpeak immediately. They had likewiſe ſeveral Names given them. Such as were offered up the Day before the Solemnity, were called *Præcidaneæ Hoſtiæ*; as the Sow, ſacrificed to *Ceres* before Harveſt, was called *Præcidanea Porca*. Again, they gave the name of *Succedaneæ Hoſtiæ* to ſuch

(*a*) See Virg. Æn. Lib. 4. where mention is made of the Sacrifice *Æneas* offered in the *Morning to his* houſhold Gods, who had appeared *to him in a Dream*.

Sacrifices as they offered up, when the former ones had been neglected; and thus it was they attoned for the Omiſſion. There were others named *Eximiæ Hoſtiæ*; meaning not that theſe Victims had any peculiar Excellence, as the word properly ſignifies, but that they were ſeparated from the Flock in order to be ſacrificed, *eximebantur* * *grege*. The Ewes that had two Lambs, which they ſacrificed with the Mother, were termed *Ambiguæ* † *Oves*, and the Victims whoſe Entrails were adherent, *Harungæ* ‖ or *Harugæ* (1); ſuch as were conſumed, *Prodigiæ*; and ſuch as had two Teeth higher than the reſt, *Bidentes* (2).

Of whatever nature the Victims were, great care was to be taken in the choice of them; and the ſame Blemiſhes, that excluded them from Sacrifices among the *Jews* (3) render'd them alſo imperfect among the *Pagans*; whence it would ſeem that they borrowed ſeveral Rites from the *Hebrews*. *Voſſius*, in his learned Treatiſe of Idolatry, has upon this Subject entered into philological Diſſertations extremely curious, to which I refer the learned Reader. I ſhall only ſay here with *Jul. Pollux* (4) that the Victim ought to be clean, not maim'd, without blemiſh, without defect, ſound, neither lame, nor deform'd; white, and of an odd number, for the celeſtial Gods; black, and of an even number, for the infernal Gods. In fine, choſen from among Animals, Plants, or Fruits, that were agreeable to the Gods, to whom they offered; for all ſorts of Victims were not offered indifferently to every Divinity. It was commonly a Sow, big with young, that they offer'd to *Cybele* and to the Goddeſs *Tellus*; the Bull to *Jupiter*; to *Juno*, Heifers, Ewe-lambs, Sheep, and at *Corinth* they ſacrificed to her a She-goat. To *Neptune* a Bull and Lambs, as appears from *Homer*. To

* *Macrobius* however tells us from *Varronius*, that one reaſon of their being call'd *Eximiæ* was, *quod eximia ſpecie quaſi offerendæ animalibus eligantur*.

† Or *Ambegnæ*, or *Amliegnæ*.

‖ Or *Harvigæ*, or *Aringæ*; for the manner of writing ſome of thoſe words is uncertain.

(1) Feſtus. (2) Hyginus. (3) See Levit. (4) Lib. 1. c. 29.

To *Pluto*, likewiſe a Bull; and to *Proſerpine* a Cow, both of them black; and when that Goddeſs was taken for *Hecate*, they ſacrificed to her a Dog, an Animal whoſe Barking they thought drove away the Apparitions ſent by that Goddeſs. The moſt acceptable Victim to *Ceres*, was the Boar and the Sow. They made her likewiſe an Offering of Honey and of Milk. To *Venus* the Dove, the He-goat, the Heifer, a white She-goat, *&c.* To *Bacchus* a He-goat. They ſacrificed the Cow and the Bull to *Hermione*, as we learn from *Elian* (1), who adds, that in theſe Sacrifices, a Bull, which ten Men had much ado to maſter, of his own accord followed an old Prieſteſs to the Altar. To the *Sun* ſometimes Honey; but the *Armenians* and *Maſſagetes* ſacrificed to him Horſes. To *Apollo*, for frequently he was diſtinguiſhed from the *Sun*, they offer'd the Ram, the She-goat, the Ewe, and the He-goat; and when they confounded him with the *Sun*, a young Bullock, with gilded Horns, as an Emblem of his Beams: they offer'd to him likewiſe a Raven. To *Mars*, the Horſe, the Bull, the Boar, and the Ram. The *Luſitanians* ſacrificed to him He-goats, She-goats, and ſometimes their Enemies. The *Scythians* offer'd to him Aſſes; and the *Carians* Dogs. We learn from *Homer*, that the Victims moſt grateful to *Minerva*, were the Bull and the Lamb; or, according to *Fulgentius Planciades*, Oxen, which had never known the Yoke. To *Diana*, Stags, She-goats, more eſpecially among the *Athenians*; and, in ſome Places, Cows. To the *Dii Lares*, a Bullock, or an Ew-lamb, according to the Ability of thoſe who offer'd. To them they alſo ſacrificed Cocks and Swallows, and the Hog, whence they got the name of *Grundiles*.

In fine, every God had his favourite Animal, Tree, or Plant. Among the Animal kind, the Lion was conſecrated to *Vulcan*; the Wolf to *Apollo* and *Mars*; the Dog to the *Lares* and to *Mars*; the Dragon to *Bacchus* and *Minerva*; the Griffins to *Apollo*; the Serpents to *Eſculapius*; the Stag to *Hercules*; the

(1) *De Anim.*

Lamb to *Juno*; the Horſe to *Mars*; the Heifer to *Iſis*. Among the Birds, the Eagle was ſacred to *Jupiter*: the Peacock to *Juno*; the Owl to *Minerva*; the Vultur and the Wood-pecker to *Mars*: the Cock likewiſe to *Mars*, to *Eſculapius*, *Apollo*, and *Minerva*; the Dove and Sparrow to *Venus*; the King's-Fiſher to *Tethys*; the Phœnix to the *Sun*, and the *Cicada*, a ſort of Flying Inſect, to *Apollo*. Among the Fiſhes, which belong'd all to *Neptune*, the *Concha Marina*, and the ſmall Fiſh named *Aphya*, which *Feſtus* ſays is produc'd by the Rain, were acceptable to *Venus*, and the *Barbel* to *Diana*. Among the Trees and Plants, the Pine was conſecrated to *Cybele*, for the ſake of *Atys*; the Beech to *Jupiter*; the Oak, and its different Species, to *Rhea*; the Olive to *Minerva*; the Laurel to *Apollo*, from his Amour with *Daphne*; and the Reed to *Pan*, from the Story of *Syrinx*; the Lotus, and the Myrtle were likewiſe conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Venus*; the *Cypreſs* to *Pluto*; the Narciſſus and the Maiden-hair, termed likewiſe *Capilli Veneris*, to *Proſerpine*; the Aſh-tree and Dog's-graſs to *Mars*; Purſlane to *Mercury*; the Myrtle and the Poppy to *Ceres*; the Vine, and its Leaves, to *Bacchus*; the Poplar to *Hercules*; Dittany and the Poppy to *Lucina*; Garlick to the *Dii Penates*; the Alder Tree, the Cedar, the Narciſſus and the Juniper-Tree, to the *Furies*; the Palm to the *Muſes*; the Plane-Tree to the *Genii*; the Alder to the God *Sylvanus*; the Pine to *Pan*. &c.

If you except ſome ſymbolical Reaſons, which have been tranſiently mentioned, for theſe ſorts of Conſecrations, there is no poſſibility of divining what the reſt may be: 'Tis probable, ſince thoſe diſtinctions of Victims, or of Beings ſpecially conſecrated to ſome Divinity, excluſive of others, were not known to the earlieſt Ages of Idolatry, that all this Refinement was invented by the Prieſts, who propoſed thereby to imprint upon the minds of the People, a higher Veneration for the Gods.

The Victim being choſen in the manner we have ſaid, it was deck'd with Ribbons and Fillets; they gilded

its

s Horns, laid upon its Head the Salt-Cake, Fruit, and Male-Frankincenſe (1); this is what they called the mmolation, *Immolatio*. Then came the Libation; it as of Wine, which the Prieſt firſt taſted himſelf, and hen gave to the By-ſtanders to do the ſame. After his *litabatur*; that is, the Prieſt took ſome Hairs beween the Horns of the Victim, threw them into the ire, and then turning his Face towards the Eaſt, ordered the Sacrificer to ſlay the Victim. Hardly was it lead, when the Prieſt plunged the ſacrificing Knife into its Entrails, to ſee if the Sacrifice was auſpicious, *an perlitatum foret*; and then they were explored by the *Haruſpex*, in order to draw from them a favourable Omen. The next thing was to cut the Victim in pieces, Part whereof they roaſted, and a Part they diſtributed for the Feaſt. The Sacrificers were term'd *Victimarii*, *Popæ*, *Cultrarii*. The Prieſt, beſides the Veſtments appointed for his Functions, was ſure to be crown'd with a Chaplet of the Branches or Leaves of the Tree, peculiarly ſacred to the God for whom the Sacrifice was; as of Oak for *Jupiter*, Laurel for *Apollo*, white Poplar for *Hercules*, of the Vine for *Bacchus*, the Cypreſs for *Pluto*; and ſo of the reſt.

But as there were different ſorts of Sacrifices, the Holocauſt, the expiatory Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, and ſeveral others, their way of managing the Victim was accordingly different. In the Holocauſt, it was wholly conſumed by Fire. Sometimes they only ſprinkled the Blood around the Altar; burnt upon it the Fat that incloſed the Entrails, and the Remainder was carry'd off, or eaten up near the ſame Place where the Immolation was perform'd. There were portions which the Prieſts only had a right to touch, others were diſtributed, or carry'd off. It would ſeem alſo, that among the *Gentiles*, whatever was deſign'd for ordinary Food, eſpecially the Fleſh of Animals, was firſt offer'd up by way of Sacrifice; and hence the primitive Chriſtians, while living in the midſt of Pagans, were ſo much upon their guard againſt eating Meats

(1) All theſe were not general for every Sacrifice.

Meats that had been offer'd to Idols. If this Account, which has been likewiſe followed by ſome Authors, and which appears to be grounded upon Antiquity, is not ſtrictly juſt, this much at leaſt is true, that all the publick Feaſts were uſher'd in with Sacrifices, upon the Fleſh whereof they feaſted, as *Atheneus* (1) expreſſly ſays: To be ſatisfied of this, we need only read *Homer*, *Virgil*, and other Ancients.

From what has been now ſaid, we may conclude, that there muſt needs have been in the Temples, and wherever elſe they ſacrificed, different Apartments mark'd out; ſome for preparing the Victim, others for killing it, others for dreſſing the Fleſh, others, in fine, for celebrating the Feaſt; which laſt, tho' an Act of Religion, was exceeding gay, and always accompanied with Dancing, Muſick, and Hymns ſung in honour of the Gods. The Diviners among the *Greeks*, as *Calchas*, *Mopſus*, *Amphiaraus*, and many others; and the *Haruſpices* among the *Romans*, aſſiſted at the Sacrifices, to conſult the Entrails of the Victim, and give their Opinion of them. It belong'd to them to order the Time, the Form, and the Matter of the Sacrifices, eſpecially upon important Occaſions; and they were not wanting then to conſult them, and follow their Deciſions.

It was not always neceſſary to bring a living Victim to the Altar, ſince, for want of other Animals, they went and ſlew ſome in hunting, to be offered in Sacrifice, as was already ſaid. Nor was the whole Animal offered to the Gods; the Thighs were the portion which was allotted to them, as *Pauſanias* (2) remarks in general, with reſpect to the Sacrifices of the *Greeks*; and this part of the Victim they burn'd upon a clear Fire, made of Chips of Wood. *Apollonius Rhodius* (3) gives the ſame Account: *They ſlay*, ſays he, *two Oxen, cut them into Quarters, and then into Pieces, ſetting the votive Thighs apart by themſelves; and after having covered*

(1) Lib. 5. p. 192. (2) In Att. p. 42, and in Arc. p. 518. *anov.* 1613. (3) Lib. 1. v. 432.

vered them with the Fat, or with the Omentum which is Fat, they roaſt them upon Chips of Wood.

The Sacrifices were always accompany'd with Libations: This was a Liquor they pour'd out in honour of the God to whom the Sacrifice was offered, and oftimes the Sacrifice itſelf was no more than a ſimple Libation. In ancient times, it was only an Effuſion of Water, while the uſe of Wine was not introduc'd, or was ſo but in ſome Places; and what will appear ſurprizing, ſeveral Nations that celebrated the Orgies, or *Bacchanalia*, knew not, or at leaſt made no uſe of Wine. The *Perſians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), drank nothing but Water. The ſame may be ſaid of the Nations of *Pontus*, the *Cappadocians* and *Scythians*. How could the *Arcadians*, who of old lived upon nothing but Acorns, or rather upon a ſort of wild Cheſnuts; the *Troglodytes*, the *Ichthyophagi*, and numbers of vagrant People, who lived in the midſt of Woods or in Caves, have any notion of the uſe of Wine? And yet they had a Religion, Sacrifices, and Libations. Nations even more civilized, who knew its Uſe, ſuch as the *Egyptians*, durſt not, if *Plutarch* ſays true (2), bring any of it into the Temples. And indeed, before *Pſammeticus*, the *Egyptians* made no uſe of Wine at all, nor offered any to their Gods, believing it not to be agreeable to them, ſince they looked upon it as the Blood of the *Titans*, which mixing with the Earth, after *Jupiter* had thunder-ſtruck them, produced the Vine-tree.

Altho' for private Sacrifices there was no time ſpecified, yet in publick Sacrifices, they were very religiouſly exact in chuſing the Morning for the celeſtial Gods, and the Evening or the Night-time, for the terreſtrial or infernal ones. The Sacrifices made in honour of the laſt, required peculiar Ceremonies. They ſacrificed to them no Victims but ſuch as were black; for receiving whoſe Blood, a Hole was prepared, and into it was the Wine of the Libation thrown. The whole Victim was burnt, as in the *Holocauſts*, without reſerving any thing for the Feaſt; for it was not lawful to eat the Meat

(1) *Lib. 1.* (2) *De Iſid. & Oſir.*

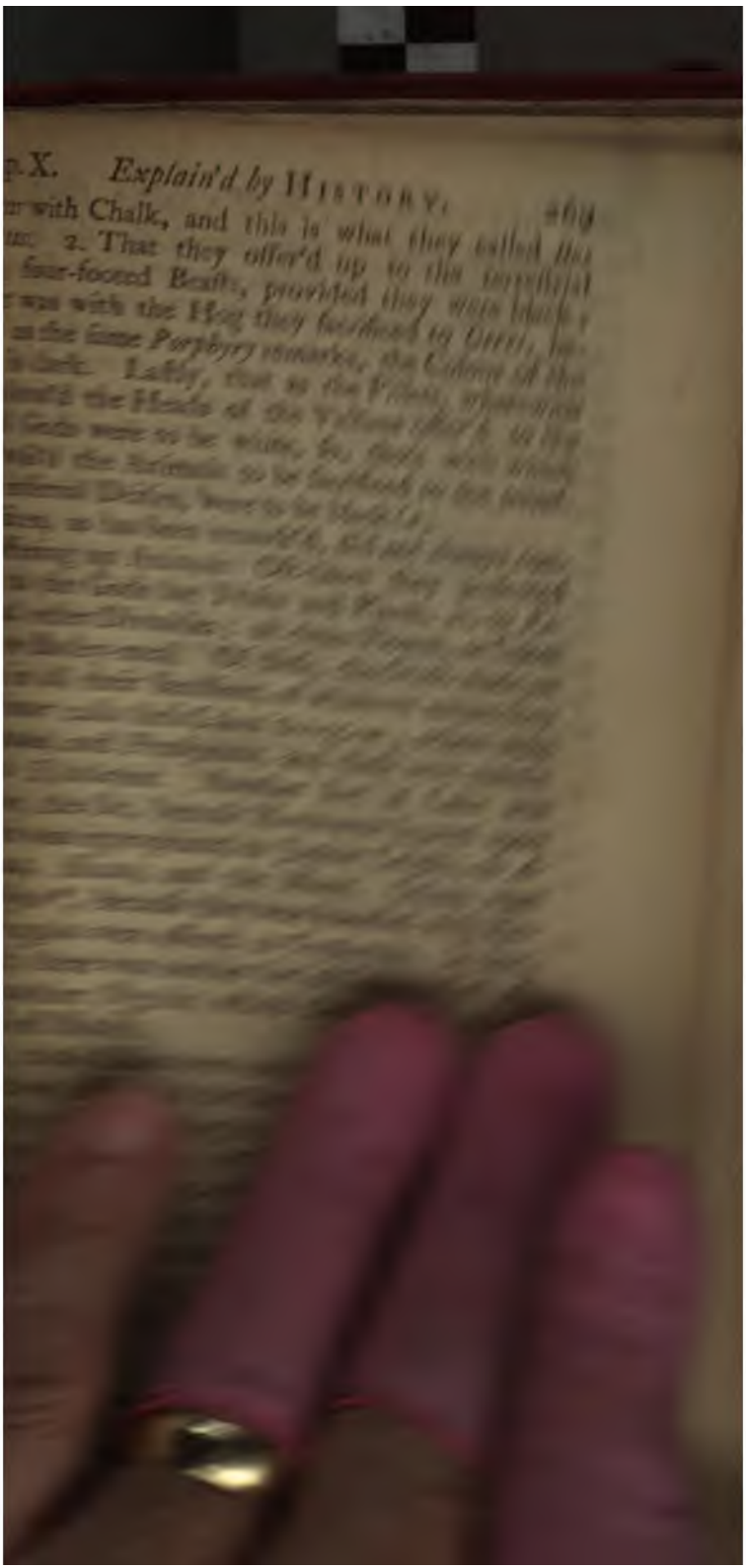
Meat that had been offered to the infernal Gods, and to the *Manes* (1).

In fine, we may remark with *Lucian* (2), that the Sacrifices differ'd according to the quality of the Perſons. *The Husbandman*, ſays he, *offers up an Ox*; *the Shepherd*, *a Lamb*; *the Goat-herd*, *a Goat*: *There are ſome who make only a ſimple Offering of Cakes or Incenſe*; *and he that has nothing*, *makes his Sacrifice by kiſſing his right Hand.*

We may further remark, that Sacrifices were become ſo common, as to be offer'd upon almoſt every Occaſion in life; ſince, beſides thoſe preſcrib'd by the Rituals, they were offer'd by Generals before Battel, as we may ſee in ancient Authors, particularly in *Pauſanias* (3): By thoſe who were to found a City, as appears from the ſame Author (4): When they were to enter upon a Journey: In the common Affairs of Life. Under any Ailment, after a Dream; in ſhort, they enter'd upon no Enterprize of any importance, till they had firſt implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, by this Act of Religion. *Euſebius* cites (5) a Paſſage from *Porphyry*, concerning an Oracle of *Apollo*, which preſcrib'd the Form of Sacrifices. "There are, ſaid *Porphyry*, (after "the Oracle,) Gods of the Earth, and Gods of Hell. "To them, Victims are to be offered of Quadrupeds, "of a black Colour; but with this difference, that for "the terreſtrial Gods, the Victims muſt be preſented "upon Altars, and for the Infernal, in Ditches and "Holes. To the aerial Gods, the Sacrifice is to be of "Birds, whoſe whole Body is to be burn'd by way of "Holocauſt, and their Blood pour'd out around the "Altar. Fowls are likewiſe to be offered up to the "Sea-Gods, but the Libation muſt be pour'd upon the "Waves, and the Fowls are to be of a black Colour." Whence we may conclude, that the Birds they offer'd to the celeſtial Gods were white, as I obſerved already of the Victims. But we are farther to obſerve, 1. That at *Rome*, when the Victim had any Spots, they whiten'd it

(1) See *Iſidorus*. (2) De Sacr. (3) In Meſſ. (4) Ibid.
(5) Præp. Evan. Lib 5.

ar with Chalk, and this is what they called the
ture. 2. That they offer'd up to the terrestrial
four-footed Beasts, provided they were black;
was with the Hog they facrificed to Ceres, for
as the same *Porphyry* remarks, the Colour of the
is dark. Lastly, that as the Priests appointed
ould the Heads of the Victims chuse, so they
Gods were to be white, for Gods with dusky
ould the Animals to be facrificed to the infernal
infernal Deities, were to be black.



it into ſeveral pieces. It was obſerved, that the *Haruſpex*, the *Flamen*, or the Prieſt, examined the Entrails of the Victim, *Exta*, from thence to draw auſpicious Omens. We add here, 1. That the Heart, the Liver, the Lungs, and the Spleen, were the principal Subject of their Attention. 2. That from inſpecting the Entrails, came the manner of Divination, called *Extiſpicium*. 3. That they made Obſervations alſo upon the Motion of the Tail, when the Victim was juſt expiring. If it was twiſted, that ſignify'd a difficult Enterprize: When it was turned downward, it preſaged an Overthrow; but if it was lifted up, it betoken'd a compleat Triumph. 4. That they drew alſo Preſages from the manner in which the Incenſe ſparkled as it burn'd, as well as from the Smoak, and its different Motions or Contorſions.

When the Sacrifice was ended, if the Omens were favourable, it was then a perfect Sacrifice, which was expreſs'd by the ſingle Word *Litare*; for, that they were not all acceptable to the Deity to whom they were made, *Martial* tells us (1),

Non quacunque manu victima cæſa litat.

So *Plautus* (2),

Si Hercule iſtuc unquam factum eſt, tum me Jupiter faciat, ut ſemper ſacrificem, nunquam litem.

If I am guilty of what you lay to my charge, may Jupiter *never accept a Sacrifice I ſhall offer.*

Thus there was no true Sacrifice without the *Litation*, if one may be allowed to adopt the Word.

All the By-ſtanders were oblig'd to keep ſilence, while they were killing the Victim, and burning it on the Altar; in the interval between the two, they might converſe with one another; whence came the Proverb, *Inter cæſa & porrecta.*

When the Prieſt was going to ſacrifice, a Herald cry'd before him, *Hoc age*, give your ſole Attention to what you are going about. And in *Greece*, when he approach'd the Altar, he ask'd, *Who is here?* And the Spectators anſwer'd, *Many good People* *. Then the

(1) *L.* 10. Ep. 73. (2) In Pœn. * πολλοι και αγαθοι.

he Prieſt pronounc'd this Form, *Be gone all ye Profane*, vhich the *Romans* thus expreſs'd, *Procul eſte Profani.* They were eſpecially careful to debar from thence, Rob-ers, Murderers, and all People of bad Lives: But his was not for all Sacrifices in general, at leaſt in *Greece.*

The Prieſt who ſacrificed, had commonly his Head veil'd; I ſay commonly, becauſe there were Sacrifices where they were to have the Head uncovered. As to this diſtinction, Parties are not well agreed; *Fabretti* (1) however, is of opinion, that they veil'd the Head, to ſacrifice to the twelve great Gods, and that to the reſt, they ſacrificed uncover'd. *Plutarch* ſeems to inſinuate, that the Prieſt never had his Head cover'd but when he ſacrificed to the celeſtial Gods, ſince he ſays, that he who offer'd Sacrifice to *Saturn*, had his Head bare, be-cauſe he was one of the infernal Gods. The antique Bas-reliefs repreſenting Sacrifices, ſuch as are to be ſeen in *Montfaucon* (2) and elſewhere, give no great coun-tenance to thoſe Diſtinctions. Only this we know, that in *Greece* the Sacrificer was always bare-headed.

The Prieſt, before ſacrificing, was to prepare him-ſelf for it, eſpecially by Continence, during the prece-ding Night, and by Ablution; and for that purpoſe, there was ordinarily at the entry into the Temple, Wa-ter where he purify'd himſelf. In ancient times, it would ſeem that they bath'd themſelves in ſome River; at leaſt *Virgil* (3) makes *Æneas* ſay, when he is ready to offer a Sacrifice, that he will not enter upon that Ac-tion till he has purify'd himſelf in Running-Water.

. . . . . *Donec me flumine vivo*
Abluero.

But it is to be obſerv'd, that this Ablution was only requiſite in Sacrifices offer'd to the celeſtial Gods; ſprinkling being ſufficient for the terreſtrial and infernal Gods. At *Rome* they never offer'd Sacrifice, till they had uſher'd it in with a Prayer to *Janus*, for the Rea-ſon given by *Ovid*, that he kept the Gate which led to the other Gods. This Prayer ended, a ſecond was ad-dreſs'd

(1) Col. Trait. p. 169. (2) Ant. Exp. T. 2. (3) Æn. l. 2.

dreſs'd to *Jupiter*, then a third to *Juno*, or, according to others, to *Veſta*. After this, the Prieſt encompaſſed the Altar ſeveral times, lifting his Hand to his Mouth; then he poured Wine upon the Altar, from the *Patera*: Laſtly, he ordered the Sacrificer to ſtrike the Victim; which he did either with the Knife called *Seceſpita*, or he knocked it on the head with a Mallet.

Montfaucon (1) explains moſt of the Sacrifices that are ſtill to be found repreſented upon Marbles, and upon Bas-Reliefs; ſo that there is little occaſion for me to ſpeak of them here, and the rather, that his Explications ſuppoſe the Figures which one ought to have before his eyes: but as in that Multitude of Sacrifices, ſome were more ſolemn than others, ſuch as the Hecatomb, the *Taurobolium*, and *Criobolium*, and ſome others, I ſuppoſe it is incumbent upon me to give a ſhort detail of 'em here.

Hecatombs. In great Victories, or in time of ſome publick Calamity, they ſometimes offer'd in the ſame Sacrifice, no leſs than an hundred Oxen, or other Animals; this is what they called a *Hecatomb*: Sometimes it amounted to a thouſand, tho' very rarely, and then it got the Name of a *Chiliomb*.

Capitolinus (2), ſpeaking of the Hecatomb which was offer'd by *Balbinus*, after *Maximinus*'s Defeat, informs us at the ſame time, in what manner this ſort of Sacrifice was offer'd. "They ſet up in a place appointed, an hundred Altars of Turf, and ſacrifice an hundred Sheep, and as many Hogs; if the Sacrifice is Imperial, they offer up an hundred Lions, an hundred Eagles, and as many other Animals. The *Greeks*, ſays this Author, did the ſame thing when they were infeſted with the Plague." *Athenæus* adds, that they took the ſame courſe after ſignal Victories, for which he cites the Example of *Conon* the *Lacedemonian* Captain; who offer'd, ſays he, *a true Hecatomb*. By this Phraſe, true Hecatomb, the Author gives us to underſtand, that the General actually offer'd up an hundred Oxen, for ſometimes that Name, (viz.

(1) Loc cit. (2) In Balbino.

viz. Hecatomb) was given to Sacrifices, where the hundred Animals were of another Species. From the Paſſage in *Capitolinus*, we may refute the Error of thoſe who maintain, that the Hecatomb was ſo called, upon account of an hundred Oxen or Bulls which were therein ſacrificed. *Heſychius*, and ſeveral other Authors, confirm what *Capitolinus* ſays, that in Hecatombs they ſacrificed other Animals as well as Oxen. To conclude, this kind of Sacrifice was of very great antiquity, ſince there is mention of it in *Homer* (1), who ſays, *Neptune* went into *Æthiopia* to receive the Sacrifice of the Hecatombs, of Bulls and Lambs. 'Tis a noted Story, that *Pythagoras* offer'd an Hecatomb for having found out the Demonſtration of the forty-ſeventh Propoſition in the firſt Book of *Euclid*.

We muſt not omit the Sacrifice of *Agroteræ*, where they ſacrificed five hundred Goats every Year at *Athens*, in honour of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Agrotera*, whether from the City *Agros* in *Attica*, or from a Surname given to that Goddeſs, according to *Rhodiginus*, becauſe ſhe was always in the Fields. *Xenophon* refers the Inſtitution of this Sacrifice, to a Vow made by the *Athenians*, of ſacrificing to that Goddeſs as many Goats as they ſhould kill of *Perſians*; but the Slaughter they made of them was ſo great, that it was impoſſible for them literally to accompliſh their Vow, which obliged them to make a Decree, binding themſelves to offer up every Year five hundred Goats in honour of her, which was ſtill kept up in the time of that Hiſtorian.

Taurobolium.

The Taurobolium was a Sacrifice offered to the Mother of the Gods. This Sacrifice does not appear to have been known in the firſt Ages of Paganiſm; ſince the oldeſt Inſcription that mentions it, which was found at *Lions*, *An.* 1704, in the Mountain *Fourviere*, informs us, that this Taurobolium was offer'd under the Reign of *Antoninus*, A. D. 160. But then it was very late before it was laid aſide; the laſt Inſcription of it that we know, is in the Reign of *Valentinian* the Third.

(1) Od. 1. 1.

As none has given a better Account of the Ceremonies of the Taurobolium than M. *de Boſe*, in his Diſſertation on the Inſcription at *Lions* (1), I refer the Curious to it, and ſhall only obſerve, in order to give ſome Idea of the thing, that we have hardly any way of knowing this ſort of Sacrifice, but from Inſcriptions; the Ancients, at leaſt ſuch of them as are extant, being quite ſilent upon this Article; except *Julius Firmicus*, a Chriſtian Author, *Prudentius*, and perhaps *Lampridius*, who ſpeaking of *Heliogabalus*, ſays, he was ſo devoted to *Cybele*, that he received the Blood of the Bulls that were offer'd up to that Goddeſs. This Sacrifice was offer'd to *Cybele* for the Conſecration of the High-Prieſt, for the Expiation of Sins, or for the Health of the Prince, or of thoſe who offer'd it. It was a ſort of Baptiſm of Blood, which they thought convey'd a ſpiritual Regeneration, and whoſe Rites and Ceremonies were different from other Sacrifices. But, as the Poet *Prudentius* has left us a particular Deſcription of the Taurobolium, I ſhall, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, give a Tranſlation of his Verſes.

" In order, ſays he, to conſecrate the High-Prieſt, " that is, to initiate him into the Taurobolium, a great " Hole was made, into which he enter'd, dreſs'd in an " extraordinary Garb, wearing a Crown of Gold, with " a *Toga* of Silk, tuck'd up after the *Sabine* Faſhion. " Above the Hole was a ſort of Floor, the Boards of " which, not being cloſe joined, left ſeveral Chinks, " and beſides, they bored ſeveral Holes therein.... " Then they led up a Bull, crown'd with Feſtoons, " upon his Shoulders Fillets cover'd with Flowers, and " having his Forehead gilt. Here the Victim's Throat " was cut, ſo as the reeking Blood came ſtreaming " down upon the Floor, which being made like a Sieve, " let fall into the Hole as it were a Shower of Blood, " which the Prieſt received upon his Head, upon his " Body, and Clothes. Not content with this, he even " held back his Head to receive the Blood upon his " Face, he let it fall upon both Cheeks, upon his Ears, " Lips,

(1) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 3.

" Lips, and Noſtrils; nay, he open'd his Mouth, to
' bedew his Tongue with it, and ſome of it he ſwal-
' lowed. When all the Blood was drain'd, the Vic-
' tim was removed, and the High-Prieſt came out of
' the Hole. It was a horrible Spectacle to ſee him in
' this plight, his Head cover'd over with Blood, clot-
' ted Drops ſticking to his Beard, and all his Garments
" diſtain'd. And yet, as ſoon as he appear'd, he was
" received with a general Congratulation, and not da-
" ring to approach his Perſon, they adored him at a di-
" ſtance, looking upon him now as a Man quite pure
" and ſanctify'd."

They who had thus received the Blood of the Tauro-bole, wore their ſtained Clothes as long as poſſible, as a ſenſible Sign of their Regeneration.

2. It was not always for private Perſons the Tauro-bole was made: This Ceremony was perform'd for the whole Body of Citizens, for entire Provinces, for the Proſperity of the Emperor, *&c.* Sometimes theſe Regenerations were for twenty Years; ſometimes, in fine, the *Archigallus*, or the High-Prieſt of *Cybele*, appointed it for certain Occaſions (*a*).

3. This Sacrifice of Regeneration did not always require the ſacrificing a Bull: Sometimes the Victim was a Ram, and then it was called *Criobolium.* Sometimes a She-Goat, and then it got the Name of *Egibolium*, or *Ægobolium.* Several of the Learned are not agreed that this laſt Victim was uſed in the Tauroboles, but only the Bull, and ſometimes the Ram, when they would do honour to *Atys*, *Cybele*'s Favourite, to whom the Taurobole was ſolely conſecrated; altho' *Du Choul*, *Cambden*, *Selden*, and ſome others, are of opinion that it was likewiſe offered in honour of *Diana.*

We ſhall end this Chapter with ſome general Obſervations, in relation to the Forms of Prayer uſed upon this occaſion. As they believ'd the Gods themſelves had indited thoſe Forms, they were conſidered as a thing ſo eſſential, that if he to whom the pronouncing

(*a*) The whole of this is drawn from Inſcriptions, and from the Diſſertation of M *de Boſe.*

of them belong'd, did but forget or tranſpoſe a ſingle Word, they were perſuaded the Sacrifice would have no effect. Thus, when *Decius* the Conſul devoted himſelf to the infernal Gods, and with himſelf the Enemy's Troops, he caution'd the Pontif *Valerius Maximus*, to be exact in pronouncing the Form preſcrib'd upon that Occaſion. There were even Overſeers appointed to take care that nothing of the Formulary was forgot; and that they might hear every Syllable which the Speaker pronounc'd, the Spectators were peremptorily enjoin'd Silence. Moſt of thoſe Forms, if *Jamblichus* may be believ'd (1), like that of *Theurgy*, (a ſort of Magick to be explain'd afterwards) were compoſed at firſt in the *Egyptian* or *Chaldean* Language. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, in tranſlating them, kept in many of the original Words of thoſe foreign Languages, ſo that they frequently became a ſort of barbarous and unintelligible Jargon; but ſtill the more barbarous and unintelligible, the more ſacred and revered.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Inſtruments they made uſe of in Sacrifice, and other Ceremonies of Religion.

AFTER having treated of Sacrifices and Victims, I am to ſpeak of the ſacred Inſtruments; but as it is hard to make my Readers underſtand the Deſcription of them without Figures, they will have recourſe to the Antiquaries who have given Prints of them.

What they called *Acerra*, was a little Cheſt where the Incenſe was put, much the ſame with thoſe we have in our Churches; for thoſe of the Ancients, that now remain, and that are to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the Curious, were not made after the ſame Model, nor of the ſame Metal. This Cheſt or Box of Perfumes, is frequently to be ſeen upon ancient Monuments, in the Hands of the *Camilli*, or ſometimes of the *Veſtals*.

The

1) De Myſt.

The Cenſer, or *Thuribulum*, was known to the An nts, but there is now no Repreſentation of it to be ſeen Monuments. The *Greeks* called this Inſtrument *ymiaterion*, and it is eaſy to ſee what was the uſe it *.

The *Præferriculum* was a Vaſe that contained the Li or made uſe of in Libations. The *Diſcus*, a Baſon ıereon the Fleſh of the Victim was laid. The *Aſper llum* or *Aſperſorium*, which was much like our own, ıde of Horſe-hair, or that of ſome other Animal, th an Handle, ſerv'd for ſprinkling the Holy-Water, hich was contained in a Vaſe, whereof we have ſome epreſentation preſerv'd in Monuments.

The *Patera*, was an Inſtrument ordinarily round, mewhat hollow, and with a Handle. The uſe of it as to receive the Liquor that was pour'd into it from ıe Vaſe, and to ſprinkle it upon the Victim; which *irgil* explains very diſtinctly:

Ipſa tenens dextrâ Pateram pulcherrima Dido
Candentis Vaccæ media inter cornua fudit (1).

'be beauteous Dido, holding the Patera in her right Hand, ours the Wine between the Horns of the white Heifer.

This Inſtrument, made of different Metals, with ome variety in Form, is that which has ſuffer'd leaſt om the Injury of Time, and there are few Antiqua es but have ſeveral of them.

The *Simpulum*, in form pretty much reſembling the *'atera*, was a ſort of Spoon, which, according to *Feſ us*, they uſed in Sacrifices for making the Libations of Vine. *Pliny* (2) calls this Inſtrument *Simpuvium*, and ys ſome of them were of baked Earth.

The Augural Staff, which they called *Lituus*, like a rt of Trumpet, was ſomewhat crooked at the end, nd the Augur held it in his Hand when he was to ex mine the Flight of Birds, in taking the Omens: It is mmonly to be found upon Monuments and Medals.

The Mallet, *Malleus*, was for knocking down the ictim, as alſo the Ax; for both theſe ſorts of Inſtru-

* For burning the Incenſe in time of the Sacrifice.
(1) Æn. l. 4. v. 60. (2) L. 35. c. 12.

ments are to be ſeen upon Bas-Reliefs indifferently, in the Hands of the Sacrificers.

The *Secceſpita* was a ſort of Hanger, which ſerv'd to cut the Throat of the Victim: They were of different Forms, and even ſome of them in a Caſe. *Feſtus* gives a juſt Deſcription of it. It was, ſays he, an Iron Knife, with an oblong Blade, and round Haft made of ſolid Ivory, faſten'd to the Blade with Gold and Silver, and ſtudded with Nails of *Cyprian* Braſs, which the *Flamens*, *Flaminick* Virgins, and *Pontifs* made uſe of in Sacrifice *.

The *Ligula*, or *Lingula*, was a ſort of Spatula the *Haruſpices* uſed, for exploring the Entrails of the Victim.

The *Candelabrum* was a branching Candleſtick, on which they ſet the Torches that burn'd in the time of the Sacrifice.

The *Delabra*, a great Knife which ſerved for diſmembring the Victim (a).

The *Enclabris* †, mention'd by *Miſſon*, in his Travels thro' *Italy*, was the Table upon which the Victim was laid, for the convenience of examining the Entrails, and drawing Omens from them.

The *Olla* was the Pot in which the Prieſts boil'd the portion of the Victim that was allotted to them.

The *Trumpet* was a ſort of Horn or Clarion which they ſounded at the Ceremony of the Hecatombs; but at every Sacrifice there wasa Player on the Flute, who accompany'd the Victim, while they were conducting it to the Place where it was to be offer'd, and play'd upon a double Flute during the Sacrifice, as we ſee in all the Monuments that we have remaining upon the Subject.

The *Urceolus* was a ſmall Vaſe of Braſs, Silver, Earth, or ſome other Material, which had a ſtrait Neck, and wide

* Cultrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, ſolido, vincto ad capulum auro argentoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio, quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontifices que ad Sacrificia utebantur.

(a) There is a Repreſentation of it in the fifth Vol. of the *Academy of Belles Lettres*.

† Or *Anclabris*.

wide Mouth, much after the Faſhion of our Burettes ‡, which the inferiour Miniſters carry'd for waſhing the Prieſts Hands. They are often to be found upon antique Monuments, in the Hands of theſe ſort of Miniſters.

Altho' we are not to reckon Tripods in the number of Utenſils uſed at Sacrifices, yet, in regard they had them frequently in the Temples, in thoſe eſpecially of *Apollo*, and ſometimes uſed them for ſupporting the ſacred Vaſes, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of 'em here. Without inſiſting upon the Diſtinction of *Athenæus*, who admits only two ſorts of them, that are reduced to great and ſmall Tripods, I divide them into three kinds. Under the firſt I include, thoſe uſed by the *Pythia*, when ſhe deliver'd the Oracles of *Apollo* in the Temple of *Delphos*. As the Exhalation, to which ſhe owed her prophetick Inſpiration, iſſued out of a Cave, as ſhall be ſaid in the Hiſtory of Oracles, and as one who approach'd too near was in danger of falling into it, as ſometimes happen'd, they contrived a three-footed Machine, which they ſet upon the Rock, and there the Prieſteſs ſat, for the convenience of catching the Exhalations without any Danger. 'Tis of this ſort of Tripods we read ſo much in ancient Hiſtory. The ſecond kind comprehends whatever ſtood upon three-feet, Vaſes, Tables, or whatever elſe it was; and of theſe there was a vaſt Quantity. In the third, I reckon the votive Tripods, which Princes or private Perſons dedicated in the Temples of *Apollo*. *Herodotus* (1) ſpeaks of a golden Tripod, which the *Greeks*, upon their Victory over the *Perſians*, ſent to *Delphos*: *In the diviſion they made of the Spoils of the Enemy*, ſays that Author, *they ſet the Silver by it ſelf, took a tenth of it for the God who was worſhipped at* Delphos; *and of this portion they made a golden Tripod, which they dedicated to him, and which is ſtill to be ſeen upon a brazen three-headed Serpent*. From theſe laſt Words it appears, that this

‡ Cryſtal Bottles wherein they put the Wine and Water, uſed in the Sacrifice of the Maſs.

(1) Lib. 9.

golden Tripod was ſupported by one of another kind, repreſented by three Heads of a Serpent; which is confirmed by *Pauſanias*, who tells us (1), that the golden Tripod given by the *Greeks*, after the Battel of *Platæa*, was ſupported by a Serpent of Braſs.

It will not be expected, I ſhould include under any of theſe kinds of Tripods, thoſe of *Homer*, which walk'd upon their own Legs to the Aſſembly of the Gods: A poetical Fiction, to give us the higher Notion of the Excellence of *Vulcan*'s Works.

Nothing is more common in the Cabinets of the Curious, and in the Works of Antiquaries, than the Tripods; there they are to be found of all ſorts of figures, and ſome even pretty ſingular. The moſt of 'em are of Braſs, or of *Bronze*.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Prieſts, and other Miniſters of the Sacrifices.

AFTER the Sacrifices, Victims, and Inſtruments which were uſed in offering them up, ſomething muſt be ſaid of the Prieſts and Miniſters. As there is no Nation, be it ever ſo ſavage, but has ſome Religion, neither is there any without Miniſters to preſide over it; but in this Chapter we ſhall hardly take notice of any, except thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The general Name given by the former to their Prieſts, was that of Ἱερεῖς, tho' they were diſtinguiſh'd from one another by particular Names and Functions. To ſpeak of them with ſome order, we ſhall take for our Guide the illuſtrious *Potter*, who has given us an excellent Treatiſe upon the *Greek* Antiquities.

Firſt then, I am of opinion, as I hinted before, that in earlier times, the Prieſthood belong'd to the Head of the Family; at leaſt that he had the Privilege of ſacrificing, altho' there were Prieſts by Office. Thus at the Siege of *Troy*, notwithſtanding *Chryſes* and others were Prieſts, yet we ſee in *Homer*, the Kings, the Princes,

(1) In Phoc. p. 633.

ces, and Captains of the Army offering Sacrifices upon occaſion.

When they were to chuſe a Prieſt, an Examination was made into his Life, his Manners, and even the Qualities of his Body, and he was to be free from all unſeemly Defects; much the ſame as we ſee in the ſacred Writings, thoſe who had but one Eye, the Lame, the Hump-back'd, *&c.* were excluded from the Prieſthood. The *Athenians* even required that their Miniſters of Religion ſhould be pure and chaſte in their Lives, and their *Hierophantæ*, we know, made uſe of ſome cold Herbs, ſuch as Hemlock, as a means to obtain the Gift of Continence. The Prieſts were generally allowed to marry; they were frequently indeed forbid ſecond Marriages, altho' Hiſtory informs us that this Rule was not always obſerved.

Prieſts of the Greeks.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* had a Hierarchy, High-Prieſts, Prieſts, and ſubaltern Miniſters, who ſerv'd them in their Functions; but as the *Greeks* were divided into ſeveral States independent upon one another, this Hierarchy was not every where uniform. There were even Cities, ſuch as *Argos*, and ſome others, where Women preſided in Religion. Nothing is more celebrated than thoſe Prieſteſſes of *Argos*, ſince their Prieſthood ſerv'd for the Date of publick Events. The Names of moſt of thoſe Prieſteſſes were loſt, till M. *Fourmont* the younger, in his Travels thro' *Greece*, found a very large Inſcription, containing a full Liſt of them, whereof he is preparing to give the Hiſtory. *Minerva Polias* the Patroneſs of *Athens*, had a Prieſteſs to preſide over her Worſhip; and *Plutarch* in his Morals, names one *Lyſimache*, who exerciſed that Function. The *Pedaſians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), had alſo a Prieſteſs for their *Minerva*. There was likewiſe one for *Ceres* at *Catana*, for *Pallas* at *Clazomenæ*, &c.

At *Delphi* there were five Princes of the Prieſts, and with them Prophets, who pronounc'd the Oracles. The *Opuntians* had only two High-Prieſts, of whom, the one

(1) *In Clio.*

one preſided over the Worſhip of the celeſtial Gods, whom they named *Ouranius*; the other over that of the terreſtrial and infernal, and was ſtiled *Catachthonian*.

The Prieſthood of *Syracuſe*, which, according to *Cicero* (1), was in very great eſteem, laſted but one Year. The *Hierophantæ* were very celebrated Prieſts at *Athens*; their Name comes from two *Greek* words, ἱερός, *ſacred*, and φαίνω, *to ſhew*. According to *Apollodorus*, he was the Perſon appointed to ſhew the Myſteries and ſacred Things to thoſe who were to be initiated; for which reaſon, beſides that of *Hierophanta*, he had likewiſe the name of Prophet given him. This Miniſter had other Officers under him, to be his Aſſiſtants in this and other Functions; theſe were called *Exegetæ*, and ſometimes Prophets. He likewiſe adorn'd the Statues of the Gods, and carried them in the publick Ceremonies. Their Wives too had a ſhare in Divine Service, and were named *Hierophantidæ*. This Prieſt beſides overlook'd the Worſhip and Myſteries of *Ceres*. For all theſe Articles, *Salmaſius*'s Notes upon *Solinus* may be conſulted.

As the *Hierophantæ* and their Wives were ſet apart for the Worſhip of the Goddeſs *Hecate* and *Ceres*, the *Orgiophantæ*, and the Women named *Orgioſtæ*, preſided over the Orgies, or ſacred Rites of *Bacchus*; and the *Daduchus* or *Lampadophorus*, over the Feſtivals named *Daduchiæ*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the Article of the Feſtivals of the *Greeks*.

If we may give credit to *Pollux* (2), there were ſixteen ſorts of Miniſters of the Temples; the Prieſts; the Temple-Keepers, or *Æditui*; thoſe who had the Charge of the holy Things; the Prophets; the *Hyprophets*, or Under-prophets, who publiſhed the Oracle; the Sacrificers; thoſe who performed the Rites of Initiation; the Adminiſtrators of holy Things; the Purifiers; the Diviners, or Inſpired; the *Sortilegi*; the Fortune-Tellers; the *Creſmothetæ*, or thoſe who gave forth the Lots to be drawn; the Saints or Devotees;

(1) In Verr. 4. (2) Ch. 1. Art. 16.

ɔtees; the *Thuriferi*, or Incenſe-Bearers; the *Hypatæ*; and the Servitors (*a*), or Camilli *.

The ſame Author next remarks (1), that the ſame ames were given to different Orders of Prieſteſſes, places where the Women miniſtred in the Temples; id that the Prieſteſs of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, had the name f *Pythia*, by way of eminence. He might have added further, that at *Clazomenæ* the Prieſteſs of *Pallas* as named *Heſychia*, and that of *Bacchus*, *Thyas*; and 1 *Crete*, that of *Cybele*, *Meliſſa*. He might likewiſe ave remark'd, that among the *Athenians* the ſubalrn Miniſters were ſtiled *Paraſiti*; that not being then Name of reproach, as it is at preſent. The Acceptaiɔn of this word, in the Senſe I underſtand it, is taɔn from an Inſcription at *Athens*, where it is ſaid, hat of two Bulls offered in Sacrifice, one part ſhould be eſerved for the Games, the other diſtributed among he Prieſts and the Paraſites. The principal Function f thoſe Paraſites, who had a Place among the chief Magiſtrates, was to chuſe the Wheat allotted for the acrifices.

There was likewiſe another ſort of People ſet apart or Service in the Sacrifices. Theſe were the *Ceryces*, r the Cryers, whoſe Office was to make publick Proclaɔnation of things, whether civil or ſacred. Thus, acɔrding to *Athenæus*, two of them were to be choſen; nd accordingly we find the *Ceryces* are two in number n that fine *Athenian* Inſcription, explained in the Paeography (2); one for *Areopagus*, the other for the *Arɔhon*. They were to be taken from the *Athenian* Family;

(*a*) This Liſt is not compleat, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Chapter.

* The Names which *Pollux* gives to thoſe Miniſters are, Ἱερεῖς, Καλάθρια, Ζάκοροι, Περιῶπται, Ὑποφῆται, Θῦται, Τελεσταὶ, Ἐξηγηταὶ, Καθαρσιαὶ, Μάντεις, Θεομάντεις, Χρησμῳδοὶ, Χρησμολόγοι, Χρησμῳδῶται, Παραγεῖς, Πυρφόροι, Ὑπηρέται, Θεῖργοι, I have given my Author's Tranſlation of them; poſſibly the Χρησμῳδῶται may ſignify the Miniſters who delivered the Oracle; Χρησμῳδοὶ, they who turned it into Verſe; and Χρησμολόγοι, they who gave the Interpretation of it.

(1) Ch. 1. Art. 17. (2) p. 148.

mily; which, according to *Iſocrates*, bore the name of *Ceryce*, from one *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandroſos*, Daughter of *Cecrops*.

Upon which we ſhall make a tranſient Remark, that there were ſacerdotal Families, out of which the Prieſts were to be taken; as at *Athens*, thoſe of the *Eumolpidæ*, for the Worſhip of *Ceres* and the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries; and at *Rome*, thoſe of the *Pinarii* and *Potitii*, for that of *Hercules*.

At *Athens*, the Archon thought himſelf honoured by the Title of Prieſt: ſuch among others was *Xenon*, who was Archon under the Conſulſhip of *Druſus*, in the ſecond Year of *Tiberius*, and who bears the Title of Prieſt in the Inſcription, which we now mentioned; and if *Spon* is good Authority, the ſame *Druſus* was at once Conſul, Archon and Prieſt. The Origin of the Prieſthood of the Archons, according to *Demoſthenes* (1), was owing to this, that anciently the Kings and Queens of *Athens* were the High Prieſts. The Royalty being aboliſhed, they continued to chuſe a King and a Queen, to preſide over ſacred things, which Office was afterwards transfer'd to the Archons, and their Wives. The *Epimeletæ* ſerved the King in ſacred Matters, and Women named *Gerenæ*, aſſiſted the Queen to the number of fourteen. The Ceryx ſerved her likewiſe in the moſt ſecret Myſteries of Religion. There was likewiſe independent upon all theſe Miniſters a Pontiff, or rather a Chief Prieſt, Ἀρχιερεύς, who preſided in ſacred things. Sometimes he was only for one City; ſometimes for a whole Province. Oftentimes too he was veſted with this Dignity for Life; ſometimes for only five Years. As there were Chief Prieſts, ſo we find Chief Prieſteſſes; for among the *Greeks*, Women as often as Men were admitted to miniſter in ſacred things. Theſe Chief Prieſteſſes were the Superintendents of the Prieſteſſes, and were choſen from the beſt Families. But of all the Pagan Prieſteſſes, the moſt celebrated was the *Pythia*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere.

The

(1) Oratio ad Neæram.

The *Neocori* had Offices correſponding to thoſe of ir Sacriſtans, or Veſtry-Keepers: accordingly it was eir buſineſs to adorn the Temples, and to keep in or- r the Vaſes and Utenſils that were uſed in the Cere- onies of Religion. *Theodoret* (2), is the only one ho mentions two other Functions of the *Neocori:* The ie, to ſtand at the Gate of the Temples to ſprinkle loly Water for purification of thoſe who were entering ito them; the other, to throw ſome of the ſame Wa- r upon the Meat ſerved up at the Emperor's Table. *ulian* the Apoſtate, ſays this Author, went into the emple of publick Genius in the City of *Antioch*; *and be* Neocori, *ſtanding at the two ſides of the Temple- ate, ſprinkled Holy Water upon thoſe who were entring, retending thereby to give them Abſolution.*

As to the ſecond Function above-mentioned, we are in- ormed of it by the ſame Author, in the Story I am going o relate: It is with reſpect to a young *Neocorus*, who ecame inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, but could ot decline attendance upon the ſame Emperor in a Feaſt, where he was to officiate in bleſſing the Provi- ions with the Holy Water. Upon which *Theodoret* re- narks, that altho' the Entertainment in the Suburbs of *Daphne*, given by *Julian* to the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, aſted ſeveral Days, yet the young *Neocorus*, who was ſtanding by the Emperor, after having ſprinkled the Diſhes with Holy Water, ſecretly withdrew, and ap- peared no more on the following Feaſt-days. This Office became very conſiderable; for the *Neocori*, who t firſt were employed only in ſervile Duties, were af- terwards raiſed to the ſuperiour Station of Miniſters and High Prieſts, who ſacrificed for the Life of the Emperor. We find on Medals, where the name of *Neocorus* often ccurs, that of *Prytanis*, which was ſometimes granted o them, with that of *Agonothetes*, or Diſpenſer of the Prizes at the publick Games. Even Cities, and *Ephe- us* among the firſt, according to *Van-Dale*, took the ame of *Neocorus*; upon which you may conſult *Vail- ant* and the other Antiquaries.

Before

(2) L. 3. c. 16.

Before we come to the *Roman* Prieſthood, I
ſay ſomething of three ſorts of Prieſts, who were
mon to them with the *Greeks*. The firſt are tho
Cybele: The ſecond thoſe of *Mythras*: The third
of the *Orgies*, or Myſteries of *Bacchus*.

Nothing in Antiquity is more famous, nor at
ſame time more contemptible than the Prieſts of C
who were called *Galli* or *Archigalli*, from a Riv
Phrygia *, named *Gallus*. *Van-Dale* conſiders
Galli, and juſtly too, as ſo many Strollers, Vagrants
Quacks, who went ſtrolling about from Tow
Town, playing upon Cymbals and Crotala †,
ing on their Breaſts ſmall Images of the Moth
the Gods, in order to raiſe charitable Contributi
the very Dregs of the People, according to *Apulei*
Sect of furious Fanaticks, and infamously debau
We agree with that learned Author in the Cha
which he draws of theſe Miniſters; but we cann
of his mind, when he ſays, that notwithſtanding
being conſecrated to the Service of *Cybele*, yet
were not in the quality of Prieſts, ſince their Prieſt
is a thing undeniable. *Pliny*, *Apuleius*, and S
expreſsly ſay they were Prieſts, and give them
Title; and *Lucian* (1), who deſcribes the Cere
of their Initiation, leaves no room to doubt of it.

We ſhall not be ſurpriſed to find how thoſe wre
Prieſts are repreſented by *Clement* of *Alexandria*,
tantius, *Chryſoſtom*, and St. *Auguſtin*, ſince pr
Authors have had an equal Contempt of them.
Law however had provided for their Subſiſtence,
according to *Cicero*, it mark'd out the
when they had permiſſion to aſk Alms, and in
none elſe were allowed to go a begging: *Præter
Matris famulos, reliquis dictum, vetuit ſtipem
ro.* This Begging, authoriſed by Law, pro
came about every Month, ſince thoſe Prieſts g
name of *Menagyrtæ* and *Metragyrtæ*; becauſe i
for the Mother of the Gods they collected thoſe

* Where they firſt began. † A ſort of Drums.
(1) De Dea Syria. [illegible] de Leg.

o theſe Names, they added, by way of deriſion, at of *Agyrtæ*, which imports Jugglers and Dealers in *gerdemain* for Money. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* adds the Qualifications of thoſe *Galli*, that of a Fortune-ler and Sooth-ſayer; becauſe, in reality, they pre-nded to Prediction. They had always old Women their Retinue, who paſſed for Sorcereſſes. *Plutarch*), who ſpeaks of the Verſes which they ſung, ſays, ey had brought the Poetry of Oracles into ſuch con-mpt, that by their means the true Oracles of the *Tri-s*, that is to ſay, of *Delphi*, were quite neglected. he ſame Author adds, that they deliver'd their Ora-es *Extempore*, or drew them by lot from certain Books ey carried with them, and ſold their wretched Pre-ictions to ſilly Women, who were charmed with the adence of their Verſes.

To this Deſcription of the *Galli*, we may add what *ucian* (2) informs us of the great Feſtival that was elebrated in *Syria*, and of the Madneſs into which ie Initiation of thoſe pitiful Miniſters threw them. 'o this Solemnity, ſays he, numbers of *Galli* repair, o celebrate their Myſteries. They laſh their Elbows, nd ſcourge one another's Backs with Whips. The ang about them play upon the Flute and Dulcimer; hile others, ſeiz'd with a divine Enthuſiaſm, ſing ongs, which they compoſe *extempore*. 'Tis on that ay, adds *Lucian*, that *Galli* are initiated. As the ound of the Flute infuſes into the By-ſtanders a ſort f Madneſs, the young Man, who is to be initiated, irows off his Clothes, and raiſing loud Shrieks, comes ito the midſt of the Gang, that is without the Tem-le, draws his Sword, and makes a Eunuch of him-lf; then running thro' the City, holding in his hand ie Marks of his Caſtration, throws them into a Houſe here he takes on a Woman's dreſs. This Mutilation as perform'd in other Places, according to *Pliny*, ith the Shreds of a Pot of *Samian* Earth; and conſe-uently the Operation was both more lingering and ore painful.

'Tis

(1) In his Morals 407 (2) Lib. 2. loc cit.

'Tis well known, that it was in honour of *Atys*, *Cybele*'s Favourite, that this Barbarity was practiſed, whereof he himſelf had given the precedent. But let us draw the Curtain over this infamous Scene, and ſay only a word or two of the High Prieſt of this worthleſs Crew. This Head of theirs was named *Archigallus*, and was ordinarily of a conſiderable Family; at leaſt we read in *Gruter* an Inſcription of the *Archigallus Camerius Creſcens*, who had in his Retinue a great number of Bond-men and enfranchiſed Slaves. We find, in the firſt Volume of *Montfaucon*'s Antiquities, the Figure of an *Archigallus*, with a long Tunick, which reaches down to the ground, and over it a great Cloak tuck'd up, with a Collar, which comes down upon his Breaſt; upon which are repreſented, in two large Medals, two Heads of *Atys*, without a Beard, with the *Phrygian* Bonnet. Lower down, you ſee the Frontiſpiece of a Temple, at the Entrance of which appears the Goddeſs *Cybele*, knowable by the Turrets and Battlements ſhe bears upon her Head. *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, who are by her ſide, denote, that ſhe was Mother of the Gods. This Figure, to which the Head is wanting, formerly belonged to M. *Baudelot*, and is now I believe in *England*.

Beſides thoſe *Galli* and *Archigalli*, *Cybele* had other Prieſts who were not caſtrated, and Prieſteſſes, whoſe Names are to be met with in *Gruter*. Among thoſe Prieſteſſes, we find a Lady named *Laberia Falicla*, who was High Prieſteſs to the Mother of the Gods; that is, who preſided over the reſt, as the *Archigallus* did over the *Galli*.

We may remark, that all the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of the Mother of the Gods, at firſt inſtituted in *Phrygia*, were afterwards propagated thro' *Greece*, and thro' the *Roman* Empire, in the very time of the Republick.

As for the Prieſts of *Mithras*, whoſe Worſhip was brought to *Rome*, if we believe *Plutarch*, in the time of *Pompey*, and later, according to *Van-Dale*, I ſhall ſay but little, becauſe I am to give the Hiſtory of that God

God at full length (*a*). I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that *Mithras* had a Miniſter who was named the Father of the ſacred Myſteries, *Pater Sacrorum*; and Prieſteſſes who were ſtiled *Matres Sacrorum*; that thoſe Prieſts were ſurnamed *Lions*, and the Prieſteſſes *Hyænæ*, according to *Porphyry*. Hence the Myſteries of *Mithras* were termed *Leontica* and *Patrica*, becauſe of the *Patres* that preſided there; that other Miniſters of that God were named *Goraces*, Ravens, or *Hierocoraces*, ſacred Ravens; or *Heliaci*, from the Sun, whom *Mithras* repreſented. In fine, that thoſe who were to be initiated in the Myſteries of that God, were obliged to ſubmit to Expiations equally lingering and painful, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

Laſtly, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* equally celebrated the high Myſteries of *Bacchus*, or the *Orgies*, I may rank in this common Claſs, the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes who preſided therein; but as there will be occaſion to conſider them in the Hiſtory of thoſe Myſteries, I ſhall only ſay here, that thoſe Miniſters bore different Names, ſince we find in the Ancients, that the *Bacchanals* were called *Bacchæ*, *Mænades*, *Baſſarides*, *Thyades*, *Mimallonides*, *Edonides*, *Elyades*, *Eleides*; all of them Names derived either from their manner of Yelling, or from their Fury and Madneſs. But 'tis time to ſpeak of the *Roman* Prieſts.

Rome, at firſt, being nothing but an Aſſemblage of Renegados and Fugitives, whom *Romulus* had drawn together, that Prince had but little Thought about Religion, and having borrowed it, ſuch as it was, from the *Albans*, and other neighbouring People, it was, in thoſe firſt Ages, exceeding plain and ſimple. Temples and Chapels, that had neither Ornaments nor Statues; for, according to *Plutarch*, there paſſed 171 Years before any of them were there to be ſeen; Sacrifices offer'd without Apparatus, conſtituted the whole Ceremonial of that infant City. Yet we find in *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, that *Romulus* having divided *Rome* into

(*a*) See the Article of the Divinities of the *Perſians*.

thirty *Curiæ*, inſtituted two Prieſts for each, which made ſixty in all.

Numa Pompilius, who was more taken up about Religion than warlike Affairs, made ſeveral Alterations in the *Roman* Hierarchy, and ſo did ſome of his Succeſſors, as we may ſee in *Titus Livius*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, and in *Dion*. I ſhall deliver what I think myſelf beſt warranted to ſay upon the Head. The Prieſts of *Romulus*'s Inſtitution, were to be at leaſt 50 Years of Age, Men of diſtinguiſhed Morals and Birth, capable of maintaining themſelves with Honour, and free from all corporeal Blemiſhes: So true it is, that even in the groſſeſt Religions, care has always been taken to admit none for Miniſters, and to offer up nothing in Sacrifice, but what was moſt perfect, and moſt adapted to the Honour of the Divinity. As in the Miniſtry of thoſe Prieſts there were ſome things that could only be performed by Women, and others, wherein their Aſſiſtance was neceſſary, the Wives and Daughters of the Prieſts were employ'd in thoſe Pieces of Service. The Prieſthood at firſt was engroſſed by the *Patricians*; but the People diſliking that preference, prevailed to have the Prieſthood divided between the Senate and themſelves; and not only ſo, but, under the Tribuneſhip of *Cn. Domitius*, got into their own hands the Privilege of chooſing the Prieſts, which was formerly reſerv'd for the College of *Patricians*; which was again brought under a new Regulation, that the College ſhould be the Electors, and the People confirm that Election. In fine, after ſome other Alterations, which it would be needleſs to relate, the Emperors arrogated the Right of chooſing the Prieſts, and became themſelves the High Prieſts; which began in *Julius Cæſar*. When the Election of the Prieſt, made by the College to whom that Privilege belong'd, was confirm'd by the People, they proceeded to the Inauguration, which, like our Induction, was perform'd with Ceremony, and concluded with an Entertainment given by the new Prieſts. From that moment, they aſſumed the Gown, called the *Toga Prætexta*, and the Ornament for the Head, term'd

erm'd *Apex*, *Galerus*, *Albo-Galerus*, which conſiſted n a ſort of white Bonnet, and had frequently the Adlition of a Crown above.

The Prieſts in *Rome* enjoy'd ſeveral Privileges, and hey might aſſiſt in the Senate; but this Privilege was fterwards taken from them (1). They were exempt rom burthenſome Offices in the State, and were diſenſed with from going to War. They had ordinarily Torch and a Branch of Laurel carried before them; nd they were allowed to ride up to the Capitol in a Chariot, called *Carpentum*. There were Prieſts whoſe Prieſthood was for Life; others, who had it taken from them; but the *Augurs* could not be depoſed upon any account whatſoever. Every Order of Prieſts had its particular College, and Revenues for the Sacrifices. As in Provinces, the Prieſts were obliged to defray the Expences of the publick Games, which made the Office frequently chargeable, no body was compelled to accept of it.

In the Order of the *Roman* Hierarchy, the Pontiffs were the firſt. Of them, there were but four at firſt; but that number being afterwards augmented, they diſtinguiſhed them into Pontiffs *Major*, and Pontiffs *Minor*; both of them ſubject to the *Pontifex Maximus*, or High Prieſt; whoſe Authority was ſo great, that the Emperors did not think the Office unworthy of them, as has been ſaid. The High Prieſt being Maſter of all the Ceremonies of Religion, and a Member of the firſt College, was extremely reverenced. His Chariot, named *Thenſa*, was diſtinguiſhed from that of the other Prieſts, as well as his Garb, and the reſt of his Equipage. He was not allowed to go out of *Italy*; as it was a ſort of Profanation for him to ſee a dead Body, when he aſſiſted at Funerals, they put a Veil between him and the Funeral-Bed. This Particular we have from *Seneca*, better informed therein than *Dion*, who, ſpeaking of *Agrippa*'s Funeral Obſequies, at which *Auguſtus* the High Prieſt was preſent, ſays, he can give no reaſon why they put a Veil between the Em-

(1) Tit. Liv. Dec. 3. L. 7.

peror and the Funeral-Bed; and that it is an Error to believe the High Prieſt was not permitted to look upon a dead Body.

Perhaps it will be objected to me, that *Cæſar*, when High Prieſt, went and made war in *Gaul*; whence I ſhould ſeem to be miſtaken, in alledging that it was not permitted to one in that Office to go out of *Italy*. But we may anſwer, 1. That there are Occaſions when the Laws, which cannot foreſee every thing, are not obſerv'd. 2. That *Cæſar*'s Example proves nothing, ſince he regarded Laws no farther than they ſtruck in with his Ambition.

Next to the *Pontifex Maximus* were the *Flamines*, who were at firſt but three in number, inſtituted, according to *Plutarch*, by *Romulus*, or rather, according to *Livy*, by *Numa Pompilius*; the *Flamen Dialis*, or of *Jupiter*, the *Martialis* of *Mars*, and the *Quirinalis* of *Quirinus*. They were choſen by the People, and the High Prieſt confirmed their Election. As thoſe three *Flamines* were in high eſteem, and enjoy'd ſeveral Privileges, tho' they were not of the Order of Pontifs, yet they took place among them in Affairs of conſequence. This Order was afterwards augmented to the number of fifteen; three of whom were taken from the Senatorian Order, and were called *Flamines Majores*, or the ſuperiour *Flamens*, and the other twelve named *Flamines Minores*, or the inferiour *Flamens*, were choſen from among the *Plebeians*. Every *Flamen* was deſtin'd to the particular Service of one Divinity, and his Prieſthood during Life; altho' for weighty reaſons he might be depoſed, which was expreſſed by theſe words, *Flaminio abire*, *To lay down the Flamenſhip*.

As *Jupiter*, among the *Romans*, was the greateſt of Gods, his Prieſt was alſo of higheſt Conſideration; but at the ſame time he was tied down to ſome burdenſome enough Regulations. *Aulus Gellius* (1) teſtifies, that he was not allowed to travel on horſeback, to view an Army out of the City, in Battle-array; to take an Oath; and he could only wear one ſort of Ring perforated

(1) Noct. Att. L. 10. c. 15.

forated in a certain way *. None were allowed to carry Fire out of his Houſe, but the ſacred Fire †; and he could employ none but a Freeman to cut his Hair. The higheſt Seat was his at Feaſts, which he yielded to none but him who was ſtiled *Rex Sacrorum*. He was prohibited to divorce his Wife, to go out without his Mitre, to enter into a Houſe where there was a dead Body, much more to touch a Corpſe, *&c.* *Varro* adds, that the *Flamen Dialis* alone had the Privilege of wearing the white Hat, the *Albo-Galerus*, mentioned above The Privileges of the other two higher Flamens were likewiſe very extenſive, tho' not quite ſo many; and it was eſpecially required, that they ſhould be of a Patrician Family.

The inferiour Flamens, taken from the *Plebeians*, were leſs regarded, nor was the number of them always reſtrained to twelve. The bare naming them is enough to let us know their Functions. The *Flamen Carmentalis* was the Prieſt of the Goddeſs *Carmenta*. The *Falacus* *, was ſo called, from an ancient God of that Name. *Floralis* from the Goddeſs *Flora*; *Furinalis* from *Furina*, mentioned by *Varro*. *Laurentalis* from *Acca Laurentia*; *Lucinalis* from *Lucina*; *Palatinalis* from the Goddeſs *Palatina*, the Protectreſs of the *Palatium*; *Pomonalis* from *Pomona*; *Virbialis* from *Virbius* or *Hippolytus*; *Volcanalis* from *Vulcan*; *Volturnalis* from the God of the River *Vulturnus*. The deify'd Emperors had likewiſe their Flamens. Thus we find in Inſcriptions, a Prieſt of *Auguſtus*, *Flamen Auguſtalis*; a Prieſt of *Cæſar*, *Flamen Cæſaris*; and *Marc-Antony* would needs aſſume that Dignity out of Flattery; a Prieſt of the Emperor *Claudius*, *Flamen Claudii*; and one of *Hadrian*, *Flamen Hadrianalis*. In fine, there was a Flamen who ſeems to have been concern'd in the ſervice of all the Gods, and was named *Flamen Divorum omnium*, the Prieſt of all the Gods, which how-

* Item annulo uti niſi pervio caſſoque fas non eſt. By *caſſo* ſeems to be meant plain or without Ornaments.

† Others read *Niſi in ſacrum*, unleſs for ſacred Uſe.

* Or *Falacer*.

ever, was contrary to the old Conſtitutions (*a*). *Feſtus* will have it, that the Wives of the *Flamines Diales* were Prieſteſſes, and had the Name of *Flaminicæ*, and according to *Aulus Gellius*, they enjoy'd the ſame Privileges with their Husbands, and were under the ſame Reſtrictions (*b*).

The King-Prieſt, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was inſtituted after the Expulſion of the Kings of *Rome*, to perpetuate the Memory, ſays *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (1), of the great Services ſome of their Kings had done to *Rome*. A Law was made, that the Pontifs and Augurs ſhould chooſe out one of the oldeſt, to have the charge of divine Worſhip; but for fear that the Name of King ſhould again create Jealouſy, it was appointed at the ſame time, that the *Rex Sacrificulus* ſhould be ſubject to the High-Prieſt. He had likewiſe the Name of *Rex Sacrorum*, and his Wife that of *Regina Sacrorum*. *Macrobius* (2), who calls him the *Pontifex minor*, ſays he ſacrificed to *Juno* in the *Curia Calabria*, as alſo his Wife who offer'd up to that Goddeſs, a Sow or an Ewe Lamb.

I told you, there were at *Rome* as well as in *Greece*, ſacerdotal Families: Such in that City were the Families of the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*, for the Worſhip of *Hercules*, and that Prieſthood continued there a long time. Their Origin is traced back to the time of *Evander*, and the Hiſtory of it is this. *Hercules* being at the Court of that Prince, originally an *Arcadian*, but ſettled in *Italy*, preſcrib'd to him in what manner he would be worſhipped, and left it in charge to two old Men, the one of them named *Potitius*, and the other *Pinarius*. In the firſt Sacrifice, which was offer'd to him in the Evening (*Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays it happen'd at the Morning Sacrifice) *Potitius* arriv'd firſt, and *Pinarius* came not till the Ceremony was almoſt finiſh'd; which obliged

(*a*) All theſe Names are taken from *Feſtus* and ſeveral other Ancients, or from Inſcriptions chiefly to be found in *Gruterus*.

(*b*) Eadem ferme Cæremoniæ ſunt, quas Flaminicas Diales ſcorſum aiunt obſervitare. *Aul. Gel.* ubi ſupra.

(1) . . . 1. (2) Saturn. l. 1. c. 15.

liged *Hercules* to puniſh his Remiſſneſs, by ordering, that for the future the *Pinarii* ſhould only be Miniſters to the *Potitii*: Which was exactly obſerved till the Year of *Rome* 461, when this Prieſthood was aboliſh'd.

It is eaſy to ſee that this Fable has no other Foundation, but that upon the Introduction of *Hercules*'s Worſhip into *Italy* by *Evander*, the *Potitii* and *Pinarii* were inſtituted to have the charge of it, with the Dependence we juſt now mentioned.

Epulones.

To all theſe Miniſters we may add, the *Epulones*, who likewiſe exerciſed the Prieſt's Office among the *Romans*. The Pontifs not having leizure to attend upon all the Sacrifices perform'd at *Rome*, upon account of the infinite number of Gods who were honour'd there, inſtituted three Miniſters whom they called *Epulones*, *Triumviri Epulonum*; becauſe their Buſineſs was to prepare the ſacred Banquets at the ſolemn Games, as we learn from *Feſtus* (*a*), and to ſet up the Couches on which they lay at Table. Theſe Feaſts, which were for none but the Gods, and eſpecially for *Jupiter*, went by the Name of *Lectiſternia*, as we ſhall obſerve in the Article of the Feſtivals (1). The *Epulones* had the privilege of wearing the Robe bordered with Purple, like the Pontifs, as *Livy* tells us. The number of thoſe Miniſters was augmented firſt by two, then by two more, and at laſt, in the time of *Julius Cæſar*'s Pontificate, they were increaſed to ten. Hence the *Triumviri*, the *Quintumviri*, the *Septemviri*, and the *Decemviri Epulonum*, we find mention'd in the *Roman Hiſtory*.

Among other Privileges granted to the *Epulones*, the moſt conſiderable was, that they were not obliged to give their Daughters to be Veſtals, and this they had in common with the other Miniſters, as we learn from *Aulus Gellius* (2). This Author, ſpeaking of the *Roman* Virgins who were exempt from being Veſtals, ſays:

(*a*) Epulones dicebant antiqui, quos nunc Epulones dicimus, datum autem eſt his nomen, quod epulas indicendi Jovi, cæteriſque Dis poteſtatem haberent.

(1) C. 15. (2) Lib. 1. c. 12.

ſays: *Sed eam, cujus Soror ad id Sacrificium lecta ſit, excuſationem mereri aiunt. Item cujus Pater Flamen, aut Augur, aut Quindecemvir ſacris faciendis, aut qui Septemvir Epulonum*, &c.

From *Titus Livius* we learn the Date of the firſt Inſtitution of the *Epulones*, it was in the Year of *Rome* 558, under the Conſulſhip of *L. Furius Purpureo*, and of *M. Claudius Marcellus* (*a*); ſo that it is ſurprizing how *Pomponius Lætus* ſhould ſay, that the date of this early Inſtitution cannot be diſcover'd (*b*).

At preſent I ſhall ſay but little of the Prieſts inſtituted for keeping the Sibylline Books, reſerving a fuller Account of them for the Article of the Sibyls. *Tarquin* the Proud, having bought theſe Books, inſtituted two Miniſters to keep them carefully: In the Year of the City 388, they created eight others; and laſt of all there was an addition of five more, in the time of *Sylla*, which made fifteen in all. This Miniſtry, highly reſpected at *Rome*, laſted till the time of *Theodoſius*, to the 388th Year of the Chriſtian Æra.

The *Romans* beſides had other Orders of Prieſts and Prieſteſſes; ſuch as the Veſtals, of whom we ſhall ſpeak at full length, in the Hiſtory of the Goddeſs from whom they got their Name: The Sibyls, for whom we ſhall make an Article by itſelf: The *Salii*, Prieſts of *Mars*, who ſhall be conſider'd in the Hiſtory of that God: The Prieſts *Arvales*, who ſacrificed for the Fertility of the Corn-Fields *Arva*: The *Feciales*, to whom it belong'd to determine Peace or War: The *Phœbades*, who overlook'd the Worſhip of *Apollo*; as the *Baſſarides* did that of *Bacchus*: The *Luperci*, for the God *Pan*, and ſome others beſides, who were ſet apart for the Worſhip of ſome particular Divinities; not to mention ſeveral ſubaltern Miniſters, who ſerv'd the Prieſts in their Functions; as the *Camilli*, ſo called from a Name

(*a*) Romæ eo primum anno Triumviri Epulones facti, Caius Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, qui Legem de creandis his tulerat, & P. Porcius Lecca.

(*b*) See *Vigenere* upon the firſt Book of *Titus Livius*, p. 810, and 811.

Name given to *Mercury*, becauſe that God was the Miniſter, or rather the Servant of *Jupiter* (*a*).

Independent on theſe Miniſters, both *Greeks* and *Romans* had others, who were alſo devoted to the Service of the Gods, ſuch as the *Augures* and *Aruſpices*, of whom I ſhall diſcourſe in the Article of Divination.

As for what concerns the Veſtments of the different Prieſts, and other Miniſters we have mentioned in this Chapter, I refer to the Antiquaries who have given Draughts of them as they are upon Monuments. The bare inſpection of Figures ſupplies the room of long and frequently unintelligible Explications.

Before we finiſh this Article, let us take notice, that every Order of Prieſts, conſecrated to ſome Divinity, had a particular College, which was, as it were, the Community it held of, and in which the Elections were made. Thoſe Colleges had the ſame Name with their reſpective Prieſts: Hence the College of the *Arvales*, for the Gods of the Fields; of *Sylvanus*, for thoſe of that God; of the *Salii*, for thoſe of *Mars*; that of the *Feciales*; of the *Luperci*, and the reſt, whoſe Names are often to be found in Hiſtory, and upon ancient Inſcriptions.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Feſtivals of the Greeks *and* Romans.

THE *Greeks* and *Romans*, not to mention the *Egyptians* and other Nations, had ſuch a vaſt number of Feſtivals, that it would be no eaſy matter to give an exact detail of them; and as we have ſeveral Treatiſes upon that Subject, we ſhall begin with taking notice of them. *Meurſius* has compoſed one upon the Feſtivals of the *Greeks* (1), containing ſix Books: *Faſtaldus* and *Caſtellanus* (2) have labour'd on the ſame Subject, as likewiſe the celebrated *Potter*, in his *Archæologiæ Græcæ*, *Beger* and others. *Ovid* in his *Faſtes*, and *Roſinus* in his *Roman* Antiquities, give us ſufficient inſight into the Feſtivals of the *Romans*, and ſuch as want to ſtudy this Subject to the bottom, may conſult them.

(*a*) *See the Hiſtory of Mercury*, in the third Volume.
(1) *Græc. Fer.* (2) *De Feſtis Græcis.*

them. In the mean time, not to leave my Mythology incompleat, and for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who either have not theſe Works, or who want time to conſult them, I ſhall give a curſory View of moſt of thoſe Solemnities. The higheſt of all, were the Myſteries; but of them I ſhall diſcourſe elſewhere.

The *Romans* borrowed ſeveral of their Feſtivals from the *Greeks*, as theſe had done from the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*. They had likewiſe ſome peculiar to themſelves; this is what we ſhall be careful to remark: Let us deſcend to Particulars. I hope my explaining ſome Paſſages in Hiſtory, which gave riſe to thoſe Feſtivals, will attone for the dryneſs of this Calendar.

The Feſtivals of the *Greeks* were exceeding numerous; 'tis the principal ones we mention. There was firſt, the *Achillæa*, in honour of *Achilles*. *Pauſanias*, who tells us (1) they were celebrated at *Braſias*, where that Hero had a Temple, gives us no particular account of them. The *Actia*, which they celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, took their Name from the Promontory of *Actium*, where there was a Temple to that God. There was Dancing during the Celebration of this Feſtival, and they ſlew an Ox for the Flies, which being glutted with his Blood, flew away and returned no more.

The *Agrania* or *Agriania*, were a Feſtival inſtituted at *Argos*, in favour of one of the Daughters of *Prætus*. The *Agraulia*, were ſo called, becauſe they owed their Inſtitution to the *Agrauli*, a People of *Attica*, of the Tribe *Erechtheis*, which had taken its Name from *Aglauros* Daughter of *Cecrops*, Prieſteſs of *Minerva*, in honour of whom, the Feſtival was celebrated.

The *Agrionia* are thus deſcribed by *Plutarch* (2). There, ſays he, the Women make ſearch for *Bacchus*; and not finding him, they give over their Purſuit, ſaying, he is retired to the Muſes. They ſup together, and after Supper they propoſe Riddles to one another; a Myſtery, ſignifying that Mirth and good Cheer ſhould always be ſeaſoned with Learning and the Muſes; and that if a Man happens to have drunk too much, his Rage

(1) Laron. (2) In Symp. Lib. 8. Quæſt. 1.

Rage is hid by the Muſes, and by them kindly re-strain'd and kept within bounds.

We ſhall ſay nothing here of the *Agroteræ*, a Feſtival of *Diana*, where they ſacrificed five hundred Goats, becauſe we have ſpoke enough of this in the Chapter of Sacrifices.

In the *Æmaturia*, celebrated in honour of *Pelops*, Boys whip'd themſelves till the Blood came.

The *Aianteia*, a Feſtival in *Salamis*, were celebrated in honour of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*. The *Eoria*, a Feſtival at *Athens*, in honour of *Erigone* the Daughter of *Icarus*; for the Inſtitution of which, this Reaſon is given, that *Erigone* being driven by extremity of Grief to hang herſelf, had prayed the Gods, as ſhe was dying, that unleſs the *Athenians* avenged her Father's Death, their Daughters might all periſh in the ſame manner. Accordingly ſeveral of them hang'd themſelves. Upon which, *Apollo* being conſulted, ordered the Inſtitution of a Feſtival, to appeaſe the Manes of *Erigone*.

I ſhall only name the *Aleaia*, celebrated in *Arcadia*, in honour of *Minerva Alæa*: The *Alotia*, ſolemnized by the ſame People, for having taken many of the *Lacedemonians* Priſoners; the *Alia*, a Feſtival of *Apollo*, or the Sun: The *Alcathoia*, in honour of *Alcathous* Son of *Pelops*: The *Aloa*, or the Feſtival of the *Barn-floors*, at which they offer'd the Firſt-fruits of Harveſt to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*: The *Ambroſia*, celebrated in the time of Vintage, in honour of the ſame God: The *Amphiaraia*, a Feſtival of the Diviner *Amphiaraus*: The *Anaceia*, in honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, named *Anakes* or *Anaces*, that is, Princes, Sovereigns, *&c.* The *Anagogia*, celebrated at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, in honour of *Venus*: The *Androgeonia*, which *Minos* inſtituted at *Athens*, where his Son *Androgeos* had been aſſaſſinated *(a)*: The *Antheſphorca*, in honour of *Proſerpine*, a Feſtival ſo called, becauſe *Pluto* had committed a Rape upon her as ſhe was gathering Flowers: The *Apebomia*, which got

(a) See the *Hiſtory of Minos*.

got the Name from their ſacrificing at this Solemnity, not upon an Altar, but on the Ground.

The *Anthiſteria*, ſo term'd from the Month *Anthiſterion*, partly anſwering to our *November*, had this peculiarity, that the Maſters ſerv'd their Slaves at Table, during the three days of that Feſtival, which the *Romans* imitated in their *Saturnalia*. At the end of the Feſtival, they turn'd thoſe Slaves out of doors, and as they were almoſt all of *Caria*, hence came the Proverb; *Be gone ye Carians, the Anthiſteria are ended.*

The *Apaturia*, a Feſtival of the *Athenians*, ſo called from ἀπάτη, Deceit, owed their Inſtitution to the following piece of Hiſtory. The *Bœotians* having declar'd War againſt the *Athenians*, upon occaſion of a Conteſt between them about the Territory of *Celænæ* or *Onoe*, which they both claim'd, *Xanthus*, Captain of the *Bœotians*, offer'd to decide the Quarrel in a Duel. *Thymætes* King of *Athens*, having declin'd the Challenge, was depoſed, and *Melanthius* who accepted it, was put in his place. He, ſeeing his Enemy coming up, told him, it was not like a brave Man to bring a Second with him to the Duel. *Xanthus* turn'd about to ſee if any follow'd him, and in the mean time, *Melanthius* thruſt him through *. This Feſtival laſted three days: On the firſt, they kept a Feaſt; they ſacrificed on the ſecond, and on the third they inrolled into each Tribe, the Youth that were to be admitted.

The *Apollonia* were inſtituted by the People of *Ægialea*, on this occaſion. *Apollo*, after the Defeat of *Python*, repaired to *Ægialea* with his Siſter *Diana*: But being driven thence, he was obliged to ſeek a Retreat in *Crete*. In the mean time, the Plague raging in the City which this God had left, the *Ægialii* came to conſult the Oracle, and were told, they muſt depute ſeven young Men, and as many young Virgins, to go in ſearch of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and bring them back to their City. This Deputation pleaſed the offended Deities, and they returned to *Ægialea*, where the People dedicated a Temple to *Pytho*, the Goddeſs of Perſuaſion;

* See another Account of its Inſtitution in *Potter's Antiquities*.

; and in memory of this Event, they ſent out
:he ſame number of Youths of both Sexes, as it
go in queſt of *Apollo* and *Diana*.

Aphrodiſia, were celebrated in honour of *Venus*,
us, and in ſeveral other Places. Here, they who
be initiated, gave a Piece of Money to *Venus*, as
ɔſtitute, and received Preſents from her, worthy
Goddeſs *.

ımber of other Feſtivals follows, the bare naming
ich will be enough. The *Arateia*, *Plutarch*
of (1), were celebrated in honour of *Aratus*.
riaaneia, in honour of *Ariadne* Daughter of *Mi-*
The *Artemiſia* were celebrated in ſeveral Places
minor and *Greece*, in honour of *Diana*, who was
inated *Artemis*: Particularly at *Delphi*, where
ıcrificed to that Goddeſs, a Fiſh called the Mullet.
Iſclepeia, for *Eſculapius*, were celebrated thro' all
, eſpecially at *Epidaurus*, where they were called
aſclepeia, the great Feſtival of *Eſculapius*.

: *Boedromia*, a Feſtival at *Athens*, during which,
un about, bauling with all their might, took their
from *Boé*, a Cry, and *Dromos*, running. They
:elebrated in the Month of *Auguſt*; whence the
ian Month anſwering to it, was named *Boedromion*.
Feſtival, according to *Plutarch*, was inſtituted
the *Amazons* made themſelves Miſtreſſes of *A-*
The *Boreaſmi* were likewiſe celebrated at *A-*
to appeaſe the Wind *Boreas*. The *Buphonia*,
er *Athenian* Feſtival, took their Name from the
hey then ſacrificed to *Jupiter Polianus*: In old
, the *Athenians* likewiſe celebrated the Feſtival
; *Diipoleia*, in honour of the ſame *Jupiter*.

ıe *Cabiria*, were inſtituted in the Iſland of *Samo-*
e, in honour of the *Cabiri*, and were celebrated be-
in ſome other Places of *Greece*. The *Calliſtia*, ſo
d, becauſe there the Women contended for the
of Beauty, were peculiar to the Iſland of *Lesbos*.

Carneia, mentioned by *Herodotus* (2) and *Thucydi-*
des

ome Salt and a Phallus. (1) Life of *Aratus*. (2) Lib. 7.

des (1), were celebrated eſpecially by the *Lacedemonians*, in honour of *Apollo Carneus*; and the *Carya*, in honour of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Caryatis*. The *Charifia*, were a Feſtival in honour of the *Graces*. The *Ciſſotomia*, ſo called, from the Ivy they wore at this Feſtival, in honour of *Hebe* the Goddeſs of Youth. The *Coreia*, were the Feſtival of *Proſerpine*, named *Coré*. The *Corybantica*, were celebrated in *Crete*, in honour of the *Corybantes*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the proper place. The *Chronia*, celebrated at *Athens*, in honour of *Saturn*, were much the ſame with the *Roman Saturnalia*. *Cynophontis*, was a Feſtival celebrated at *Argos*, on the Dog-days, during which they ſlew all the Dogs; whence this Solemnity had its Name.

Dades, a Feſtival taking its Name from the Torches (2) they burned at it, laſted three Days: The firſt was in memory of the Pains of *Latona*, when ſhe was bringing forth *Apollo*; the ſecond was in honour of the Birth of *Glycon*, and the Gods; and the third in commemoration of the Marriage of *Podalirius* and the Mother of *Alexander*. The *Dædala*, deſcrib'd at large by *Pauſanias* (3), were of two kinds; the Leſſer, celebrated by the *Platæans* every Year; and the Greater, which were kept but once in ſixty Years, in memory of the Exile of the *Platæans*, which laſted that number of Years. The *Argives* had a Feſtival named *Daulis*, to commemorate the Combat of *Prætus* with *Acriſius*. At *Ægina* they had the Feſtival named *Delphinia*, in honour of *Apollo* of *Delphos*. The *Delia* owed their Original to *Theſeus*, when upon his Return from *Crete*, he placed in a Temple the Statue of *Venus*, given him by *Ariadne*.

The *Epheſtia* were the Feſtivals of *Vulcan*, where three Youths bearing lighted Torches, run with all their Might for a Prize, which was given to him who firſt reach'd the Goal without extinguiſhing his Torch. The *Epheſtria*, celebrated at *Thebes*, had ſomething pretty ſingular. They firſt dreſs'd the Soothſayer *Tireſias* like a Woman, then undreſs'd him, and gave him another Habit,

(1) Lib. 5 (2) Δᾷδες. (3) In Boeot.

to denote that he had changed his Sex, as ſhall
l in his Hiſtory; and *Epheſtris* ſignifying a ſort
t, like a Surtout, gave the Name to this Feſtival.
ı happen'd too that the Feſtivals of the *Greeks*
l their Name from the Place where they were ce-
d. The *Gereſtia*, in honour of *Neptune*, were ſo
from *Geræſtus*, a Town of *Eubœa*. The *Ithe-*
n honour of *Jupiter*, during which, the Muſi-
ad a Trial of Skill on various Inſtruments, took
Name from a Place called *Ithome*. The *Geron-*
an Anniverſary in honour of the God *Mars*,
he Place named *Geronthræ*, and ſo of many o-

ıetimes they got their Name from the Matter of
fering. Thus the *Hecatombæa*, were ſo called,
e the Sacrifice conſiſted of an hundred Oxen.
alaxia, a Feſtival in honour of *Apollo*, becauſe
ı they offered to that God, a ſort of Furmety of
and Milk. The *Hecatomphonia* among the *La-*
*nians**, intimated that the Offerer had killed an
ed of his Country's Enemies. The *Elaphobolia*,
'd at *Athens*, wherein a Sacrifice of Stags was
to *Diana*, who had therefore this Name given
) denote her killing thoſe Animals in Hunting.
more frequently they got their Names from the
or Heroes, in honour of whom they were inſti-
; thus, without dwelling upon the Subject, 'tis
) ſee that the *Heracleia* were Feſtivals in honour
rcules; the *Hermaia* in honour of *Hermes* or *Mer-*
the *Hyacinthia*, an Anniverſary Mourning, ſolem-
by the *Lacedemonians* in honour of *Hyacinthus*.
Eumenidia, Feſtivals of the *Furies*; the *Erotidia*,
of *Love* or *Cupid*; which laſt were celebrated by the
ians: The *Iolaia*, ſacred to *Iolaus*, *Hercules*'s Com-
n: The *Iſeia*, to *Iſis*: The *Leonideia*, to *Leonidas*:
Inoa. to *Ino*. The *Limnatidia*, the Feſtival of *Diana*
med *Limnatis*: The *Linia*, of *Linus*: The *Lycurgia*
nour of *Lycurgus*: The *Muſea*, of the Muſes; the
ia were the Feſtivals of *Pelops*; the *Pauſania*,
thoſe

*'Tis more commonly aſcrib'd to the *Meſſenians*.

thoſe of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta:* The *Prometheia*, thoſe of *Prometheus:* The *Proteſilaia*, thoſe of *Proteſilaus*, who was killed upon the *Trojan* Coaſt: The *Poſidonia*, thoſe of *Neptune*, ſurnam'd by the *Greeks Poſeidon*. The *Titania* thoſe of *Titan*; the *Trophonia*, of *Trophonius*. The *Theſeia*, of *Theſeus*; the *Diocleia*, of the Hero *Diocles*, omitting an infinity of others.

Laſtly, they took their Denomination from the Surnames of the Gods; as the *Eleutheria* from *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Aſſertor of Liberty; the *Dictynnia* from *Diana Dictynna*, and ſeveral others.

I come now to two Feſtivals that require a more particular Conſideration. The firſt is, the *Daphnephoria*, that were celebrated every ninth Year. Here a Globe of Braſs was ſet upon a Branch of Olive, from which hung ſeveral other ſmall Globes: The firſt repreſented the Sun or *Apollo*; the ſecond, a degree leſs, repreſented the Moon; and the reſt, the Stars. Crowns which encircled thoſe Globes, pointed out the Days of the Year. This Branch, with all its Ornaments, was carry'd about in Proceſſion by a young Man, who held likewiſe in his Hand a Laurel-bough, and from thence had the Name *Daphnephoros*. This Youth, choſen out of the beſt Families, was to be well made, vigorous and robuſt, as we learn from *Pauſanias* (1). The ſecond was the Feſtival of Scourging, named *Diamaſtigoſis* by the *Greeks*. *Tertullian*, who ſpeaks of it, ſays, that at *Lacedemon*, where this Feſtival was ſolemnized, the Youth of the firſt Quality ſtood before the Altar, where, in preſence of their Parents, they were laſh'd ſo unmercifully, as ſometimes to die upon the ſpot, and that without complaining, or ſhewing the leaſt ſign of Impatience: Such as were Victims to this Barbarity, were crown'd before they were bury'd. They contented themſelves afterwards with whipping theſe Youths till the Blood came. During the Ceremony, the Prieſt held in his Hand a Statue of *Diana*, exceeding light, but which grew heavy, he ſaid, whenever any reſpite was allowed in this Operation.

The

(1) In Bœot.

The *Dionyſia* were likewiſe renowned Feſtivals, not only at *Athens*, but alſo over all *Greece*; their Name ſufficiently points out, that they were inſtituted in honour of *Bacchus*, named *Dionyſius*. They were divided into Greater and Leſſer, Ancient and Modern; each had its own diſtinguiſhing Singularities: In all of them reign'd Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery. The ſame God had ſeveral other Feſtivals, as the *Trieterica*, ſo called from their being celebrated every third Year; at *Rome* they went by the Name of *Triennalia* for the ſame Reaſon.

The Day of the Dedication of every Temple was celebrated by a particular Feſtival, called the *Encænia*. The four Seaſons of the Year had alſo their Feſtivals, which were term'd *Horaia*, from the *Greek* Name for the Seaſons, ὧραι; and in each of theſe Feſtivals they kept a ſolemn Entertainment, upon the Fruits of the Earth. At every new Moon they had the Feſtivals known by the Name of *Neomenia*. The Solemnities for the Dead were called *Nemeſcia*, becauſe they imagined the Goddeſs *Nemeſis* preſided over them. In the Month of *January* was the Feſtival of the Nuptials, celebrated in honour of *Juno Gamelia*, who preſided over Marriages. From this Solemnity, the Month in which it was celebrated derived its Name *Gamelion*.

The Feſtival of Lamps was ſolemnized thrice a year. The firſt was called *Athenaia*, the ſecond *Hephaiſteia* or *Vulcania*, and the third *Prometheia*. The Ceremony chiefly conſiſted in burning Lamps the whole Night. That which they celebrated at *Peliene* in honour of *Bacchus*, at which they likewiſe kept Lamps burning, went by the Name of *Lampteria*. The *Egyptians* in the time of the *Ptolemys*, had a Feſtival which they named *Œnophoria*, becauſe they who were to aſſiſt at the Feaſt they had at that time, carried Bottles of Wine in their Hands. The *Peloria*, celebrated by the *Theſſalians*, and inſtituted by *Pelorus*, had a conſiderable affinity with the *Saturnalia*: There the Maſters ſerv'd while their Servants ſat at Table, as in the *Chronia* celebrated at *Athens* in honour of *Chronos*, or

Saturn. The *Sabazia* were nocturnal Feſtivals in honour of *Jupiter Sabazius*, or of *Bacchus*, who had the ſame Surname; we ſhall examine the Signification of that Word in the Hiſtory of the Myſteries of *Mythras*. The *Thargelia*, a Feſtival which gave its Name to the Month *Thargelion*, anſwering to our Month of *April*, were diſtinguiſhed from others by the Sacrifice of two Men, or of a Man and a Woman, whom they took care to fatten beforehand. The *Plynteria* were the Holidays of *Minerva*, which they reckon'd unlucky, at which time, according to *Xenophon*, they ſhut up the Temples of that Goddeſs. It was expreſly forbid to purſue any Work whatſoever, on the day of this Feſtival, even in caſes of Neceſſity. It was then allowable by the Law of *Solon*, to ſwear by the three Names of *Jupiter*, Propitious, Expiator, and Defender.

Theſe were the principal Feſtivals of the *Greeks*: Thoſe I have not mentioned are reſerv'd for the Hiſtory of the Gods or Heroes, of whom I ſhall diſcourſe afterwards. Thus you will find the Deſcription of the *Pan-Athenaia*, and of the *Pan-Hellenia*, in the Hiſtory of *Minerva*; the *Olympia*, in the Deſcription of thoſe Games; the *Leontica*, in the Myſteries of *Mythras*, whereof they made a part; the *Eleuſinia* and *Theſmophoria* in the Hiſtory of *Ceres*; the *Egyptian* Feſtivals immediately after the Hiſtory of *Oſiris*, &c.

Feſtivals of the Romans.

The *Roman* Calendar contain'd a yet greater number of Feſtivals than that of the *Greeks* (*a*); ſince, beſides thoſe they had borrow'd from them, they inſtituted ſeveral unknown to the reſt of the World. Let us begin with thoſe they had taken from the *Greeks*.

As theſe celebrated the *Chronia* in honour of *Saturn*, ſo the *Romans* had their *Saturnalia*, which were ſolemnized for the firſt time, in the Month of *December*, the Year of *Rome* 157. At which time, if we may believe *Accius*, cited by *Macrobius*, who has given a very large Deſcription of this Feſtival (1), there was no

(*a*) See for this Article, *Ovid*, *Roſinus*, *Beger*, and *Dempſterus*.
(1) Sat. c. 7.

eeting of the Senate, and the publick Schools were
p. It was common for all to wear the Cap named
, as a Badge of Liberty, and dreſs peculiar to
'eſtival. There was nothing but regaling and
g Preſents to one another; the Slaves ſat at Table,
their Maſters ſerv'd, and entertained them ſump-
y: In fine, every thing breath'd a Spirit of Li-
and called to mind the Golden Age, when *Sa-*
:ign'd, and all things were common. According
crobius juſt now quoted, this Feſtival anciently be-
e 14th Day before the Kalends of *January*; but
Cæſar's adding two Days to that Month, it was
'ed to the 16th *.
: Feſtival named *Jovialia* was the ſame with
:he *Greeks* called *Diaſia*, and it was celebrated in
r of *Jupiter*. The *Megaleſia*, common to both
m, was inſtituted in honour of *Cybele*, or of the
Mother. The *Romans* who celebrated this So-
:y on Mount *Palatine*, near the Temple of that
eſs, added to it two Days called *Megaleſian* Days.
e Feſtival *Herea*, inſtituted by the *Greeks* in ho-
of *Juno*, was known at *Rome* by the Name of
ia, and was the ſame. The *Cerealia* and *Am-*
lia of the *Romans* correſponded to the *Demetria*
beſmophoria of the *Greeks*, both of them Feſtivals
es; as the *Mangelia* of the one did to the *Pan-*
aia of the other, in honour of *Minerva*; the *Mer-*
ia of the former to the *Hermaia* of the latter.
of them had the *Orgies*, the *Trieteria*, the *Nyctе-*
and the *Bacchanalia*, all Feſtivals of *Bacchus*.
ecauſe in theſe laſt the *Romans* made ſome Altera-
it is proper to take notice of them. At firſt,
celebrated their *Bacchanalia* only three times a
afterwards they ſolemnized them every Month.
I give you from *Livy* (1) a Declaration thereupon,
by *Hiſpala Fecenia* the Freed-Woman, to the
l *Poſthumius*.
In earlier times, ſays ſhe to him, the *Bacchanalia*
re celebrated by none but Women, no Man being

'he 17th of *December*. (1) Fourth Dec. l. 9.

" allowed to join them. Three Days in the Year were " choſen for initiating into theſe Myſteries, and the " Ceremonial was performed by Day. The Prieſteſſes " who were to preſide there, were left to the choice of " the Matrons.

" A total Innovation was made by *Paculla Minia*; " ſhe initiated her two Sons, cauſed the Ceremony to " be performed in the Night-time, and inſtead of three " Days, ſhe inſtituted five in each Month. This pro- " miſcuous Meeting of Men and Women introduc'd " horrid Irregularities; whereof if any of the Company " ſhew'd a Deteſtaion, they offer'd him up as a Victim " acceptable to their God, or took care to be rid of him " by ſome piece of Machinery, and then gave out " that he was carry'd up to Heaven.

" During this Feſtival, continues ſhe, the Men " counterfeiting Madneſs, and exhibiting various Con- " torſions of their Bodies, began to propheſy; while " the Women in their *Bacchanal* Dreſs, and all diſ- " ſhevel'd, run towards the *Tiber*, with burning " Torches in their Hands, which they plunge into the " River, where they remain unextinguiſh'd, as being " made of Sulphur and Lime." The Senate, to rectify this Diſorder, paſs'd a Decree, ſuppreſſing the Cele- bration of theſe infamous Myſteries in *Rome*, and through all *Italy*; but the *Liberalia*, another Feſtival of *Bacchus*, ſurnam'd *Liber Pater*, which they ſolem- nized on the 17th of *March*, were ſtill continued, as not being quite ſo licentious. Here they offer'd up a Liquor compoſed of Honey, which they threw into the fire.

The *Lupercalia* were equally celebrated in *Greece*, and at *Rome*, in honour of *Pan*; whoſe Ceremony, as we are told by *Livy* (1), *Plutarch* (2), and *Juſtin* (3), was brought by *Evander* from *Arcadia* into *Italy*. The Youth, during this Feſtival, run about quite naked, with Whips in their Hands, laſhing all who came in their way without diſtinction. The Women, even thoſe of Quality, believing there was a Virtue in thoſe

(1) Lib. 1. 5. (2) In Rom. (3) Lib. 4

hoſe Whips to make them fruitful, or to bring them
› a happy Delivery in caſe they were pregnant, offer'd
hemſelves to receive them. *Valerius Maximus* (1) will
ave it, that this Feſtival was only introduced in the
ime of *Romulus*, at the perſuaſion of the herd
Fauſtulus. At the firſt Celebration, they offer'd
Goats to the God *Pan*. The Shepherds who were in-
vited to it, being heated with Drink at the Feaſt, di-
vided into two Bands, and run about in a frolickſome
way, clad in the Skins of the Victims they had now
offer'd. To render this Feſtival more ſolemn, the *Ro-
mans* founded two Colleges of *Luperci*, named the *Fa-
bii* and *Quintilii*; afterwards they created a third in
honour of *Cæſar*, even in his Life-time.

The *Æſculapia* of the *Romans*, the *Muſæa*, the *Ana-
tia*, and ſome others, were Feſtivals borrow'd from the
Greeks, which both the one and the other celebrated in
honour of *Æſculapius*, the *Dioſcuri* (or *Caſtor* and
Pollux) and the Muſes. Let us now ſpeak of ſuch as
were of *Roman* Inſtitution.

The *Agonalia* or *Agonia*, inſtituted by *Numa Pom-
pilius*, were celebrated thrice a year, on the 11th of
January, the 21ſt of *May*, and the 13th of *December*.
Janus is generally reckon'd to have been the Object of
this Feſtival, but yet *Feſtus* ſays it was the God *Ago-
nius* *. We learn from *Varro* (2) that they ſacrificed
there a Ram. The Etymology of the Name of this
Feſtival is controverted. Some think it was deriv'd
from the Form pronounc'd by the Prieſt before the Sa-
crifice, *Agon*, ſhall I proceed? Others contend, that
the Name comes from Mount *Agon*, where this Solem-
nity was celebrated; but the moſt received Opinion
is what *Ovid* gives, that this Feſtival was ſo named,
upon account of the Games, or rather Wreſtling-
Matches that accompany'd it, called by the *Greeks*
ἀγῶνας.

The *Angeronalia*, a Feſtival of *Angerona* the Goddeſs

(1) Lib. 11. c. 2. * Qui præſidebat rebus agendis. (2) Lib. 1. de Ling. Lat.

of Silence, as *Harpocrates* was the God thereof among the *Greeks*, was celebrated the 21ſt of *December*.

The *Armiluſtrium*, a Feſtival of the 19th of *October*, had this peculiarity, that all were in Arms at the Sacrifice which was there offer'd. This Solemnity is often confounded with that celebrated by the *Salii*, Prieſts of the God *Mars*, during which they carried the *Ancilia*, or ſmall Bucklers, which I ſpeak of elſewhere: But they ought to be diſtinguiſhed, 1. Becauſe the latter happen'd on the ſecond of *March*; 2. They play'd upon a Flute at the Feſtival of the *Armiluſtrium*, and upon the Trumpet at that of the *Ancilia*.

The *Caprotinæ*, celebrated on the 9th of *July* *, were a Feſtival in honour of *Juno* ſurnamed *Caprotina*, where there were none but Women to miniſter in the Sacrifices. The Servant-maids, for whom they were celebrated, run about during this Solemnity, beating themſelves with the Fiſt and with Whips.

The *Carmentalia*, celebrated on the 15th of *January*, were for Mothers of Families. I ſpeak in another place of the Propheteſs *Carmenta*, *Evander*'s Mother.

In the *Chariſtia*, a Feſtival celebrated on the 11th of the Kalends of *March* †, Relations met together, and gave Preſents to one another.

As the *Caprotinæ* were for Female Slaves, ſo the *Compitalia*, or the Feſtival of the Croſs-Streets, inſtituted by *Tarquin* the elder, were for Men Slaves, who alone could aſſiſt at them, and there offer Sacrifices to the *Genii* of the Croſs-Streets, in honour of whom the Feſtival was kept (1).

The *Conſualia*, dedicated to the God *Conſus*, were celebrated in a ſubterranean Chapel of the *Circus*, conſecrated to that Divinity. Upon this Day neither Horſes nor Mules were put to work. This Feſtival, as moſt others, had Games, as well as Sacrifices and Libations.

In

* Rather on the 7th or Nones of *July*, therefore called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*.

† Or 19th of *February*. (1) Dionyſ Halicarn. l. 4.

In the *Faunalia*, celebrated on the Nones of *December* * in honour of *Faunus*, they ſacrificed He-Goats, and made Libations of Wine: Their Place of meeting for that purpoſe was in the heart of the Woods.

The *Feralia*, inſtituted, as *Ovid* tells us, by *Æneas*, were a Feſtival for the Dead, in which they brought Meat to the Tombs, there to celebrate a Feaſt.

The *Fontinalia*, ſo called becauſe on that Day they threw into the Wells Crowns, which were afterwards put upon Children's Heads, fell upon the 13th of *October*.

The *Fordicidia* or *Fordicalia*, from the word *Forda*, which ſignifies a pregnant Cow, happen'd upon the 15th of *April*, and the Sacrifice was a Cow with Calf.

The *Fornacalia*, whoſe Inſtitution was owing to *Numa Pompilius*, celebrated on the 12th before the Kalends of *March* †, were a Holiday on which they baked Flower in an Oven, in honour of the Goddeſs *Fornax*.

As *Laverna* among the *Greeks* was the Deity of Thieves, ſo was *Furina* among the *Romans*, in whoſe honour they inſtituted a Feſtival, named *Furinalia*, which, according to *Roſinus*, was celebrated on the 12th of the Kalends of *July* ‡. The Prieſt of this Goddeſs was called *Flamen Furinalis*. She had likewiſe a ſacred Grove, where *Plutarch* tells us, *Gracchus* was kill'd.

The *Hilaria*, whoſe Name ſufficiently denotes the Gayety of the Feſtival, were celebrated in honour of *Cybele*, on the 8th before the Kalends of *April* ‖. Here they appeared in their fineſt Clothes; nay, they exchang'd the Dreſs which belonged to their Station for that of another, and if they had any thing in their Houſes fine or curious, they were ſure to have it carry'd before them in Proceſſion.

The *Laurentalia*, inſtituted in honour of *Acca Laurentia*, the Wife of the Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, and Nurſe to *Romulus* and *Remus*, fell upon the tenth Day before

* Fifth of that Month. † 18th of *February*. ‡ 20th of *June*. ‖ 25th of *March*.

the Kalends of *January* *. There the Pontifs offer'd Sacrifices in the *Velabrum* near the *Tiber*.

The *Feriæ Latinæ* were celebrated not at *Rome*, but at *Alba*, where the *Latin* Towns, to the number of forty-ſeven, together with the *Roman* Magiſtrates, aſſembled to ſacrifice with one accord, in honour of *Jupiter Latialis*, a Bull, which they parted among them after the Ceremony was over. They who came to this Solemnity, brought with them Milk, Cheeſe, and other things, which were offer'd by way of Libation. At firſt it laſted but two Days, then a third was added, and afterwards a fourth. *Macrobius* (1) obſerves, that it was not permitted to begin a War upon the days of this Solemnity, which, after *Varro*, he names *Latiar*.

The *Lemuria* were inſtituted for appeaſing the malignant *Genii*, whom they called *Lemures*. They believed they were able to baniſh them from Houſes which they infeſted by night, and terrified People, by throwing Beans at them.

The *Romans* had always ſome Motive for the Inſtitution of their Feſtivals; by them they ſupplicated the Gods, either for a plentiful Harveſt, or ſome other Bleſſing. By them they appeaſed thoſe whom they thought they had injured, or ſought to turn away the Calamities they were threatned with, as we may judge from the Hiſtory of thoſe we have now mentioned. Oftentimes it was to keep up the Remembrance of a Benefit received, and ſuch was the Feſtival named the *Luceria*, a Word derived from *Lucus*, a ſacred Grove. This Solemnity was celebrated in one of theſe Groves which was between the *Via Salaria* and the *Tiber*, in commemoration of the Deliverance of the *Romans*, who were ſaved from the *Gauls* by flying into that Retreat. Or elſe it was to keep up the Memory of ſome Diſaſter; ſuch was the Feſtival of the *Populifugia*, to commemorate the Day when the People, and even *Romulus*'s Guards fled, upon the News of the Confederacy of the *Fidenates* and the other *Latins*, againſt the *Romans*. Sometimes they were merely to promote mutual Joy

* 23d of *December*. (1) Sat. Lib. 1. c. 16.

his kind was the Feſtival of *Maiumæ*, ſo called be-
ſe it was celebrated on the firſt of *May*, when the
ıcipal Perſons of the City repair'd to *Oſtia*, where
y exercis'd themſelves in Sports of every kind. As
:mnities where Pleaſure has full ſway, are of all o-
:s the hardeſt to be aboliſh'd, this laſt continued a
g time even under the Chriſtian Emperors.

We have ſeen that there were Feſtivals appropriated
ertain Stations in Life, as the *Caprotinæ* for the Maid-
vants, and others for the Men-Servants; here are
ıe more of the ſame kind. The Merchants had
, which they celebrated in the Month of *May*, in
ıour of *Mercury*, the God of Commerce.

The *Matralia* were the Feſtival of the Matrons, in
ıour of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, to whom they offer'd
lick Libations which they boiled in earthen Pots:
ıeſe are the Libations which *Ovid* (1) names *Flava*
ba. But as Grandeur wants to be every where main-
n'd, even at the foot of the Altar, the *Roman* Ladies,
ıile they excluded from this Feſtival all the other
ıves of their own Sex, admitted one whom they buf-
ed heartily. Theſe Matrons had alſo another Feſti-
l, named *Matronalia*, which they celebrated in ho-
ıur of the God *Mars*, on the firſt of that Month which
named from him. *Ovid* (2) gives five Reaſons for
e Inſtitution of this Feſtival. The firſt, in memory
the Peace made between the *Sabines* and *Romans*, in
hich the *Sabine* Women, who were married to the *Ro-*
ans, had ſo great a hand. The ſecond, that *Mars*
ight make theſe *Roman* Ladies as happy as *Romulus*
s Son. The third, that they might be bleſt with
ıe ſame Fruitfulneſs as the Month of *March* imparts
) the Earth. The fourth, becauſe it was upon the
rſt of *March* that a Temple had been dedicated on
Mount *Eſquilinus*, to *Lucina* the Goddeſs of Childbed.
The fifth, which comes to the ſame, becauſe *Mars* was
he Son of *Juno*, who preſides over Marriage.

The Paſtors and Shepherds too had their Feſtival,
hat of the *Palilia*, dedicated to *Pales* their Goddeſs.

On

(1) *Faſt. l. 6.* (2) *Faſt. l. 3.*

On that Day the People took care to be purify'd with Perfumes, mingled with Horſes Blood, with the Aſhes of a Calf that was burnt as ſoon as it was taken from the Mother's Belly (1), and with Stalks of Beans. The Shepherds, on the Morning of the Feſtival-day, purify'd likewiſe their Folds and Flocks, with Water and Brimſtone, and burn'd the Shrub called Savine, whoſe Smoak diffuſed itſelf over all the Fold. After this, they offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddeſs, Milk, boil'd Wine, and Millet; then follow'd the Feaſt. In the Evening they made Bonfires of Straw or Hay, and leap'd over them: *Ovid* deſcribes this whole Solemnity at full length. Theſe Ceremonies were accompanied with Muſical Inſtruments, ſuch as Flutes, Cymbals, and Tabours, which play'd all the day long.

In fine, the young People and the Scholars had likewiſe their Feſtival, named *Quinquatria*, the Etymology of which may be ſeen in *Varro* and in *Feſtus*. On that Day the Scholars made Preſents to their Maſters: This Feſtival fell upon the 14th before the Kalends of *April* *.

We ſhall finiſh this Liſt with ſome other Feſtivals of leſs Note, on which we ſhall be very ſhort. The *Meditrinalia* were the Days on which they taſted the new Wine. The *Romans* had a Goddeſs *Meditrina*, and in honour of her this Feſtival was inſtituted.

The *Opalia* were the Feſtival of *Ops*, the ſame with *Cybele*. In ancient times they were celebrated the ſame day as the *Saturnalia*, but *Ceſar*, in the Reformation of the Kalendar, removed it to another time of the Year.

The *Quirinalia* were the Feſtival of *Romulus*, ſurnamed *Quirinus*. It was term'd the Feſtival of Fools †, becauſe on that Day, whoever had forgot to celebrate the *Fornacalia*, which have been mentioned, was obliged to ſacrifice to *Quirinus*, as an Attonement for their Omiſſion.

The

(1) The Veſtals had the ſole right of burning this Calf.

* The 19th of *March*. † Feriæ Stultorum.

The *Regifugium* was inſtituted to keep up the Memory of the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*; and on that day the *Rex Sacrificulus*, or the *King-Prieſt*, fled as ſoon as the Sacrifice was offered. *Plutarch* (1) aſſigns another Origin of this Feſtival; but *Ovid* (2) and *Feſtus* are in this particular rather to be believed than he.

As the Fear of future Evils had a great ſhare in the religious Worſhip of the Pagans, they inſtituted Feſtivals in order to be preſerved from them. Of this number was their *Robigalia*, in honour of the God *Robigus*, by whom they believed their Corn was ſecured from blaſting. It was celebrated about the end of *April*; and the Offering to this Divinity was a Sheep and a Dog, with Wine and Incenſe.

The *Septimontium* was a Feſtival inſtituted at *Rome*, when they enlarged its Precincts by taking in a ſeventh Hill. This Feſtival, at which they offer'd ſeven Sacrifices in different Places, fell in the Month of *December*; and on that day the Emperors gave Donatives to the People.

The *Terminalia* were ſo named, according to *Varro* (3), becauſe they were celebrated on the laſt Day of *February*, which cloſed the *Roman* Year: or rather, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* alledges, becauſe they were inſtituted by *Numa* in honour of the God *Terminus*, when that Prince ordered Land-marks to be fixed, that every Man might know the Extent of his own Ground. This Feſtival was entirely rural, and nothing of the Animal kind was there permitted to be offer'd, for fear of ſtaining with Blood the Marches, near which they preſented Fruits to the God who preſided over them, and made Libations to him of Milk and Wine. Theſe Circumſtances however muſt have been alter'd ſome time after, ſince we learn from *Plutarch* (4), that the Peaſants met on that day near the Marches, and there ſacrificed a Sow or a Lamb. Be that as it will, there was nothing more ſacred among the *Romans* than the Land-marks; and they who were ſo audacious as to

(1) QQ. R. 62.
(2) Faſt. 2.
(3) De *Ling. Lat. Lib.* 5.
(4) QQ. Rom. 15.

to change them, were devoted to the Furies, and might be lawfully put to death.

The *Tubilustrium* was a Festival in the Month of *April*, instituted for purifying the Trumpets: for this they sacrificed an Ewe-lamb. They made also the same Purification in the *Vulcanalia*; a Festival celebrated on the tenth before the Kalends of *May* *, in honour of *Vulcan*, the God of Fire; and therefore on that Holiday they threw Animals into the fire.

Vertumnus, *Pomona*, and a vast number of other Gods, or Demi-Gods, had likewise their Festivals, as to which nothing particular being to be learned, I refer to *Ovid*, and to *Rosinus*, who has given a *Roman* Calendar with all its Festivals and Holidays (1).

We shall close this List with the *Vinalia*, which they celebrated twice a Year, on the ninth before the Kalends of *May*, and on the thirteenth before those of *September*. The first, instituted, according to *Pliny* (2), for tasting the Wine, had nothing to do with the Preservation of the Vines; whereas the second was in order to procure a favourable Season for the Vintage.

These were the Festivals of the *Romans*, mark'd out in their Calendar; and if upon occasion they celebrated some out of due course, as the Days set apart for publick Supplications, they were enjoin'd by the Magistrate in extraordinary Cases.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the publick Supplications, the Lectisternii, *Evocations, and Forms of Devoting.*

THE publick Supplications were made either in some critical Juncture, as in time of a Plague, or some epidemical Calamity; or after an unexpected Victory, or when a new-elected General apply'd to the Senate to be confirmed by them, and to have a Supplication

* 22 of *April*.
(1) Ant. Rom. Lib 4. c. 2. (2) Lib. 18. c. 29.

plication appointed for obtaining the Favour of the Gods; and alſo for other Reaſons. Theſe Supplications were ſolemn Days, on which there was to be no Reading upon any account whatſoever, and they were celebrated by Sacrifices, Prayers, and publick Feaſts. Sometimes the Senate limited the Duration of this Feſtival to one Day; ſometimes it took up ſeveral; and Hiſtory informs us, that ſome of them laſted fifty Days.

We are not to inſiſt upon private Supplications, which were nothing elſe but Prayers, which every one put up to the Gods, either to obtain Health, a good Harveſt, *&c.* or to thank them for Mercies received from them. A ſingle *Formula* of their Prayers will be ſufficient to give us ſome Idea of them: Here is one preſerved in an Inſcription (1), which *Camilla Amata* makes to the Fever for her Son in his Sickneſs. *Divinæ Febri, ſanctæ Febri, magnæ Febri, Camilla Amata pro filio male affecto. P.* *Camilla Amata offers up her Prayers for her ſick Son, to the divine Febris, the holy Febris, the great Febris.*

There was another kind of publick Supplication, which they called the *Lectiſternium* (2). This Ceremony conſiſted in a Feaſt which they prepared, and which was to be kept in the Temple; and becauſe, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times, they planted Beds round the Tables, and placed upon theſe Beds the Statues of the Gods, in whoſe honour the Feſtival was celebrated, in the ſame way as Men lay thereon at Meals; hence they got the name of *Lectiſternia* (*a*). The *Epulones* mention'd under the Article of the Prieſts, preſided at this Ceremony, and were the Regulators of it. *Valerius Maximus* (3) takes notice of a *Lectiſternium*, celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*. That God, that is his Statue, was laid there upon a Bed; while thoſe of *Juno* and *Minerva* were

Lectiſternium.

(1) Gruter 97. 1. (2) Macr. Sat. 3. (3) Lib. 2. c. 1.

(*a*) The word is compounded of *Lectus* a Bed, and *ſternere* to make up.

were upon Chairs: *Nam Jovis epulo ipſe in Lectulum, Juno & Mercurius in Sellas ad cœnam invitantur.*

Titus Livius, *Cicero*, *Lampridius*, and others, make frequent mention of this Ceremony; and the firſt of theſe Authors refers its Inſtitution to the Year of *Rome* 354 (1), upon occaſion of a Plague which raged in the City. This *Lectiſternium* laſted for eight days, and was celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Neptune*. *Valerius Maximus* indeed mentions another more ancient, ſince, according to him, it was celebrated under the Conſulſhip of *Brutus*, and *Valerius Poplicola*; but it ſeems it was either leſs ſolemn, or *Livy* knew nothing of it.

Until the time of *Caſaubon*, the *Lectiſternium* was believ'd to have been of *Roman* Inſtitution, and not to have been known out of *Italy*; but that learned Critick, examining a Paſſage of the Scholiaſt upon *Pindar* (2), and finding there mention made of thoſe Pillows, or Cuſhions, which they put under the Statues of the Gods, from thence has juſtly concluded, that the *Lectiſternium* was in uſe among the *Greeks*. Authors have been found to ſupport this Diſcovery, and the Truth of it is now no longer controverted. And indeed *Pauſanias* ſpeaks in ſeveral places of thoſe ſorts of Cuſhions; and in his Travels thro' *Arcadia*, tells us, that ſome of them were put under the Statues of Peace; and in his *Phocica*, he ſpeaks of thoſe on which they placed the Statues of *Æſculapius*. *Valerius Maximus* (3) ſays the ſame of the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. "The Statues, ſays he, of theſe two Heroes, who had done ſo much to reſcue *Athens* from the Tyranny it groaned under, having been carried away by *Xerxes*, *Seleucus* reſtored them afterwards; and when the Ship that brought them arrived at *Rhodes*, the chief Men of the City invited them to be their Gueſts, and placed them upon Pillows: *Rhodii quoque cas urbi ſuæ appulſas, cum in Hoſpitium publicè invitaſſent, ſacris etiam pulvinaribus collocaverunt.* And

(1) Lib. 5. c. 15. (2) Od. 1. of the Olymp.
(3) L. 2. c. 10.

And *Suetonius* reckons thoſe Pillows, which the *Latins* named *Pulvinaria*, and the *Greeks* κλίναις, among thoſe things that were only appropriated to the Gods, when ſpeaking of *Cæſar*, he ſays (1): *Sed et ampliora humano faſtigio decerni ſibi paſſus eſt . . . . Templa, Aras, Simulacbra juxta Deos, Pulvinar, Flamen, Lupercos*, &c. "He even ſuffered ſuch Honours to be decreed to him "as are too high for mere Mortals, Temples, Altars, "Statues near thoſe of the Gods, the *ſacred Pillow*, "a *Flamen, Luperci*," &c. So *Arnobius* (2) addreſſing the *Pagans* concerning ſome of their Gods: "They muſt "needs, ſays he, be acknowledg'd ſuch by you, ſince "you conſecrate to them Temples, Pillows," *&c.* *James Spon*, in his Travels thro' *Greece*, tells us, that the *Lectiſternium* of *Iſis* and *Serapis* was ſtill to be ſeen at *Athens*. It was a ſmall marble Bed, of two Feet in length, by one in height, on which thoſe two Divinities were repreſented ſitting. This learned Traveller ſays, that others, like them, were found in the ſame City; as alſo at *Salamis* and elſewhere. From this Relation we learn the true Form of the *Lectiſternia* and Cuſhions. They were ſmall Beds, either of Marble, Stone, or Wood, on which they placed the Statues of the Gods, in honour of whom a Feaſt was prepared.

After what has been ſaid, it is evident, that the *Lectiſternium* was equally in uſe in *Greece* and in *Italy*. Add to this, that the Days ſet apart for this Feſtival were moſt ſolemn, during which, it was not allowed to inflict Puniſhment upon any Perſons, and Criminals were even ſet at liberty. It was the chief Magiſtrate, or High Prieſt, who appointed them, and their end was to appeaſe the Gods, or to ſupplicate them for Favours. We have only to ſay farther, that the Table for the Feaſt, and the Beds on which the Gods were to lie, were adorn'd with Branches, Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs: ſo much now for this Subject; let us only give ſome ſhort Account of the Evocations.

Of

(1) In Cæſ. c. 76. (2) Adv. Gen. lib. 4.

Evocations. Of these there were three sorts; the first were magical Operations, which they used in order to call up departed Souls; and of them I shall speak in the Article of Magick. The second, which we shall here consider, were ordinarily employed, during the Siege of some Town, which they thought it neither their Duty, nor in their power to take, without invoking the Gods, under whose Protection it was. We have in *Macrobius* (1) a Form of Evocation preserved, which will give the Readers a better Notion of the thing than all we could deliver upon the Subject. "Whether it be a God, or whether it be a "Goddess, under whose Tuition the City and People "of *Carthage* is, I supplicate you, I conjure you, and "I earnestly request you, ye Great Gods, who have "taken this City and People under your Protection, "to abandon both City and People, to quit all these "Mansions, Temples, sacred Places; to cast them "off, infuse into them Fear, Consternation, and a "Spirit of Forgetfulness, and vouchsafe to repair to "*Rome* to dwell among us: Graciously accept of our "Mansions, Temples, sacred Things, and our whole "City. Let it be seen, that you are the Defence of "me and my Army, and of the *Roman* People. "Grant me these Petitions, and I vow and promise "to found Temples and Games to your Honour."

Lastly, the third sort of Evocation was, that which was used in calling up the Gods. In order to understand what I am to say upon this Head, we must know it was a Doctrine of the Pagan Theology, that the Gods in a peculiar manner presided over certain Places, and that frequently several of those Places were under the Protection of the same God; and it being impossible for him to be in them all at once, it was necessary to use the Ceremony of Evocation, when his Presence was thought needful. They had Hymns proper to this Operation, which they called κλήσεις, as are most of those which are ascribed to *Orpheus*, and those of the Poet *Proclus*. Those Hymns generally were com-

(1) Sat. l. 3. c. 9.

compoſed of two Parts: The firſt was taken up in the Praiſes of the Gods, and in celebrating the different Places under their Protection; the ſecond contain'd the Prayer whereby they endeavour'd to invite and allure them to the Places where their Preſence was neceſſary. When they thought the Patron God was arrived, they celebrated the Feſtivals named ἐπιδήμιαι. Such were ſome of thoſe the *Argives* kept in honour of *Juno*, and the Inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletus* for *Apollo*.

As ſoon as the Danger which had made them invoke the Gods was over, they gave them liberty to go any where elſe; and they had other Hymns for celebrating their Departure. *Julius Scaliger*, who may be conſulted upon this Subject (1), obſerves, that theſe Hymns, which they called ἀποπεμπτικοὶ, wherein *Bacchyllides* the Lyrick Poet chiefly excell'd, were of greater length than thoſe uſed for inviting the Gods, in order to detain them as long as poſſible. For when we deſire, ſays he, we want to be quickly poſſeſs'd of the Object of our Wiſhes; but to be as long as poſſible before we be deprived of it.

The Forms of Devoting.

To the Evocations I muſt add the Forms of Devoting, which the *Romans* called *Devotio*. They were either private, as thoſe of the two *Decii*, and of *Marcus Curtius*, who devoted themſelves to ſave the *Romans*; or publick, performed by the Dictator or Conſul, at the Head of an Army. Here is their Form tranſmitted to us by the ſame *Macrobius* (2). "Father *Dis*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, *Manes*, or by whatever Name it is lawful to call you, "I beſeech you to fill this City *Carthage*, and the "Army I mean, with Terror and Conſternation: "Grant that they, who bear Arms againſt our Legions "and Army, may be put to the rout, that the Inhabitants of their Cities, and of their Fields, with all "that dwell in them, of every Age, may be devoted "to you, according to the Laws, by which our "greateſt Enemies are devoted. I, by the Authority of my Commiſſion, devote them in name of

(1) Poet. L. 3. Cap. 112, 113, & 114. (2) Sat. l. 3, 9.

" the *Roman* People, in name of the Army, and in " name of our Legions, that you may preſerve both " the Commanders, and thoſe who ſerve under " them."

Antiquity has not tranſmitted to us the Form of private Devoting, but certain it is there was one; and when *Decius* devoted himſelf, he gave notice to the Pontif *Valerius*, as I ſhall have occaſion afterwards to mention, to proceed to pronounce the Form of Devoting: *Deorum ope*, ſays he, *Valeri, opus eſt; agedum; præi verba quibus me pro legibus devoveam.*

Whenever the Law devoted any one to death, it was permitted to kill him. There was one of *Romulus's* Laws conceived in theſe Terms: *Si Patronus Clienti fraudem faxit, ſacer eſto. If any Patron defrauds his Client, let him be devoted.* It was to *Pluto*, or *Dis*, and the other infernal Deities, that Criminals were devoted.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of the Supplications and Vows made by particular Perſons: I foreſee, that the Enumeration of them would be endleſs; and we could learn nothing from them, but that the Gods having been always looked upon by the *Pagans* as the Authors of all Good and Evil, they were careful to addreſs them, in order to obtain thoſe good Things, and be deliver'd from the evil: that in Dangers or Sickneſs, they put up Vows to them for Deliverance, and Recovery of Health: in fine, that, in gratitude, they put into Temples the Members, for the Cure whereof they thought themſelves indebted to them.

Of theſe, we have great numbers preſerved in Antiquaries, as may be ſeen in their Works. Among theſe Vows, there were ſome that bore the Characters of different Gods, as that which is called the *Hand of Æneas*, upon which is *Votum Cecropis*, and which has been explain'd in a ſmall Tract of *Thomaſine*. Sometimes it was a ſingle Hand, an Arm, a Leg, or an Eye, without any Symbol. What we find moſt ſingular among theſe Vows, is a Table of Braſs, on which

which mention is made of all the Cures wrought by the Interpoſition of *Æſculapius* *.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Religious Ceremonies uſed at the founding of Cities.

I Took notice juſt now, that they uſed Evocations at beſieging a City, in order to invoke the Gods, under whoſe Protection it was; and as theſe ſame Gods were own'd for Patrons of the City at the time it was founded, this makes it neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Ceremonies in uſe upon that occaſion. We learn from *Feſtus*, that the *Etrurians* had Books containing the Ceremonies obſerv'd at the founding of Cities, Altars, Temples, Walls and Gates. And *Plutarch* tells us, that *Romulus*, before he laid the Foundations of *Rome*, ſent for Men from *Etruria*, who inform'd him in all the Punctilios of Ceremony which he was to obſerve. According to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, they began with offering a Sacrifice, after which they kindled fires near Tents; and they who were to have any Employment in building the Town, leap'd over theſe Fires, to purify themſelves. Then they dug a Ditch, into which they threw the firſt Fruits of all things that ſerved for human Nouriſhment, and a handful of Earth from the Country to which each of them belong'd, who were to aſſiſt at the Ceremony.

At the ſame time they conſulted the Gods, to know if the Enterprize would be acceptable to them, and if they approved of the Day choſen to begin the Work. Then they chalk'd out the Boundaries by a Score of white Earth, which they called *Terra pura*; and for want of this kind of Chalk, they made uſe of Flower, as *Strabo* aſſures us to have been done by *Alexander*, when he laid the Foundation of *Alexandria*. This firſt Operation being finiſhed, they opened a Furrow, as deep as poſſible, with a brazen Plough; and to this

* *Vid. Montfaucon's Antiq.* V. 2. p. 1. B. 4. C. 6.

Plough they yoked a white Bull, and a white Heif
All the Ground open'd by the Plough was repu
holy. While they were forming the Boundary, th
ſtop'd at certain Intervals to renew the Sacrifices, a
mark'd the Places where they were offered, by a He
of Stones, which they called *Cippi*. In theſe Sac
fices, they invoked the Gods, to whoſe Protection t
new City was recommended, as well as the Gods
the Country, denominated *Dii Patrii Indigetes*; whi
was done ſecretly, becauſe it was neceſſary that the t
telar Gods of every City ſhould be unknown to t
Vulgar. *Ovid*, in his Faſti, has given us the Form
Prayer, which *Romulus* put up to the Gods whom
ſought to favour his Enterprize.

Vox fuit hæc Regis: Condenti Jupiter urbem
Et Genitor Mavors, Veſtaque mater ades.
Quoſque pium eſt adhibere Deos, advertite cuncti,
Auſpicibus vobis hoc mihi ſurget opus, &c.

In fine, ſo much regarded was the day on which
City was founded, that they kept up the Memory
it by an anniverſary Feſtival; and at *Rome*, this F
tival was what they called the *Palilia*, as has be
ſaid. Mr. *Blanchard*, in a Diſſertation, a Copy
which is printed in the third Volume of the Memo
of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), gives an A
count of this Ceremony, and of ſome others, that ha
not a neceſſary Connection with the Pagan Religio
Ovid has happily comprehended all theſe Ceremoni
in the following Verſes (2).

Apta dies legitur, qua mœnia ſignet Aratro.
Sacra Palis ſuberant: inde movetur opus
Foſſa fit ad ſolidum, fruges jaciuntur in imâ,
Et de vicino terra petita ſolo.
Foſſa repletur humo, plenæque imponitur aræ;
Et novus accenſo finditur igne focus.
Inde premens ſtivam deſignat mœnia ſulco,
Alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.

In this Book, we have ſeen the Hiſtory of the R
and Propagation of Idolatry. I have diſcovered
wh

(1) P. 61. (2) Faſt. L. 4.

what concerned the Worſhip paid to the Gods; of Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, Prieſts, and Feſtivals celebrated in their honour, *&c.* It ſtill remains to examine ſeveral important Articles, which regard Idolatry; but theſe ſhall be the Subject of the following Book.

*BOOK IV.

Which treats of the Superſtitions authorized by Idolatry.

AMONG theſe Superſtitions, I reckon the Veneration that was paid to Oracles in general, and to the *Sibylline* Books in particular, which, to the *Romans*, were a ſtanding Oracle conſulted by them upon all occaſions; the Preſages, Prodigies, Expiations, Magick, Judicial Aſtrology, Divination, the *Lots*, the *Præſtigiæ*, the *Auguries*, the *Auſpices*, and ſome others.

CHAP. I.

Of the Oracles.

AS the Oracles, which *Seneca* defines to be the Will of the Gods declared by the Mouths of Men, and which *Cicero* ſimply calls the Language of the Gods, *Deorum Oratio*, depended upon the Pagan Religion, and were a conſiderable Part of it, their Hiſtory belongs to this Mythology. Nothing was more famous than theſe Oracles: they were conſulted not only for important Enterprizes, but even merely in Affairs of private Life. Were they to make Peace or War, to enact Laws, reform States, or change the Conſtitution;

* *N. B. The ſecond Volume of the Original begins with Book IV.*

in all theſe Caſes they had recourſe to the Oracle by publick Authority. Again, in private Life, if a Man had a deſign to marry, if he was to enter upon a Journey, or in ſhort, whatever Buſineſs he was to undertake, was he ſick and out of order, he went directly to conſult the Oracle. Mens Deſire of knowing Futurity, of ſecuring the Succeſs of their Deſigns; that Curioſity which is ſo deeply rooted in human Nature; all theſe led them to conſult the Gods, who were reputed prophetick: for all the Gods had not that Character. Hence the Inſtitution of Oracles, that Eagerneſs to conſult them, and thoſe immenſe Donations wherewith their Temples were filled; for an anxious Mind ſubdued by vain Curioſity ſticks at nothing.

Upon this Principle, we need not doubt but that every Nation, where Idolatry prevailed, had its Oracles, or ſome other means of ſearching into the hidden Events of Futurity. There never was any Nation where Impoſtors were wanting, and a Tribe of covetous Mortals, who pretended to the Gift of foreknowing and predicting myſterious future Events. They have been found among the moſt groſs and barbarous Nations, ſuch as the *Iroquois*, and other Savages of *America*. The ancient *Gauls* had their Druids, who were regarded by them as Prophets. Among the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, the Prieſts were cloathed with this Character, and thus doubtleſs it was among other Nations. But as a particular Examination into the Oracles of every idolatrous People, would carry us too far, and as we want Records, from which to compile their Hiſtory, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the Oracles of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*; eſpecially thoſe of the latter, which were both very numerous, and highly celebrated.

Before we enter upon the Hiſtory of theſe Oracles, it is neceſſary to examine in a few words two important Queſtions. 1. Were all the Predictions aſcrib'd to them, and of which Authors are ſo full, the meer Impoſture of Prieſts; or did they proceed from the Devil? 2. Did the Oracles actually ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt? *Van* Dale, in a Treatiſe, which cannot

be cenſured for want of learning, has attempted to prove that all thoſe Predictions proceeded entirely from the Tricks of thoſe who had the Charge of the Oracles; and that they did not ceaſe when Chriſt came into the World. M. *Fontenelle*, than whom none was more proper to throw out all the ſtiff Pedantry of *Greek* and *Latin*, which makes *Van Dale*'s Treatiſe but dry, and only fit for the Learned, has put it into a genteeler Dreſs, and adapted it to the Capacity of every Reader; but this Work has already made ſo much noiſe, that I ſhall eaſily be forgiven, tho' I ſay no more of it.

As the Opinion of *Van Dale* ſeem'd to contradict the unanimous Sentiment of all the Fathers, and the conſtant Tradition of the Church, which aſcribed a great part at leaſt of the Oracular Reſponſes to the Devil, who was not chain'd up till the coming of Jeſus Chriſt; Father *Baltus* the Jeſuit, in a learned Treatiſe, undertook the Defence of Tradition and the Fathers; and without denying the Impoſture of the Prieſts, which was often mix'd with the Oracles, he proves in an equally perſpicuous and ſolid manner, the Intervention of the Devil in ſome Predictions, which all the efforts of Incredulity were incapable of aſcribing to the Cheats of Prieſts alone. And as for the time of the Ceſſation of theſe Oracles, he proves with the ſame Erudition, that if they did not ceaſe altogether at the coming of Chriſt, they at leaſt began then to decline; they were no longer in ſuch high Reputation; they were no longer conſulted with the uſual Apparatus: Tho' it is unqueſtionable that they did not quite ceaſe, till Chriſtianity triumph'd over Idolatry.

'Tis not to my purpoſe to enlarge farther upon theſe two Queſtions, the Particulars of the Caſe being in every body's hands. Yet I cannot help making ſome Reflections upon the firſt, that ſerve to overthrow *Van Dale*'s Scheme. Is it then credible, that if the Oracles had been nothing but the Offspring of Prieſtcraft, whatever artful Methods they may be thought to have uſed, and however ſucceſsful in pumping out the Secrets and Schemes of thoſe who came to conſult them; is it credible,

dible, I ſay, that thoſe Oracles would have laſted ſo long, and ſupported themſelves with ſo much Splendour and Reputation, had they been merely owing to the Forgery of the Prieſts? Impoſture betrays it ſelf, Falſhood never holds out. Beſides, there were too many Witneſſes, too many curious Spies, too many People whoſe Intereſt it was, not to ſuffer themſelves to be deluded. One may put a cheat for a time upon a few private Perſons, who are over-run with Credulity, but by no means upon whole Nations for ſeveral Ages. Some Princes, who had been play'd upon by ambiguous Reſponſes, a Trick once diſcover'd, the bare Curioſity of a Free-Thinker, any of theſe, in ſhort, was ſufficient to blow up the whole Myſtery, and at once to make the Credit of the Oracle fall to the ground. How many People deluded by hateful Reſponſes, were concern'd to examine, if it was really the Prieſts by whom they were ſeduced. But why! was it ſo hard a matter to find one of the Prieſts themſelves, capable of being bribed to betray the Cauſe of his Accomplices, by the fair Promiſes and more ſubſtantial Gifts of thoſe, who omitted no means of being thoroughly informed in a Subject of ſuch Concern? But it ſeems, there were no mercenary Souls in that virtuous Age! Gold had no bewitching Charms, Contempt and Diſhonour had loſt their Power! Why elſe would not the Prieſts of an Oracle, whoſe Credit was low, or entirely ſunk, have revealed, either thro' Deſpair or Revenge, the Impoſtures of thoſe who carried off from them all their Gain: They, who by practiſing the like Tricks, had good Reaſon at leaſt to ſuſpect thoſe of others? What an odd Combination is this, and how unparallel'd, to hold out againſt Intereſt, againſt Reputation: to unite ſo many Impoſtors in a Secret ſo religiouſly kept? To theſe Reflections, Father *Balthus* adds another, drawn from human Sacrifices that were required by the Oracles; ſince Man, ſays he, however enthralled to his Paſſions, never would have demanded ſuch Victims.

I ſaid before, that all the Gods were not Oracular; for in old times there were hardly any who deliver'd Oracles

acles but *Themis*, *Jupiter*, and *Apollo*; but this Privilege was granted afterwards to almoſt all the Gods, and to a great number of Heroes, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

In order to conſult the Oracle, that time was to be obſerv'd, when it was believ'd the Gods deliver'd them; for all Days were not equal: at *Delphi* there was but one Month in the Year, when the Prieſteſs anſwer'd thoſe who came to conſult *Apollo*. In after-times, there was one Day in each Month, when that God pronounc'd his Oracles. All theſe Oracles were not deliver'd in the ſame manner: Here, it was the Prieſteſs who answer'd for the God whom they conſulted; there, it was the God himſelf who pronounced the Oracle: In another place they received the Reſponſe of the God in their Sleep, for procuring which they uſed certain preparatory means of a myſterious nature; ſometimes they received the Reſponſe in Letters under a Seal; and in fine, in other places, by caſting Lots, as at *Preneſte* in *Italy*. Sometimes they were obliged to uſe many preparatives, in order to qualify themſelves for receiving the Oracle, ſuch as Faſtings, Sacrifices, Luſtrations, &c. At other times, ſo little Ceremony was requiſite, that the Conſulter received his Anſwer directly, upon coming up to the Oracle; as *Alexander* did, when he came to *Libya* to conſult that of *Jupiter Hammon*: for no ſooner did the Prieſt ſee him, than he gave him the Compellation of, Son of *Jupiter*; to obtain which, was the whole end of his Journey. But 'tis time to paſs on to the particular Hiſtory of the moſt celebrated Oracles: And as thoſe of *Dodona* and *Jupiter Hammon* were the moſt ancient, I ſhall begin with the Hiſtory of them.

ARTICLE I.

The Oracle of Dodona.

We learn from *Herodotus*, that the Oracle of *Dodona*, the moſt ancient of *Greece*, and that of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Libya*, had the ſame Original, and both owed their Inſtitution to the *Egyptians*, as all the other Antiquities of *Greece*. Here is the Allegory, under which this Piece

of

of History is wrap'd up. Two Pigeons, ſaid they, taking flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, one of them came to *Libya*; and the other having flown as far as the Foreſt of *Dodona* in *Chaonia*, a Province of *Epirus*, alighted there; and let the Inhabitants of the Country know, that it was the Will of *Jupiter* to have an Oracle in that place. This Prodigy aſtoniſhed thoſe who were Witneſſes to it, and the Oracle being founded, there was very ſoon a great Concourſe of Conſultors. *Servius* (1) adds, that *Jupiter* had given to his Daughter *Thebé* theſe two Pigeons, and communicated to them the gift of Speech. *Herodotus* (2), who judg'd rightly that the Fact which gave riſe to the Inſtitution of the Oracle, was couch'd under the Fable, has examined into its hiſtorical Foundation. *Phenician* Merchants, ſays this Author, ſome time ago carried off two Prieſteſſes of *Thebes*; ſhe who was ſold in *Greece*, took up her reſidence in the Foreſt of *Dodona*, where the *Greeks* came to gather Acorns, their ancient Food; there ſhe erected a ſmall Chapel at the foot of an Oak, in honour of *Jupiter*, whoſe Prieſteſs ſhe had been at *Thebes*; and this was the Foundation of that ancient Oracle, ſo famous in ſucceeding Ages. The ſame Author ſubjoins, that the Woman was called the *Pigeon*, becauſe they underſtood not her Language; but ſoon coming to be acquainted with it, they reported that the Pigeon ſpoke.

In order to explain the ancient Fables, it frequently happen'd that the *Greeks*, who were ignorant of the eaſtern Languages, whence they were derived, invented new ones. The learned *Bochart* thought he had diſcover'd the Origin of this now under our Conſideration, in two *Phenician* or *Arabian* Words of a double meaning, the one of them ſignifying a Pigeon, the other a Prieſteſs. The *Greeks*, always inclined to the *Marvellous*, inſtead of ſaying that a Prieſteſs of *Jupiter* had declared the Will of that God, choſe to ſay it in a fabulous way, that they were pronounced by a Pigeon. Whatever probability is in the Conjecture of this learned Author, there appears to be more in what is

(1) In 3. Æn. v. 466. (2) L. 1.

Oracles but *Themis*, *Jupiter*, and *Apollo*; but this Privilege was granted afterwards to almoſt all the Gods, and to a great number of Heroes, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

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Oaks themſelves; the Anſwer I take to be this, that the Miniſters of that Oracle hid themſelves in the Hollow of the Oaks, when they gave their Reſponſes. From theſe ſpeaking Oaks, to mention it by the by, came the Origin of that other Fable about the Maſt of the Ship *Argo*, cut in the Foreſt of *Dodona*, which, according to *Onomacritus*, *Apollonius* of *Rhodes*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, gave Oracles to the *Argonauts*, as we ſhall ſee in the Hiſtory of their Expedition (1).

Suidas (2), ſpeaking of the Oaks of this Foreſt, ſays, they ſpoke, and gave Reſponſes to the Supplicants in this form, *Thus ſaith Jupiter*, &c. *Van Dale* in his Hiſtory of Oracles (3), after remarking that *Suidas* has barely copied *Euſtathius*, reports the Opinion of *Ariſtotle* and ſeveral other Authors, and takes particular notice how much the Ancients vary in their Accounts of this Oracle; this Variation among them, no doubt, is owing to the care that was taken, not to allow thoſe who came to conſult the Oracle, to approach too near it, ſo that they could only hear a certain Sound, but by no means could judge whence it proceeded.

But whatever be in that, no ſooner was the Sound of the Kettles over, than the Women whom they named *Dodonidæ*, delivered their Oracles (*a*), either in Verſe, as appears from the Collection made of them; or by the Lots, as *Cicero* ſeems to think, in his Books of Divination.

ARTICLE II.

The Oracle of Hammon.

What I have taken from *Herodotus* at the beginning of the preceding Article, proves the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Libya* to have been as ancient as that of *Dodona*, whoſe Hiſtory we have ſeen. This other became likewiſe very famous, and they flock'd from all Parts to conſult it, notwithſtanding the Inconveniences of ſo long a Journey, and the burning Sands of *Libya* they had

(1) Tom. 3. (2) In the Word *Dodona*. (3) P. 201, and following.

(*a*) See *Plutarch* upon the Ceſſation of Oracles.

is offer'd by the Abbé *Sallier* (*a*), who takes this Fable to have been built upon the double meaning of the Word πέλειαι, which ſignify'd Pigeons in *Attica*, and ſeveral other Provinces of *Greece*, while in the Dialect of *Epirus*, it imported Old Women. *Servius*, who fully comprehended the ſenſe of this Fable, is only miſtaken in his Explanation of it, by changing the Appellative *Peleias* into a proper Name. "There was, ſays "he, in the Foreſt of *Dodona*, a Fountain that run "with a ſoft murmuring Noiſe, at the foot of an Oak: "An old Woman named *Pelias* interpreted this in-"articulate Sound, and by means thereof gave Pre-"dictions to thoſe who came to conſult her (*b*)."

The double meaning of this ſame Word, ſupplies us with an Anſwer to the Queſtion, which *Ptolemy Epheſtion* (1) ſays *Alexander* propoſed to his Maſter *Ariſtotle*: Why *Homer* makes the πέλειαι furniſh *Jupiter* with Ambroſia? for the Philoſopher might have ſolved the Queſtion, by ſaying, the Poet meant by that Word, not Pigeons, but the Prieſteſſes of that God, who prepared the Meat of the Sacrifices that were offered to him.

In ancient times, the Oracle of *Dodona* was given by the murmuring of the Fountain now mentioned; but afterwards, it ſeems, they had recourſe to more Formalities, and this was the Artifice they fell upon. They ſuſpended in the Air (*c*) ſome brazen Kettles, near a Statue of the ſame Metal which was likewiſe ſuſpended, and held a Laſh in its hand. This Figure being agitated by the Wind, ſtruck againſt the Kettle that was next it, which communicating the Motion to the reſt, raiſed a clattering Din which continued pretty long; and upon this Noiſe they form'd Predictions. Hence the Foreſt of *Dodona* had even taken its Name, for *Dodo* in *Hebrew* ſignifies a Kettle. If you ask, what gave riſe to the Fable of thoſe Oracles being delivered by the Oaks

(*a*) See the *Mem. of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, T. 5. p. 35.

(*b*) Quæ murmura anus, nomine Pelias, interpretata hominibus differebat. *Serv. in* 3 *Æn.* V. 466.

(1) L. 1.

(*c*) *Suidas* upon the Authority of *Strabo*, or rather he who has epitomized him, in that Place where there is a Blank in the Original.

ſponſes in the ſame way with *Jupiter Hammon*. "The "Statue of that God, ſays he, is carried in the ſame "manner as thoſe of the Gods in the Proceſſion at the "*Circenſian* Games. The Prieſts, attended by the "principal Perſons of the Country who join in the Ce-"remony, having their Heads ſhav'd, and after a long "Continence, ſet forward, not as they are inclin'd "themſelves, but according as they are impelled by the "God whom they bear, by Motions reſembling thoſe "of the Statues of *Fortune* at *Antium*." It was probably by the ſame kind of Motions of the Statue of *Jupiter Phlius*, that his Prieſts deliver'd their Oracles, as may be ſeen in *Euſebius* (1) and in *Rufinus*.

The Oracle of Jupiter Phlius.

ARTICLE III.

The Oracle of Delphi.

If the Oracle of *Delphi* was not the moſt ancient of thoſe in *Greece*, it was at leaſt the moſt celebrated, and that which continued longeſt. To relate all that has been ſaid about this Oracle, would oblige me to copy almoſt all the ancient Authors, and not a few of the Moderns: And therefore, to ſatisfy thoſe who don't love long Narrations, I ſhall only give here an Abſtract of its Hiſtory.

At what time this Oracle was founded, is not known; which, in the firſt place, proves it to be of great antiquity, nor was *Apollo* the firſt who was conſulted there. But the Ancients not being agreed as to the Gods who had this Oracle ſucceſſively, 'tis neceſſary to give their Opinions. *Æſchylus*, in the beginning of his Tragedy of the *Eumenides*, ſays, *Terra* was the firſt who gave Oracles there; after her *Themis*, then *Phœbe*, another Daughter of *Terra*; *Phœbe*, according to the Mythologiſts was Mother to *Latona*, and Grandmother to *Apollo*; and he, in ſhort, was the fourth. *Ovid* only informs us (2), that *Themis* delivered Oracles at the foot of *Parnaſſus*; and that *Pyrrha* and *Deucalion* came to conſult her about the means of repleniſhing

(1) Hiſt. Eccl. l. 9. c. 3. (2) Met. l. 1. v. 316.

pleniſhing the Earth, whoſe Inhabitants had been deſtroyed by the Deluge. *Pauſanias* (1) adds, that before *Themis*, *Terra* and *Neptune* had likewiſe given their Oracles there; and if we take the Authority of the old Scholiaſt upon *Lycophron*, *Saturn* too had been conſulted there with *Neptune* and *Terra*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who was at the pains to inquire into the Origin of this Oracle, reports (2) a Tradition, which he had taken from Monuments of the greateſt antiquity: Goats, ſays he, that were feeding in the Valleys of *Parnaſſus*, gave riſe to the Diſcovery of this Oracle. There was in the Place ſince called the Sanctuary, a Hole, the Mouth of which was very ſtrait. Theſe Goats having come near it with their Heads, began to leap and friſk about ſo ſtrangely, that the Shepherd (*a*), being ſtruck with it, came up to the Place, and leaning over the Hole, was ſeized with a Fit of Enthuſiaſm, whereby he was prompted to utter ſome extravagant Expreſſions, which paſſed for Prophecies. The News of this Wonder drew thither the People in the Neighbourhood, who no ſooner approach'd the Hole, than they too were tranſported into the like Enthuſiaſm. Surprized with ſo aſtoniſhing a Prodigy, they ſuppoſed it to proceed from ſome friendly Deity, or from the Earth itſelf; and from that time, they began to confer a particular Worſhip upon the Divinity of the Place, and to look upon what was deliver'd in thoſe Fits of Enthuſiaſm as Predictions and Oracles. The Place where this Hole was obſerved, was on a riſing Ground, near *Parnaſſus* a Mountain in *Phocis*, on the South-ſide; and here they afterwards built the Temple and City of *Delphi*.

Several Gods having given Oracles there ſucceſſively, as has been already obſerv'd, the Hiſtorians and Poets give a very odd Account of the Manner of their abdicating their Right. *Terra* and *Neptune* poſſeſſed it in common; with this difference, that *Terra* gave her Oracles herſelf, and *Neptune* his by the Miniſtration

(1) L. 9. (2) L. 16.

(*a*) *Plutarch* call this Shepherd *Coretas*.

tion of a Prieſt named *Pyreon*. From *Terra*, the Oracle paſſed to *Themis* her Daughter, who poſſeſſed it pretty long, and reſign'd in favour of *Apollo*, whom ſhe fondly doated upon. According to an ancient Tradition followed by *Euripides* (1), the Reſignation was far from being voluntary. *Apollo*, whom *Pan* had taught the Art of Prediction, being arrived at *Parnaſſus*, with the Equipage deſcrib'd by *Homer*, that is cloath'd in his immortal Robes, perfumed with Eſſences, and in his hand a golden Lyre, on which he play'd melodious Airs, ſeiz'd the Sanctuary by force, ſlew the Dragon, which *Terra* had poſted there to be the Keeper, and made himſelf Maſter of the Oracle. *Neptune*, who likewiſe had his ſhare therein, not being inclin'd to diſpute it with his Nephew, exchanged with him for the Iſland of *Calauria*, over-againſt *Trezene*. From that time, none but *Apollo* deliver'd Oracles at *Delphi*. 'Tis eaſy to perceive, that this Fiction has no other Foundation but the Intereſt of the Prieſts, who ſeeing the Zeal of the People turn cool, try'd to awaken it, by preſenting them with new Objects of Worſhip.

Whatever be in that, the Oracle of *Apollo* got the better of all the reſt, both in its high Reputation and Long-ſtanding. Thither they flocked from all parts to conſult the God; *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, Princes and private Perſons, Men of all Characters, upon every minute Enterprize, as well as Affairs of great importance, came to *Delphos*, either in Perſon, or ſent a Deputation to know the mind of *Apollo*. Hence the vaſt Donations and immenſe Riches, wherewith the Temple and City were filled, and which became ſo conſiderable, as to be compared to thoſe of the *Perſian* Kings.

About the time when this Oracle was firſt diſcover'd, all the Myſtery requiſite to obtain the Prophetick Gift, was to approach the Cavern, and ſuck in the Vapour which iſſued from it; and at that time, the God inſpir'd all ſorts of Perſons indifferently: but at length, ſeveral of thoſe Enthuſiaſts, in the exceſs of their Fury, having throwa

(1) Iphig.

hrown themſelves headlong into the Gulf, they thought t to provide a Remedy againſt that Accident, which requently happen'd. They ſet over the Hole a Machine, which they called a Tripod, becauſe it had hree Feet, and commiſſioned a Woman to get up on his ſort of Chair, whence ſhe might catch the Exhalation without any Danger, becauſe the three Feet of he Machine ſtood upon the Rock. This Prieſteſs was named *Pythia*, from the Serpent *Python*, ſlain by *Apollo*, as we ſhall ſee in his Hiſtory. At firſt there were promoted to this Miniſtration, young Women, who were yet Virgins, and great Precaution was taken n the choice of them. The *Pythia* was ordinarily choſen from a poor Family, where ſhe had liv'd in Obſcurity, free from Luxury, and Affectation of Dreſs, and other gaudy Ornaments with which young Women ſet themſelves to ſhow. Ignorance itſelf was one of the things that qualify'd them for being promoted to this Dignity, and no more was required in her who was to be elected, but to be able to ſpeak and repeat what the God dictated. The Cuſtom of chuſing young Virgins laſted very long, and would have been kept up ſtill, had it not been for an Accident which occaſion'd its being aboliſhed. A young *Theſſalian* named *Echecrates*, being at *Delphi* (1), fell in love with the Prieſteſs, who was extremely beautiful, and raviſh'd her. To prevent any Abuſes of the like nature for the future, the People of *Delphi* made an expreſs Law, ordaining that none ſhould be choſen but Women above fifty years old. At firſt they had only one Prieſteſs, and ſhe ſufficed for giving Reſponſes to thoſe who came to *Delphi* (2); but in after-times there were two or three of them.

The Oracles were not delivered every day: Sacrifices, repeated over and over again, until the God who delivered them was pleaſed, conſumed frequently a whole Year, and it was only once a year, in the Month *Bysius*, which anſwer'd to the beginning of Spring, that *Apollo* inſpired the Prieſteſs. Except on this ſet Day, the Prieſteſs was forbid, under pain of Death, to

(1) Diod. 4. 1. (2) Plut. loc. cit.

go into the Sanctuary to conſult *Apollo*. *Alexander*, who before his Expedition into *Aſia*, came to *Delphi* on one of thoſe ſilent Days during which the Sanctuary was ſhut, entreated the Prieſteſs to mount the Tripod: She refuſed, and quoted the Law which ſtood in her way. This Prince being naturally haſty, and impatient to ſet out, drew the Prieſteſs by force from her Cell, and was leading her himſelf to the Sanctuary, which gave her occaſion to ſay, *My Son, thou art invincible.* At theſe Words, he cry'd out that he was ſatisfy'd, and would have no other Oracle.

As nothing ſerv'd ſo much to raiſe or keep up the Reputation of an Oracle, as that air of Myſtery which was given to every thing about it, we may be ſure that nothing was neglected at *Delphi*, to procure it Veneration. They uſed infinite precaution in chuſing the Victims, inſpecting the Entrails, and in the Omens they drew from them. The neglecting the ſmalleſt Punctilio, was a ſufficient motive to renew the Sacrifices that were to precede the Reſponſe of *Apollo*, and they repeated them till all was right. The Prieſteſs her ſelf made great Preparation for diſcharging her Duty: She faſted three Days, and before ſhe mounted the Tripod, ſhe bath'd herſelf in the Fountain of *Caſtalia*. There ſhe ordinarily waſh'd her Feet and Hands, ſometimes her whole Body; and ſhe ſwallowed a certain quantity of Water from that Fountain, becauſe *Apollo* was thought to have communicated to it a part of his enthuſiaſtick Virtue. After this, ſhe was made to chew ſome Leaves of the Laurel-Tree, gather'd near that Fountain: The Laurel was the Symbol of Divination, and wanted not its Influence to promote Enthuſiaſm. After theſe Preparations, *Apollo* gave Signals himſelf of his Arrival in the Temple; the whole Fabrick, by I know not what Artifice, trembled and ſhook to its very Foundation: as likewiſe a Laurel-Tree which was at the Entry the Temple. Then the Prieſts, who were likewiſe called Prophets, took hold of the Prieſteſs, led her to the Sanctuary, and placed her upon the Tripod. ſoon as ſhe began to be agitated by the divine Ent[illegible]

lation, you might have ſeen her Hair ſtand on end, her Mien grow wild and ghaſtly, her Mouth begin to foam, and her whole Body ſuddenly ſeiz'd with violent trembling. In this plight ſhe attempted to get away from the Prophets, who were holding her as it had been by force, while her Shrieks and Howlings made the whole Temple reſound, and fill'd the By-ſtanders with a ſacred Horrour. In fine, being no longer able to reſiſt the Impulſe of the God, ſhe gave herſelf up to him, and at certain intervals utter'd ſome unconnected Words, which the Prophets carefully pick'd up, rang'd them in order, and put in form of Verſe, giving them a Connection which they had not as they were delivered by the Prieſteſs (1). The Oracle being pronounc'd, ſhe was taken down from the Tripod and conducted back to her Cell, where ſhe continued for ſeveral days, to recover herſelf from her Conflict. We are told by *Lucan*, that ſpeedy Death was frequently the Conſequence of her Enthuſiaſm (2).

As the Prieſteſs was only the Inſtrument made uſe of to reveal the Will of *Apollo*, ſo the Oracle had ſeveral other Miniſters; Prieſts or Prophets who took care of every thing belonging to it; who choſe the Victims, offer'd up the Sacrifices, repeated them when they were not propitious, conducted the Prieſteſs to the Tripod, where they placed her in a convenient Poſture for receiving all the Vapour that iſſued from the Cave, at the Mouth of which ſhe ſat; they put her Words together, and deliver'd them to the Poets, another ſort of Miniſters, by whom they were put into Verſe. From a Paſſage in *Plutarch* (3) it appears, that thoſe Poets, together with the Prophets, were about the Prieſteſs when ſhe pronounc'd the Words which the God dictated to her. The Verſes compoſed by thoſe Poets, were often ſtiff, of a wretched Compoſition, and always obſcure; which gave occaſion to that piece of Raillery, that *Apollo* the Prince of the Muſes, was the worſt of Poets. Sometimes the Prieſteſs herſelf pronounc'd her Oracles in Verſe, at leaſt we are told ſo of

(1) Herod. Plut. Strabo, &c. (2) Pharſ. l. 5. (3) Loc. cit.

with Branches of Laurel, ſhe herſelf ſurrounded
Prophets and Poets, and there being two Wom
ſides to hinder the Profane from coming near h
was difficult to know preciſely what was done
and had it not been for Perſons of Curioſity, who
more narrowly into the Secret of the Prieſts, we
not have been able to ſpeak ſo poſitively as w
done, concerning the Manner in which this Orac
delivered.

ARTICLE IV.

The Oracle of Trophonius.

Tho' *Trophonius* was only a Hero, nay, accord
ſome Authors, an execrable Robber; yet he had
racle in *Bœotia*, which became exceeding famou
where grand Ceremonies were uſed, before obt
the Reſponſe. As no body has deſcrib'd it mor
and more accurately than *Pauſanias* who had cor
it, and ſubmitted to all its irkſome Formalities, w
not do better than tranſcribe what he ſays of thi
ſonage and his Oracle (1). *Erginus*, ſays he, t
of *Clymenus* King of *Orchomenos*, being far advan
Years, and inclined to marry, came to conſult t
racle of *Apollo*, whether he ſhould have Children.
Prieſteſs puzzled with his Queſtion, anſwered h
enigmatical Terms, that tho' he was rather too l
coming to a reſolution, yet he might entertain
hopes if he married a young Wife. Conforma
this Reſponſe, he married a young Woman, by

(1) In Bœot. p. 599.

two Sons, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, who both became afterwards great Architects.

hem was built the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, *ieus*' sTreaſure-Houſe. In the Conſtruction of this they had recourſe to a ſecret Stratagem, known but themſelves: By means of a Stone in the which they had the Art of taking out and put- again, ſo as no body could diſcover, they had very night to this Treaſury, and robb'd *Hyrieus* Money. He obſerving his Money diminiſh'd, no appearance of the Doors having been open'd, rap about the Veſſels which contain'd his Trea- nd there *Agamedes* was catch'd. *Trophonius* not ig how to extricate him, and fearing leſt if he next day put to the rack, he ſhould diſcover ret, cut off his Head.

hout entering into a critical Examination of this which ſeems to be but a Copy of what *Herodo-* y relates of one of the Kings of *Egypt*, and two rs who robb'd his Treaſure by a like Stratagem, d have it be obſerv'd, that *Pauſanias* gives us count of the Life of *Trophonius*; only as to the r of his Death he tells us, that the Earth open'd allow'd him up alive, and that the Place where pened is ſtill called at this day, *Agamedes*'s Pit, is to be ſeen in a ſacred Grove of *Lebadea*, with r ſet over it.

e Death of thoſe two Brothers is told otherwiſe by *ch*, who cites *Pindar*. After the building of the le of *Delphos*, whoſe Foundation was laid by *A-* himſelf, as it is in *Homer*, they ask'd their Reward t God, who order'd them to wait eight Days, n the mean time to make merry; but at the end t term they were found dead.

badea, continues *Pauſanias*, is a City as much a- d as any throughout *Greece*: The ſacred Grove of *onius* is but at a very little diſtance from it, and in Grove is the Temple of *Trophonius*, with his Statue, h is the Work *of Praxiteles*. They who come to *lt his Oracle*, muſt perform certain Ceremonies.

Before they go down into the Cave where the Resp
is given, they muſt paſs ſome Days in a Chapel ded
ted to *Good Genius* and to *Fortune*. That time is ſpen
Self-purification, by abſtinence from all things unlaw
and in making uſe of the Cold Bath, for the Warm B
are prohibited; thus, the Suppliant is not allowe
waſh himſelf, unleſs in the Water of the River *Her*
He muſt ſacrifice to *Trophonius* and all his Family
Jupiter ſurnam'd *King*, to *Saturn*, to *Ceres* ſurna
Europa, who was believed to have been *Trophon*
Nurſe; thus the God had plentiful proviſion of F
offered to him in Sacrifice. There were Diviners al
conſult the Entrails of every Victim, to know if it
agreeable to *Trophonius* that the Perſon ſhould c
down into his Cave; but he eſpecially revealed
mind by the Entrails of a Ram, which was offere
to him in the laſt place. If the Omens were favour
the Suppliant was led that Night to the River
cyna, where two Boys * about twelve or thirteen y
old, anointed his whole Body with Oil. Then he
conducted as far as the Source of the River, and
made to drink two ſorts of Water; that of *L*
which effaced from his mind all prophane Thoug
and that of *Mnemoſyné*, which had the quality of
abling him to retain whatever he was to ſee in th
cred Cave. After all this Apparatus, the Prieſts
ſented to him the Statue of *Trophonius*, to whic
was to addreſs a Prayer: Then he got a linnen
nick to put on, which was adorned with ſacred Fill
and after all, was ſolemnly conducted to the Orac
This Oracle was upon a Mountain, within an
cloſure made of white Stones, upon which were ere
Obeliſks of Braſs. In this Incloſure was a Cave
the figure of an Oven, cut out by Art. The Mouth
was narrow, and the Deſcent to it was not by St
but by a ſmall Ladder. When they were got do
they found another ſmall Cave, the Entrance to wh
was very ſtrait: The Suppliant proſtrated himſelf on
Ground, carrying a certain Compoſition of Hone
ci

* *Pauſanias* adds, that thoſe Boys were called Mercury.

either Hand, without which he is not admitted; he firſt puts down his Feet into the Mouth of the Cave, and inſtantly his whole Body is forcibly drawn in.

They who were admitted, were favoured with Revelations, but not all in the ſame manner: Some had the Knowledge of Futurity by Viſion, others by an audible Voice. Having got their Reſponſe, they came out of the Cave the ſame way they went in, proſtrate on the Ground, and their Feet foremoſt. Then the Suppliant was conducted to the Chair of *Mnemoſyné*, and there being ſet down, was interrogated what he had ſeen or heard: From that he was brought back quite ſtupify'd and ſenſeleſs, into the Chapel of *Good Genius*, till he ſhould recover his Senſes; after which he was obliged to write down in a Table-Book, all that he had ſeen or heard; which the Prieſts interpreted in their own way. *Pauſanias* adds, that there never had been any but one Man who enter'd *Trophonius*'s Cave without coming out again. This was a Spy ſent thither by *Demetrius*, to ſee whether in that holy Place there was any thing worth plundering. His Body was found far from thence, and 'tis likely, that his Deſign being diſcovered, the Prieſts aſſaſſinated him in the Cave, and carry'd out his Carcaſs by ſome Paſſage, whereby they themſelves came into the Cave without being perceiv'd. The ſame Author concludes: *What I here write, is not founded upon Hearſay; I relate what I have ſeen happen to others, and what happen'd to my ſelf: For to be aſſured of the Truth, I went down into the Cave and conſulted the Oracle.*

Plutarch, who tells us that in his time all the Oracles of *Bœotia* had ceaſed, except that of *Trophonius*, makes mention in his Treatiſe concerning *Socrates*'s Genius, of one *Timarchus*, who gave account of what he pretended to have ſeen in *Trophonius*'s Cave; but he ſeems to have been but an Impoſtor, who regards not whether the thing be true or falſe, but only if it is wonderful and extraordinary; and deſerves much leſs to be believed than *Pauſanias*.

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As to the time when the Oracle of *Trophonius* was founded, we are not able to determine: Only we know from *Pauſanias*, that he was not heard of in *Bœotia* itſelf, till that Country being diſtreſſed with a great Drought, they had recourſe to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, to learn from that God, by what means they might put a ſtop to the Famine. The Prieſteſs anſwered, that they were to apply themſelves to *Trophonius*, whom they would find in *Lebadea*. The Deputies obey'd; but not being able to find an Oracle in that City, *Saon* the oldeſt of them, ſpy'd a Swarm of Bees, and obſerv'd to what ſide it turn'd. He ſaw that thoſe Bees flew towards a Cave; follow'd them, and thus diſcovered the Oracle. They ſay, continues *Pauſanias*, that *Trophonius* himſelf inſtructed him in all the Ceremonies of his Worſhip, and after what manner he would be honour'd and conſulted; which makes me think that this *Saon* was himſelf the Founder of that Oracle, which, no doubt, was inſtituted upon occaſion of the Famine I have mention'd.

ARTICLE V.

Of other Oracles.

After having ſpoken at ſome length of the principal Oracles, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of thoſe that were of leſs note. *Apollo*, of all the Gods, was he who had the greateſt number. That of *Claros*, a Town in *Ionia*, near *Colophon*, tho' of leſs Antiquity than ſeveral others, was yet very famous, and very often conſulted. The City *Claros* is thought to have been founded by *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tireſias*, after the ſecond War of *Thebes*, ſome Years before the taking of *Troy*. This Daughter, of whom Antiquity tells many Wonders, with reſpect to her prophetick Gift, deploring the Miſeries of her Country, melted into Tears, and thoſe Tears of hers formed a Fountain and Lake, whoſe Water communicated the Gift of Prophecy to thoſe who drank it: But the Water not being wholeſome, it likewiſe brought on Diſeaſes, and was a means

of

rtning Life. *Pliny* ſpeaking of it (1), expreſſes lf to this purpoſe: *Colophone in Apollinis Clarii lacus eſt, cujus potu mira redduntur Oracula, bi- m breviore vitâ.*

e ſame God had a great many others, of which l name the principal from *Van Dale* (2): There ne, and that a very famous one too, in the Sub- of *Daphne* at *Antioch*. According to *Lucan*, one : Iſland of *Delos*, which was thought to be the place of that God. According to *Herodotus*, he ne at *Didyme* among the *Branchidæ*. One at *Ar-* ıs we learn from *Pauſanias*. In *Troas*, and in ſ, according to *Stephanus*; at *Baiæ* in *Italy*, as arn from *Capitolinus*; in *Cilicia*, in *Egypt*, in the in *Thrace*, at *Corinth*, in *Arcadia*, in *Laconia*; e, in an infinity of other Places, as may be ſeen ıt Place of the modern Author, which I have juſt cited.

ıo' the other Gods had not an equal ſhare with *A-*, the God of Divination, yet every one of them ſt had his Oracle. *Jupiter*, beſides that of *Dodona* ome others, the honour whereof he ſhared with 'o, had one in *Bœotia*, under the name of *Jupiter* Thunderer, and another in *Elis* (3). One at *Thebes* ıt *Meroe* (4); one near *Antioch*, and ſeveral others. ılapius was conſulted in *Cilicia*, at *Apollonia*, in the of *Cos*, at *Pergamus*, *Epidaurus*, *Rome*, and elſe- re. *Mercury* at *Patras*, upon *Hemon*, and in other es. *Mars* in *Thrace*, *Egypt*, and elſewhere. *Her-* at *Cadiz*, *Athens*, in *Egypt*, at *Tivoli*, in *Meſo- mia*, where, according to *Tacitus*, he gave his O- s by Dreams, whence he got the Name of *Som- is*, as may be ſeen in an Inſcription of *Spon*, and in her recited by *Reineſius*. *Iſis*, *Oſiris*, and *Serapis*, vered in like manner their Oracles by Dreams, as learn from *Pauſanias*, *Tacitus*, *Arrian*, and ſeveral ers. This manner of giving Oracles, to mention it he by, was very common: By this we may explain thoſe

1 L. 2. c. 103. (2) De Orac. Ethn. dur. atque interiv Strabo. (4) Herodotus.

thoſe Inſcriptions cited by *Gruter*, in which we read, *Ex viſu Deæ: Viſu juſſa poſuit: Viſæ monitus, Somnio monitus*, &c. That of *Amphilochus* mentioned by *Dion*, was likewiſe delivered by Dream. The Ox *Apis* had alſo his Oracle in *Egypt*; the manner of conſulting whom was ſingular. If he eat what was offer'd him by the Suppliant, it was a good ſign; but a bad one when he refuſed it, as it happen'd to *Germanicus*. It was much the ſame with the Ceremony practiſed at *Rome*, when they drew good or bad Omens from what they called their ſacred Chickens; as if the Events of Futurity had depended upon the good Appetite or full Stomach of an Ox, or of a Chicken.

The Gods called *Cabiri*, if we may credit St. *Athanaſius*, had their Oracle in *Bœotia*. *Diana*, the Siſter of *Apollo*, had not a few: She had one in *Egypt* (1), in *Cilicia*, at *Epheſus*, not to mention ſeveral others. *Virgil* makes mention of that of *Faunus* in *Italy*. Thoſe of *Fortune* at *Preneſte*, and of the *Lots* at *Antium*, are too well known to need any Enlargement upon this Subject. The Fountains too delivered Oracles, for to each of them a Divinity was aſcrib'd: ſuch, in particular, was the Fountain of *Caſtalia* at *Delphi*, another of the ſame Name in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, and the prophetick Fountain near the Temple of *Ceres* in *Achaia*. What *Pliny* tells us of that of *Limyra*, is very ſingular: It gave Oracles by means of the Fiſhes. The Conſulters preſented Meat to them: if the Fiſhes fell on greedily, it was a favourable Omen for the Event about which they came to interrogate them; if they refuſed the Bait, by rejecting it with their Tail, it betoken'd bad Succeſs (*a*).

Juno had ſeveral Oracles: One near *Corinth*, one at *Nyſa*, and in other Places. *Latona*, according to *Herodotus*, had one at *Butes* in *Egypt*. *Leucothoe* had hers in *Colchis*, according to *Strabo*. *Memnon*, in *Egypt*,

(1) Herodotus.

(*a*) Fons Limyræ tranſire ſolet in loca vicina, portendens aliquid: Nimirum quod cum piſcibus tranſit. Reſponſa ab his petunt incolæ cibo, quem rapiunt annuentes: Si vero eventum negent, cauda abnegunt. *Plin.* l. 31. c. 2.

as we learn from *Tacitus* and *Lucian*. *Machaon*, at *Gerania* in *Laconia*, according to *Pauſanias*. *Minerva*, who was denominated *Fatidica*, of conſequence was not without her Oracles: She had one in *Egypt* (1), in *Spain*, upon Mount *Ætna*, at *Mycenæ*, in *Colchis*, and elſewhere. Thoſe of *Neptune* were at *Delphos*, and at *Calauria*, near *Neoceſarea*, and elſewhere (2). The Nymphs had theirs in the Cave of *Corycia*. *Pan* had ſeveral, the moſt famous of which was that in *Arcadia*. That of the *Palici*, according to *Macrobius*, *Virgil*, and *Stephanus*, was in *Sicily* (3).

Pluto had one at *Nyſa*, as we learn from *Strabo*. *Saturn* had of them in ſeveral places; but the moſt famous was that of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, and that of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. *Lucian* diſcourſes of that of the *Syrian* Goddeſs; *Gruter* of that of *Sylvanus*. Thoſe of *Venus* were diſperſed in ſeveral Places, at *Gaza*, upon Mount *Libanus*, at *Paphos*, in *Cyprus*, &c. *Serapis* had one at *Alexandria*, which *Veſpaſian* went to conſult; the Prieſt who miniſter'd to the God, would only reveal to him in ſecret what he had to tell him concerning the grand Deſigns he had in view. Upon which I ſhall remark by the way, that it was a very rare thing for thoſe who came to conſult the Oracles, to be permitted to enter the Sanctuary; and *Van Dale*, who has exhauſted the Subject, finds but two Examples of it, that of *Alexander*, who, as *Plutarch* reports after *Caliſthenes*, entered alone into the Sanctuary of *Hammon*: and that of *Veſpaſian*, who, according to *Tacitus*, was introduced into that of *Serapis*.

I cannot paſs in ſilence that of *Venus Aphacite*, mention'd by *Zozimus*, which was conſulted by the *Palmarenians*, who revolted under the Reign of *Aurelian*, about the Year of *Jeſus Chriſt* 272. *Aphaca* * was a Place between *Heliopolis* and *Byblos*, where *Venus* had a Temple, hard by which was a Lake reſembling a Ciſtern. They, who came to conſult the Oracle of that Goddeſs, threw Preſents into the Lake; and it

was

(1) *Herodotus.* (2) Pauſanias. (3) See their Hiſtory.

* *'Tis a Syriack word*, and ſignifies an Embrace. See Suidas.

was no matter what kind they were of. If they were acceptable to *Venus*, they went to the bottom; if she rejected them, they swam on the Surface, even tho' of Gold or Silver. The Historian, I have quoted, subjoins, that in the Year, which preceded the Ruin of the *Palmarenians*, their Presents sunk to the bottom; but that in the following Year all floated above.

Ammianus Marcellinus tells us of a God called *Beza*, but little known to Mythologists, who had an Oracle at *Abydos*, in the Extremity of *Thebais*, which was delivered by Letters under a Seal. *Zozimus* reports, that some of those Letters which had been left in the Temple of that God, were sent to *Constantius*. Upon which, the Emperor caused very strict Enquiry to be made, and imprison'd, or banish'd a considerable number of Persons: probably the Oracle had been consulted about the Fate of the Empire, or the Success of some Plot, they were forming against the Emperor.

'Tis hardly credible, that *Geryon*, the three-headed Monster, who was slain by *Hercules*, should have had an Oracle! He had one however, as well as his Conqueror. This Oracle was in *Italy*, near *Padua*; and *Suetonius* tells us (1), that *Tiberius* went to consult that God. There was the Fountain of *Aponus*, which, if we may believe *Claudian*, restored Speech to the dumb, and cured all sorts of Diseases. That of *Hercules* was at *Tivoli*, and was given by Lots, as *Statius* tells us, much after the manner of those of *Fortune* at *Preneste* and at *Antium*, as I shall explain afterwards. I have spoke of Fountains, whose Waters had a prophetick Virtue. The Rivers did not enjoy the same Prerogative: we find one however that was privileged, and which, according to *Pliny* the younger, had an Oracle. It was *Clitumnus*, a River in *Umbria*. The Temple of that God, says this Author, is ancient and much revered: *Clitumnus* is there dressed in a *Roman* Garb. The Lots denote the Presence and Power of the Divinity. There are likewise in the same place several Chapels, some of which have Fountains and Springs; for *Clitumnus*

(1) In Tiber.

tumnus is as it were the Father of ſeveral other ſmall Rivers, which unite their Streams with his.

Nor was it only the Gods had Oracles: the Demi-Gods and Heroes had theirs too. *Lutatius* ſpeaks of that of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which was at *Lacedemon* (1). *Barthius* (2) makes mention of that of *Amphiaraus* at *Oropus*, in *Macedonia*; and *Mopſus* had likewiſe one in *Cilicia*, as we learn from the Ancients. The Head of *Orpheus*, according to *Ovid*, delivered Reſponſes at *Lesbos*; *Amphilochus*, at *Mallos*; *Sarpedon*, in *Troas*; *Hermione*, in *Macedonia*; *Paſiphae*, in *Laconia*, as we learn from *Tertullian*, who, in his Book upon the Soul, cites the Work of *Hermippus*; *Chalcas*, in *Italy* (3); *Ariſtæus*, in *Bœotia* (4); *Autolycus*, at *Sinope* (5); *Phryxus*, among the *Colchi*; that of *Rheſus*, was at *Pangea*; *Ulyſſes*, if we may believe the old Commentator on *Lycophron*, had likewiſe an Oracle; and ſo had *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes*, as *Strabo* aſſures us, not to mention a great many more. Even *Epheſtion* too, *Alexander*'s Minion, and *Antinous* had Oracles. After the death of the former, nothing would ſatisfy *Alexander*, but to have *Epheſtion* made a God; and all the Courtiers of that Prince conſented to it without the leaſt heſitation. Immediately Temples are built to him in ſeveral Towns; Feſtivals inſtituted to his Honour; Sacrifices offered; Cures aſcrib'd to him; and that nothing might be wanting, Oracles are given out in his Name.

Hadrian practiſed the ſame Fooleries towards *Antinous*: He cauſed the City *Antinopolis* to be built to his Memory, gave him Temples and Prophets, ſays St. *Jerom*; now Prophets belong'd only to the oracular Temples. We have ſtill a *Greek* Inſcription to this purpoſe.

TO

(1) Upon the 413th Verſe of the Thebaid. (2) Upon the ſame Author, L. 9. v. 658. (3) Strabo. (4) Greg. of Nazianz. (5) Strabo.

TO ANTINOVS, THE COMPANION OF THE GODS OF EGYPT; M. VLPIVS APOLLONIVS HIS PROPHET.

After this, we ſhall not be ſurpriz'd at *Auguſtus*'s having deliver'd Oracles at *Rome*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. Theſe modern Oracles however were never in ſo much repute as the ancient ones, and they made theſe new-created Gods deliver only ſo many Reſponſes, as were thought convenient in order to make their Court to the Princes who had deify'd them. And to be ſhort, they did not conſult them very ſeriouſly; and in Affairs of importance, they ſtill had recourſe to *Delphos*, *Claros*, or the Cave of *Trophonius*.

But there would be no end of it, was I to enumerate all the Pagan Oracles. *Van Dale*, after having diſcourſed of the chief of them, contents himſelf with naming thoſe at the end of his Work; a Liſt of whom he had collected from the Ancients; and in this Liſt, which may be conſulted, he reckons up near three hundred, the moſt of them belonging to *Greece*. But to be ſure he has not named them all; for there were few Temples where there was not an Oracle, or ſome other ſort of Divination.

Of all the Parts of *Greece*, *Bœotia* was that which had moſt of them, upon account of the Mountains and Caverns it was full of: for 'tis proper to remark with M. *Fontenelle*, that nothing ſuited better with Oracles than Caverns and Mountains (*a*). It was in thoſe Caves, whoſe View inſpired a ſort of religious Horrour, that the Prieſts could artfully contrive Paſſages whereby to go in, and come out, without being perceived; Machines, hollow Statues, within which they hid themſelves,

(*a*) *Plutarch* remarks, that there were more than five and twenty in *Bœotia* alone, which was a very ſmall Province. As many were reckoned in the *Peloponneſus*, and fifteen about *Delphi*, either at the ſame time, or ſucceſſively.

ſelves, and ſeveral other Conveniencies to give more Reputation to their Oracles. For in fine, altho' I am perſuaded with the moſt learned Fathers of the Church, that the Devil preſided over Oracles, and that it was either he himſelf perſonally preſent, or the Prieſts acted by him, who deliver'd Reſponſes concerning future Events; ſince, let Men ſay what they will, there is no other poſſible way of explaining all that we learn from Antiquity relating to thoſe Reſponſes: yet I am fully convinced, that the Cheats of the Prieſts had often, nay, for the moſt part, if you will, a very great hand in them; and conſequently we may believe, that they neglected no Method for ſupporting their Impoſtures. The Diſcovery, which *Daniel* made of the Tricks of *Belus*'s Prieſts, who came by night thro' ſubterraneous Paſſages, and carried off the Meat, which they ſaid was eat up by the God himſelf; this, I ſay, is a convincing Proof of the Cheats that were practiſed in the Pagan Temples; a Proof which leaves no room to doubt but the like Tricks were uſed in the Oracles. Accordingly, when the Chriſtian Religion had once triumphed over Idolatry, and when the Oracles were aboliſhed with it, there were Diſcoveries made in the Caves and Dens where there had been Oracles, and ſeveral Marks of the Fraud and Impoſture of the Miniſters who had had the Charge of them.

To conclude: We muſt not think, that all the Oracles we have been ſpeaking of, and others, of which we know but the bare Names, did ſubſiſt at one and the ſame time. There were ſome of them older, ſome of them later, and of all Dates, from that of *Dodona*, which was look'd upon as the moſt ancient, down to that of *Antinous*, which may be reckoned the laſt. Sometimes even the ancient ones came to be laid aſide. Their Credit was loſt, either by diſcovering the Impoſtures of their Miniſters, or by Wars, which laid waſte the Places where they were, or by other Accidents unknown. One thing we know, that the immenſe Riches, which were at *Delphi*, had frequently been a Temptation to rifle that Temple, as was done more

than

than once; tho' at the ſame time, thoſe Pillages did not make the Oracle to ceaſe *(a)*.

Upon the Ruin of thoſe, they took care to found new ones in their room; and theſe, in their turn, gave place to others: but the preciſe time of the Declenſion of many of thoſe Oracles, and of the Inſtitution of the new, is not known.

ARTICLE VI.

Various Manners in which the Oracles were deliver'd.

Before we finiſh what belongs to this Subject, I am to examine two Heads, which I have only hinted at in ſome places of this Chapter. The firſt, concerns the different Manners in which the Oracles were deliver'd: The ſecond, the more remarkable Reſponſes handed down to us by Antiquity.

We have ſeen in what manner ſeveral Oracles were given; that at *Delphi*, they interpreted and put in Verſe what the Prieſteſs pronounced in the time of her Fury; that at the Oracle of *Hammon*, it was the Prieſts who pronounced the Reſponſe of their God; that at *Dodona*, the Reſponſe was given from the Hollow of an Oak; that at the Cave of *Trophonius*, the Oracle was gather'd from what the Suppliant ſaid before he recover'd his Senſes; that at *Memphis*, they drew a good or bad Omen, according as the Ox *Apis* receiv'd or rejected what was preſented to him; and that it was thus likewiſe with the Fiſhes of the Fountain of *Limyra*. We muſt now add, that the Reſponſe of the God was often given from the bottom of his Statue, whether it was the Devil delivered his Oracles there, or the Prieſts, who had hollowed thoſe Statues and found a way to convey themſelves thither, by ſome ſubterraneous Paſſage; for, to ſay it over again, the Suppliants were not allow'd to enter the Sanctuaries where the Oracles were given, far leſs to appear too curious in that point. Accordingly they took care, that neither the *Epi-*

(a) It was pillaged by a Robber, of the Race of the *Phlegyæans*, by the *Phocians*, by Pyrrhus, by Nero, and laſtly by the Chriſtians.

Epicureans nor Chriſtians ſhould come near them; and the reaſon is very obvious. In ſeveral places, the Oracles were given by Letters ſealed up; as in that of *Mopſus*, and at *Mallos* in *Cilicia*. He, who came to conſult theſe Oracles, was obliged to give his Letter into the Prieſts hands, or to leave it upon the Altar, and to lie in the Temple; and it was in time of his Sleep, that he received the Anſwer to his Letter; whether it was that the Prieſts had the Secret of opening theſe Letters, as *Lucian* aſſures us of his falſe Prophet *Alexander* (1), who had founded his Oracle in *Pontus*; or whether there was ſomething ſupernatural in the Caſe, I ſhall not determine.

The Manner of delivering the Oracle at *Claros* had ſomewhat ſtill more extraordinary, ſince no more was required but that the Perſon ſhould communicate his Name to the Prieſt of that God *. *Tacitus* is my Author. "*Germanicus*, ſays he, went to conſult "the Oracle of *Claros*. The Reſponſes of that God "are not delivered by a Woman, as at *Delphos*; but "by a Man choſen out of a particular Family, and "who is for the moſt part of *Miletus*. All he re- "quires is to be told the Number and the Names of "the Suppliants. Then he retires into a Grotto, and "having taken Water from a ſecret Spring, he gives "a Reſponſe in Verſe, ſuitable to what every one has "been thinking upon; tho', for the moſt part, he is "extremely ignorant."

Among the Oracles which were delivered in a Dream, there were ſome for which Preparations were neceſſary by Faſtings, as that in *Amphiaraus* in *Attica*, as *Philoſtratus* informs us of him (2), and ſome others, where they were oblig'd to ſleep upon the Skins of the Victims.

One of the moſt ſingular Oracles was that of *Mercury*, in *Achaia*, which *Pauſanias* treats of (3). After a great many Ceremonies, which we need not here

(1) In Alex. (2) Life of Apol. Tyan. L. 2. (3) In Ach.

* *Numerum modo conſultantium & nomina audit.* *Annal.* L. 2. c. 54.

enumerate, they whiſper'd in the Ear of the God, and ask'd him, what they were deſirous to know; then they ſtop'd their Ears with their hands, went out of the Temple, and the firſt Words they heard upon their coming out, was the Reſponſe of the God.

Oracles were frequently given by Lot; and this is what we muſt explain. The Lots were a kind of Dice, on which were engraven certain Characters or Words, whoſe Explanation they were to look for in Tables made for the purpoſe. The way of uſing thoſe Dice for knowing Futurity was different, according to the Places where they were uſed. In ſome Temples, the Perſon threw them himſelf; in others, they were drop'd from a Box; whence came the proverbial Expreſſion, *The Lot is fallen.* This Playing with Dice was always preceded by Sacrifices, and other uſual Ceremonies.

There were of theſe Lots in ſeveral Oracles, even at *Dodona*, as appears in the caſe of the *Lacedemonians*, when they came thither for a Conſultation, as we have it in *Cicero* (1); but the moſt famous Lots were at *Antium* and *Præneste*, two Towns in *Italy*. At *Præneste*, it was the Goddeſs; and at *Antium*, the Goddeſſes of Fortune; that is, her Divinity was repreſented by Statues. Thoſe of *Antium* had this Singularity, that they moved themſelves, according to *Macrobius*'s Teſtimony (2); and their various Movements ſerved either for the Reſponſe, or ſignified if the Lots could be conſulted. From a Paſſage in *Cicero* (3), where he ſays, the Lots of *Præneste* were conſulted by conſent of Fortune, it would ſeem, that the Fortune which was in that City was a ſort of Automaton, like thoſe at *Antium*, which gave ſome ſign with its Head, much like that of *Jupiter Hammon*; who, as has been ſaid, thus ſignified to the Prieſts who carried him in Proceſſion, what Rout they were to take. An Event which *Suetonius* relates, undoubtedly raiſed the Lots of *Præneste* to great Reputation, contrary to the Intention of *Tiberius*, who was going to deſtroy them; ſince he tells

(1) De Div. L. 1. (2) Sat. L. 1. c. 23. (3) De Div. L. 1.

tells us, that they were not to be found in a Coffer ſecurely ſealed, when the Coffer was open'd at *Rome*, but when brought back to *Præneſte* they were again found.

In *Greece* and *Italy*, they frequently drew Lots, from ſome celebrated Poet, as *Homer* and *Euripides*; and what preſented itſelf upon opening the Book was the Decree of Heaven; of this, Hiſtory furniſhes a thouſand Examples. Nothing is yet more common than the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or Lots which were drawn from *Virgil*'s Poems. *Lampridius* informs us, that *Alexander Severus*, when yet a private Man, and at a time when the Emperor *Heliogabalus* bore no Good-will to him, received by way of Reſponſe in the Temple of *Præneſte*, that Paſſage in *Virgil*;

——————*Si qua fata aſpera rumpas,*
Tu Marcellus eris (1).

If thou canſt by any means ſurmount ſevere Deſtiny, thou ſhalt be Marcellus.

In the Eaſtern Countries, Arrows ſerved for Lots; and theſe the *Turks* and *Arabians* uſe at this day, in the ſame way as the Ancients did. We learn from the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, coming from *Babylon* with a great Army, ſtop'd in a Croſs-way, to know by means of the Arrows which he mingled, *miſcuit Sagittas*, if he ſhould make War upon *Egypt*, or againſt the *Jews*; and the Prophet adds, that the *Lot* fell upon *Jeruſalem*. Under this Head, we may take in the Conſultation of the *Sibylline* Books, which were look'd upon at *Rome* as a continual Oracle; but of this I ſhall diſcourſe at length in the Hiſtory of thoſe Prophetеſſes.

In fine, Lots were even introduced into Chriſtianity, and taken from the ſacred Books, where the firſt words that threw up, decided what they wanted to know. We ſhall conclude by reporting ſome ſingular Reſponſes of Oracles.

Singular Reſponſes of certain Oracles.

The ordinary Ambiguity of the Oracles, and their double Meaning, could not chuſe but be a great Support to them; ſince, by in-

(1) *Æn. L. 6. v. 882.*

interpreting them in a certain ſenſe, which they could bear, the Oracle was ſure to be fulfill'd. Thus the Reſponſe given to *Cræſus*, by the Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, muſt, in all Events, have appear'd a true Prediction. *Cræſus*, ſaid the Prieſteſs, *in paſſing the* Halys *ſhall overthrow a great Empire:* For if that *Lydian* Monarch had conquer'd *Cyrus*, he overthrew the *Aſſyrian* Empire; if he himſelf was routed, he overturn'd his own.

That deliver'd to *Pyrrhus*, which is comprized in this *Latin* Verſe,

Credo equidem Æacidas Romanos vincere poſſe (*a*).

had the ſame advantage; for, according to the Rules of Syntax, either of the two Accuſatives may be governed by the Verb, and the Verſe be explain'd, either by ſaying the *Romans* ſhall conquer the *Æacidæ*, of whom *Pyrrhus* was deſcended, or theſe ſhall conquer the *Romans*.

When *Alexander* fell ſick at *Babylon*, ſome of his Courtiers, who happen'd to be in *Egypt*, or who went thither on purpoſe, paſſed the Night in the Temple of *Serapis*, to enquire if it would not be proper to bring *Alexander* to be cured by him. The God anſwered, It was better that *Alexander* ſhould remain where he was. This in all Events was a very prudent and ſafe Anſwer. If the King recover'd his health, what Glory muſt *Serapis* have gained by ſaving him the Fatigue of the Journey! If he died, it was but ſaying he died in a favourable Juncture after ſo many Conqueſts; which, had he lived, he could neither have enlarged nor preſerved. That is actually the Conſtruction they put upon the Reſponſe; whereas had *Alexander* undertaken the Journey, and died in the Temple, or by the way, nothing could have been ſaid in favour of *Serapis*.

When *Trajan* had formed the Deſign of his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, he was adviſed to conſult the Oracle of *Heliopolis*, to which he had no more to do but ſend a Note under a Seal. That Prince, who had no great Faith in Oracles, ſent thither a Blank Note;

(*a*) *Cicero* won't allow that any ſuch Reſponſe was given.

Note; and they return'd him another of the ſame. By this *Trajan* was convinced of the Divinity of the Oracle. He ſends back a ſecond Note to the God, wherein he enquired, whether he ſhould return to *Rome* after finiſhing the War he had in view. The God, as *Macrobius* tells the Story *, ordered a Vine, which was among the Offerings of his Temple, to be divided into pieces, and brought to *Trajan*. The Event juſtified the Oracle; for the Emperor dying in that War, his Bones were carried to *Rome*, which had been repreſented by that broken Vine. As the Prieſts of that Oracle knew *Trajan*'s Deſign, which was no Secret, they happily deviſed that Reſponſe, which, in all Events, was capable of a favourable Interpretation, whether he routed and cut the *Parthians* in pieces, or if his Army met with the ſame fate.

But among the Reſponſes of the Oracles, ſome were of a ſingular Nature. *Cræſus* not being ſatisfy'd with that of *Delphos*, altho' he had been exceſſively liberal to it, as *Herodotus* informs us, ſent with a view to ſurprize the Oracle, to enquire of the Prieſteſs, what he was a doing at the very time when his Deputy was conſulting her. She anſwered, he was then boiling a Lamb with a Tortoiſe; as he really was. *Cræſus* who had contrived this odd Ragou, in hope that the Oracle could never hit upon the Secret, which he had communicated to no Mortal, and which at the ſame time was in the nature of the thing ſo unlikely to be thought of, was amazed at this Reſponſe: it heightens his credulity, and new Preſents muſt be ſent to the God. As this Fact being very ſingular, and containing other circumſtances beſides, I ſhall relate it as it is in *Herodotus* (1). "*Cræſus* ſeeing the Power of the *Perſians* grow greater and greater every day, by the Valour of *Cyrus*, thought it high time to be making ready to bear it down. Before he took any ſteps, he ſent to conſult the Oracles of *Greece* and *Africk*. Accordingly he named Deputies for *Delphos*, ſome for *Dodona*, others for the Oracle of *Amphiaraus*, for

* Lib. 1. c. 23. (1) Herod L. 1.

" that of *Trophonius*, and for that of the *Branchidæ*, " which was upon the Frontiers of the *Milesians*. He " diſpatched ſome into *Aſrick*, to conſult the Oracle " of *Jupiter Hammon*. This firſt ſtep was only to " ſound the Oracles; and provided they gave a true " Anſwer, he propoſed to ſend thither a ſecond time, " to learn from them whether he ſhould carry on his " deſign'd Enterprize againſt the *Perſians*. He com- " manded the Deputies to obſerve exactly what time " interven'd between their ſetting out from *Sardis* " and the Day of the Conſultation; and to enquire of " the ſeveral Oracles what *Crœſus* was doing that day? " What were the Anſwers of the other Oracles we are " not told; but upon their Arrival at *Delphos*, they " were not well enter'd into the Temple, when the " Prieſteſs told them in heroick Verſe, that ſhe knew " the immenſe Expanſe of the Ocean; that ſhe, like " the Gods, could number the Grains of Sand on the " Sea-ſhore; that ſhe underſtood the Language of " him who never ſpeaks, nor was any thing a Secret " to her; that ſhe actually ſaw him, who was now in " ſecret, boiling in a brazen Pot, with a Lid of the " ſame Metal, the Fleſh of a Lamb mixed with that " of a Tortoiſe. When the Deputies ſent to the o- " ther Oracles arrived, *Crœſus* examined with great " care their ſeveral Anſwers, and had no regard to " any of them, except to that of *Amphiaraus*, as to " which our Author gives us no light; but ſo ſoon as " the Deputies from *Delphos* arriv'd, the King was " ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment upon hearing the Reſponſe " of the Oracle, and look'd upon it as the moſt infal- " lible of all."

A Governour of *Cilicia*, who had a Gang of *Epicu- reans* about him, who were ſtill endeavouring to in- ſpire him with a Contempt of the Oracles, reſolv'd, as *Plutarch* ſays pleaſantly, to ſend a Spy to the G He gave him a Letter, well ſealed, to carry to *A los*, where was the Oracle of *Mopſus*. As the Dep was lying in the Temple, a Man remarkably w made appeared to him, and pronounced the wo

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Black. This Anſwer he bore to the Governour, which ho' it appear'd ridiculous to the *Epicureans*, to whom he communicated it, yet ſtruck himſelf with Aſtoniſhment, and upon opening the Letter, he ſhewed them theſe words which he had there written: *Shall I ſacrifice to thee a white Ox or a black?*

Sometimes the Reſponſes of the Oracles were nothing but a Piece of meer Banter; witneſs that which was given to a Man, who came to demand by what means he might grow rich. The God anſwer'd him, That he had no more to do but make himſelf Maſter of all that lay between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. Another wanting a Cure for his Gout, was anſwered by the Oracle, He was to drink nothing but cold Water.

We ſhall finiſh this Article with a Reſponſe, related by *Strabo* (1), which proved fatal to the Prieſteſs of *Dodona* who gave it. During the War between the *Thracians* and *Bœotians*, the latter came to conſult the Oracle of *Dodona*, and were anſwer'd by the Prieſteſs, that they ſhould have happy Succeſs, if they were guilty of ſome impious Action. The Deputies of the *Bœotians*, from a Perſuaſion that the Prieſteſs had a mind to deceive them, to favour the *Pelaſgi*, from whom ſhe was deſcended, and who were in alliance with the *Thracians*, took and burnt her alive, alledging, that in whatever light that Action was conſidered, it could not but be juſtify'd. And indeed, if the Prieſteſs had an Intention to cheat them, ſhe was puniſhed for her Deceit: if ſhe ſpoke ſincerely, they had only literally fulfilled the Oracle. Theſe Reaſons however were not admitted, the Deputies were ſeized; but not daring to puniſh them before they were judg'd, they brought them before the two remaining Prieſteſſes; for, according to *Strabo*'s Account, there were at that time three belonging to that Oracle. The Deputies having remonſtrated againſt this Proceeding, were allowed two Men to judge them with the Prieſteſſes. Theſe were clear for their being condemn'd; but the

(1) Strab. *p.* 177.

two other Judges were more favourable to them. Thus the Votes being equal, they were abſolv'd.

We may remark in the Concluſion, that as the Prieſts turn'd into Verſe what was deliver'd by the Prieſteſs in her Fury; ſo their Poetry was often wretchedly bad. The *Epicureans* eſpecially made it their open Jeſt, and ſaid, in raillery, It was ſurprizing enough, that *Apollo*, the God of Poetry, ſhould be a much worſe Poet than *Homer*, whom he himſelf had inſpir'd. The Prieſts were even frequently obliged to ſteal from that famous Poet, deſpairing to make ſo good of their own. No doubt, it was the Railleries of theſe Philoſophers, and more particularly thoſe of the *Cynicks* and *Peripateticks*, that obliged the Prieſts to lay aſide that Practice of turning the Reſponſes of the *Pythia* into Verſe; which, according to *Plutarch*, was one of the principal Cauſes of the Declenſion of the Oracle of *Delphos*.

CHAP. II.

Hiſtory of the Sibyls.

NEXT to the Oracles, we come to treat of the *Sibyls*, whoſe Predictions were, to the *Romans* eſpecially, a kind of ſtanding Oracle, conſulted by them upon all occaſions wherein the Republick was threatned with any Diſaſter.

I preſume, it will not be expected I ſhould inſiſt long upon a Subject, already fully handled by ſeveral learned Men; but this Mythology being deſign'd for general Uſe, and there being many who are not in a Condition to conſult Books, where *Hebrew* and *Greek* are crouded together without reſerve, I can't forbear mentioning the more neceſſary things upon the Subject, referring thoſe who want to go deeper into it, to the learned Diſſertations of *Gallæus* (1); to the Treatiſe upon it by M. *Petit* (2), Phyſician in *Paris*; to *Van Dale*; to *Thomas Hyde* (3); and in particular to *Lactantius*, who has handed down to us the ancient Tradition

(1) See Gallæi Diſſer. de Sibyll. Amſt. 1688. in 4to. (2) Pet. Petit de Sibylla. Lip. 1686. 8vo. (3) De Rel. Vet. Perſ.

ition concerning the *Sibyls*, which he had taken from ıe Works of *Varro*.

For the ſake of Method, I divide what I have to ıy in this Chapter into ſeveral Articles. 1. I ſhall examine whether there really were *Sibyls*. 2. How nany were of them. 3. Upon what ground the Anients believ'd they had the Gift of Prophecy. 4. How he Collection of their Predictions was made up. 5. How they deliver'd their Oracles. 6. Laſtly, If they were reputed Divinities, and what Worſhip was paid to them.

ARTICLE I.

If there were Sibyls.

The Ancients gave the Name of *Sibyls* to a certain number of young Women, whom they believ'd endued with the Gift of Prophecy: Whether this Name be originally *Hebrew*, as *Delrio*, *Peucerus*, *Neander*, and ſome others contend; or *Latin*, as *Suidas* ſays; or *African*, as *Pauſanias* will have it (1); or in fine, *Greek*, as moſt of the Learned aſſert. This laſt was the Opinion of *Diodorus*, who derives the Name from a Word importing in the *Greek* Language, *Inſpired*, *Enthuſiaſt* (*a*), becauſe they were fully perſuaded that the *Sibyls* were inſpired by the Gods: But of all who have enquired into the Etymology of this Name, *Lactantius* is he whoſe Opinion is generally followed. This learned Author ſays, it ſignifies *the Counſel of God: Omnes (feminæ Vates) Sibyllæ ſunt a Veteribus nuncupatæ, vel ab unius Delphidis nomine, vel a conſiliis Deorum enunciandis*; Σιὸς *enim, Deos, non* Θεῶν, *&* *conſilium, non* Βυλὴν, *ſed* Βυλὴν, *appellabant Æolico Sermonis genere*; *itaque inde Sibyllam dictam eſſe*, Σιβυλλὴν, *(Conſilium Dei.)*

Be that as it will, all Antiquity concurs in eſtabliſhing the Exiſtence of ſome ſuch Perſons, and tho' there is a conſiderable variation with reſpect to their Number, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, that does not however deſtroy the certainty of their having exiſted. One diſ-

putes

(1) In Phoc.

(*a*) *See below, the Tranſlation* of the Paſſage of this Author

putes about their Number, another about their Country, a third about the time when they liv'd, *&c.* But theſe very Diſputes prove their Exiſtence to be taken for granted; ſo that it cannot be deny'd, without overturning whatever is moſt certain in Antiquity, and without contradicting, at the ſame time, ſeveral Fathers of the firſt Centuries, who have given into the unanimous opinion of Antiquity. I have no mind to cite all the Teſtimonies that might be drawn together for proof of this Truth; but then I can't expect to be believ'd merely upon my own word.

Plato (1), on occaſion of that ſort of Fury with which ſome Perſons are ſeized, and are enabled thereby to know Futurity, after making mention of the Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, and of *Dodona*, ſubjoins: "Were we to "diſcourſe of the *Sibyl*, and other Perſons who were "poſſeſs'd with the ſame Enthuſiaſm, we ſhould loſe "our time and our labour." *Ariſtotle* (2) examines the Cauſe to which the *Sibyls* Capacity of knowing future Events may have been owing; and conſequently he ſuppoſes their Exiſtence. *Diodorus Siculus* (3) takes occaſion, from the Story of *Daphne* the Daughter of *Tireſias*, whom the *Epigoni* in accompliſhment of their Vow, ſent to *Delphos* after the taking of *Thebes*, to enter more fully into this Subject. "This Daughter, "ſays he, was no leſs knowing than her Father, in "the Art of Divination, and ſhe made therein very "great progreſs, after ſhe had been tranſported to *Del-*"*phos*. Being endued with a wonderful Genius, ſhe "wrote a great number of Oracles in ſeveral manners, "the one differing from the other. 'Tis ſaid, that "*Homer* appropriated to himſelf ſeveral of *Daphne's* "Verſes, and made uſe of them to embelliſh his Poems. "Being often poſſeſs'd with a divine Fury in delivering "her Reſponſes, ſhe got the name of *Sibyl*; which, in "the Language of the Country, ſignified *Enthuſiaſt.*" *Strabo* (4) makes mention of the *Sibyl Erythræa*, and of another, who, according to him, liv'd in the time of *Alex-*

(1) In Phæd. (2) Prob. 30. Sect. 1. (3) Lib. 4. (4) Lib. 14.

Alexander, and whoſe Name was *Athenais*; and in another place the ſame Author aſſerts (1), that there had been one more ancient. *Plutarch*, in that ſmall Piece wherein he examines into the Cauſe of the Ceſſation of Oracles, ſpeaks at great length of the *Sibyls*, and to ſtop the mouth of thoſe who gave no credit to their Oracles, he recites ſeveral examples of the taking of Towns, of Wars, Irruptions of Barbarians, Migrations of different Nations, and ſeveral other remarkable Events, which had happen'd in the manner they had foretold. *Elian* (2) ſpeaks of four of theſe *Sibyls*, as we ſhall ſee in the following Article. *Pauſanias* (3) gives a deſcription of the Rock where the Sibyl *Erophile*, who liv'd before the Siege of *Troy*, dwelt, and where ſhe deliver'd her Oracles, tho' according to him, ſhe was not the moſt ancient of all. The ſame Author ſpeaks of the Tomb of this Sibyl, and gives her Epitaph and ſome of her Oracles *(a)*. *Stephanus*, in the Article of *Gergis*, a Town of *Troas*, ſays, upon the Authority of *Phlegon*, that the Sibyl who was born there was called *Gergithia*, and that the People of that Town repreſented her upon their Coin, with a Sphinx: *Ariſtophanes*, in his Comedy of the Birds, names three Sibyls, of whom, one was Siſter to *Apollo*, another was an *Erythræan*, and the third, a Native of *Sardis*.

To theſe Teſtimonies I might add that of *Varro*, the moſt knowing of the *Romans*, who not only names ten Sibyls, but alſo cites ancient Authors who had ſpoke of them; but I reſerve what he ſays of them to the following Article. I might add that of *Cicero*, who makes mention of the Sibyls in his Books of Divination; that of *Virgil*, who tells ſuch curious things of the *Cumean* Sibyl; thoſe of *Pliny*, *Solinus*, of the Philoſopher *Hermias*, of *Procopius*, *Agathus*, *Jamblichus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juſtin*, and a world of others. I might add to theſe, what has been ſaid of them by St. *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Auguſtin*, and other Fathers of the Church; and I might cloſe the Hiſtory of this

(1) L. 16. (2) Hiſt. Var. l. 12. (3) In Phoc.

(a) *The Paſſage of this Author* is given in the laſt Article.

this Tradition, with the Authority of all the Learned whom I have quoted at the beginning of this Chapter. 'Tis therefore unqueſtionably certain, that there were at different times, and in different places, Perſons to whom it was believed the Gods had communicated the Faculty of knowing and predicting future Events, and who bore the name of *Sibyls*.

ARTICLE II.

The Number of the Sibyls.

If the Ancients are agreed as to the Exiſtence of the *Sibyls*, they are far from being ſo as to their Number. The cauſe of their Uncertainty about this Subject is, that one and the ſame Sibyl travell'd into ſeveral Countries, and after having ſtay'd ſome time in one Place, and delivered Oracles there, ſhe paſs'd into another: Frequently two different Names were given to the ſame, ſometimes that of her Country, ſometimes that of the Places of her abode. The opinion, however, moſt generally received, is that of *Varro*, recited by *Lactantius*; and the Account of them given by that learned Father of the Church, is as follows (1). "*Varro*, in the Books "which he compoſed upon divine Things, dedicated "by him to *C. Cæſar* the High-Prieſt, when he comes "to the Article of the Sibylline Books, ſays, that thoſe "Books were not the Work of only one Sibyl, but of "ten, for there were ſo many of them in all. Then he "names them one after another, with the Authors who "had ſpoke of them before him. The firſt, ſays he, "and the moſt ancient one, was a *Perſian* by Birth, as "we learn from *Nicanor*, the ſame who had wrote the "Hiſtory of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. The ſecond was "born in *Libya*, and of her *Euripides* makes mention, "in the Prologue to his Tragedy, intitled *Lamia*. The "third was of *Delphos*, as we learn from the Book of "Divination compoſed by *Chryſippus*. The fourth had "her Birth among the *Cimmerians* in *Italy*; *Nevius* "ſpeaks of her in his Hiſtory of the *Punick* War, and "*Piſo* in his Annals. The fifth was of *Erythræa*, ac-

"cording

(1) De Fal. Rel. l. 1. c. 6.

'cording to *Apollodorus*, who was of the ſame Coun-
'try; ſhe propheſy'd to the *Greeks* who were going
'to beſiege *Troy*, the happy Succeſs of their Enter-
'prize, and at the ſame time, that *Homer* ſhould one
'day write a great deal of Fictions upon that Subject.
'The ſixth was of *Samos*, and her Hiſtory was to be
'found in the moſt ancient Annals of the *Samians*, as
'we learn from *Eratoſthenes*. The ſeventh born at
'*Cumæ*, was named *Amalthæa*, according to ſome Au-
'thors, and according to others, *Demophile* or *Hiero-
'phile:* It was ſhe who offer'd to *Tarquin* the elder, a
'Collection of Sibylline Verſes, in nine Books. The
'eighth was the *Helleſpontine*, born at *Marpeſus* * near
'the Town of *Gergis* in *Troas* †: *Heraclides* of *Pontus*
'ſaid, ſhe liv'd in the time of *Cyrus* and *Solon*. The
'ninth, likewiſe a *Phrygian* by birth, gave her Oracles
'at *Ancyra*, the place of her Reſidence. The tenth,
'in fine, named *Albunæa*, was of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, and
'was honour'd as a Divinity in the Neighbourhood of
'the River *Anio*."

Theſe are the ten Sibyls whom *Varro* admitted: But in order to give more light to what that learned *Roman* ſaid of them, 'tis neceſſary here to make ſome Reflections. 1. He does not mention the Name of the *Perſian* Sibyl, whom the *Perſians* called *Sabethe*. 2. *Euripides* ſpeaking of the *Libyan* Sibyl, ſays, ſhe was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*. She travell'd into ſeveral Places, to *Samos*, *Delphos*, *Claros*, &c. 'Twas theſe Travels, in ſhort, that led ſome Authors to ſay, that three or four Sibyls had been made out of one. 3. *Diodorus Siculus* names *Daphne*, the third of *Varro*'s Sibyls, and ſays, ſhe was born at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. 4. *Euſebius* reckons, that the *Erythræan* Sibyl, the moſt famous of all, lived not in the time of the *Trojan* War, as *Varro* believes, upon the Authority of *Apollodorus*, but under the Reign of *Romulus*. 5. She of *Samos*, whoſe Name is not mention'd by *Varro*, was called, according to *Suidas*, *Pitho*, or *Perſuaſion*, and according to *Euſebius*, *Eriphile*.

Suidas,

* *Marmiſſus, in Suidas.* † Gergiticum. ibid.

Suidas, who ſpeaks of the Sibyls, like a Compiler not very accurate, has given us two Articles about them which don't reſemble one another, tho' in both he reckons ten of them. Thus, *Gallæus* is miſtaken in ſaying, that he made fourteen of them, as is *Roſinus* in affirming, that he named only nine.

Ælian, on the contrary (1), allows none but four of them, namely, the *Erythræan*, the *Egyptian*, ſhe who was born at *Samos*, and another at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Solinus* ſeems perſuaded, that their number ought to be reduc'd to three, thoſe of *Sardis*, and *Cumæ*, and the *Erythræan*, wherein he is followed by *Auſonius* (2), who likewiſe admits no more of them than three.

Et tres fatidicæ nomen commune Sibyllæ
Quarum tergemini fatalia carmina libri.

Martianus Capella cuts off one more of them, and owns none but the *Erythræan* and the *Phrygian*. In fine, *P. Petit*, whoſe Work I have cited at the beginning of this Chapter, contends that there was none but one Sibyl, the *Erythræan*; and that her being called by different Names, ſuch as the *Cumean*, &c. was owing to her having travelled into different Countries, where ſhe reſided, and delivered her Oracles. Thus, with reſpect to this Sibyl, the Caſe was contrary to what had happened as to other fabulous Facts. For when ſeveral Perſons bore the ſame Name, they uſed to inſert into the Hiſtory of the one who was moſt famous, the whole Adventures of the reſt; thus accordingly it happen'd in the caſe of *Hercules*, as we ſhall ſee in the Hiſtory of that Hero. Here again, *Varro*, and others who have multiply'd the Sibyls, have diſtributed among ſeveral, the Actions, Travels, and Predictions of only one. That learned Author brings ſeveral Arguments to ſupport his Opinion, which may be ſeen in the Work I have quoted; but two of them which he takes to be the ſtrongeſt, to me appear not concluſive. The firſt is, that *Plato* and *Pliny* ſpeak of the Sibyl in the ſingular Number; the former in the Paſſage I have already given; the latter in theſe Words: *Divinitas, & quædam Societas cœlitum ſoli-*

(1) Var. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 35. (2) Gryph. Num. vers.

nobiliſſima, ex feminis in Sibylla fuit, ex viris in Melampode apud Græcos, apud Romanos in Marcio. But theſe two Authorities are by no means concluſive: *Plato*, in that Paſſage of his Dialogue, was only ſpeaking of the Sibyls by the by, and it was ſufficient for his purpoſe to give an example of the prophetick Fury with which ſome Perſons were acted. The ſame anſwer may be given as to what is ſaid by *Pliny*, who in like manner, having no other thing in view but to give ſome examples of thoſe who had a particular Intercourſe with the Gods, has named *Melampus* and *Marcion* for the Men, and for the Women the Sibyl, without intending thereby to exclude others.

The ſecond Argument of M. *Petit*, appears ſtronger. The Collection of the Sibylline Verſes was writ in *Greek*; now the queſtion is, how all the Sibyls knew that Language? How ſhould ſhe of *Perſia*, the *Libyan*, the *Helleſpontine*, the *Sardian*, all of them have ſpoke *Greek*, in Countries where the *Greeks* were not known in their time? But who pretends that all the Sibyls ſpoke *Greek?* Was there any difficulty of making a *Greek* Tranſlation of their Predictions, which were collected with the ſame care as the Oracles of *Pythia?* Beſides, tho' it is true that the Sibylline Books now extant are in *Greek* Verſe, how are we ſure that they were always ſo? The *Pythia* deliver'd her Reſponſes in Proſe, and it was People particularly commiſſioned, who put them into Verſe, as has been ſaid in the preceding Chapter. I ſuppoſe then, and 'tis a very probable Suppoſition, that ſome curious Perſons made a Collection of all the Sibylline Predictions, at leaſt of ſo many of them as they could find, and having cauſed ſuch of them as were in foreign Languages to be tranſlated, put them into Verſe: Thus, in all appearance, were the different Collections of thoſe Predictions made up.

Thomas Hyde (1) in his Treatiſe of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, has an opinion about the Sibyls, ſtill more ſingular than that of *P. Petit*, ſince he denies that there ever were any of them. This Fable, which

(1) De Rel. *vet. Perſ. p.* 392.

which was ſo current in *Greece* and *Italy*, derives its Origin, according to him, from *Perſia* and *Chaldea*; and what gave riſe to it there, was the Sign of the *Virgin*, in which Sign, the brighteſt Star was called, and is ſtill at this day named Σφβυλλα, or Σφβυλα, *Spica*; now this Word comes from the *Perſian Sambula*, or *Sumbula*, and ſignifies in that Language, an Ear of Corn. Accordingly, the *Perſians* in their Planiſpheres were wont to repreſent that Star under the figure of a young Virgin, holding a handful of Ears. As the *Perſians* and the *Chaldeans*, ſays this learned Author, are the Inventers of Aſtrology, and drew their Predictions from the Inſpection of the Stars, they gave particular attention to that Sign, as repreſenting a Virgin.

The *Greeks*, continues the ſame Author, who learn'd the Arts and Sciences from the eaſtern Nations, and who invented Fables upon the ſmalleſt Ambiguity in Language, meeting with the Word *Sambula* in the Hiſtory of the *Perſian* Aſtrology, feign'd firſt the Sibyl *Sambethe*, and then the reſt: But, as in Fictions 'tis not eaſy intirely to deface the Tradition which gave riſe to them, hence the ſame *Greeks* always look'd upon the Sibyl of *Perſia*, as the moſt ancient of all.

However ingenious the Conjecture of this learned *Engliſh* Writer may be, it cannot deſtroy the united Teſtimony of all Antiquity, which allows that there were, in different Times and Countries, ſuch extraordinary Perſons, who were reputed to have a particular Foreknowledge of Futurity, and whoſe Predictions carefully collected, were conſulted upon important Occaſions; for how many Suppoſitions muſt be made, in order to deſtroy ſo general a Tradition? The moſt that can be granted to this Author, is, that the Sibyl of *Perſia*, nam'd *Sambethe*, owed her original to the double meaning of the Word *Sambula*; but that is no Argument againſt the Exiſtence of other Sibyls.

This would be the proper place to examine when the Sibyls liv'd; their Parentage, the Place of their birth, and the Order wherein they ought to be placed; but ſo many different Opinions in relation to theſe four Articles

icles are to be found among both Ancients and Moderns, that after ſtrict Examination, one is at a loſs what to fix upon. I have choſen to name them in the ſame order as *Lactantius* has done after *Varro*, altho' I am not ignorant that ſeveral of the Learned have inverted that Order, as if it was a thing worth while to make a buſtle about it. What does it really avail whether that of *Perſia* be the firſt and moſt ancient of all, as *Varro* alledged; or the fifth, as *Boiſſard* will have it; or only the eighth, according to *Onuphrius Panvinus*. *Gallæus* has taken the trouble to put together all that has been ſaid upon this Subject; to him the Learned may have recourſe.

ARTICLE III.

What Ground there was to believe that the Sibyls *were endued with the Gift of Prophecy.*

The Ancients have reaſon'd profoundly upon the Intercourſe and Union which the Creature is capable of attaining to with the Deity; and this Union and Correſpondence they reckon'd might be ſo intimate, that when Man was arriv'd to a certain degree of Perfection, the darkeſt Events of Futurity were then laid open to his view. To this pitch of Perfection, ſeveral endeavoured to arrive, and ſome of them were actually believ'd to have attain'd it, by virtue of that ſort of Magick, which they term'd *Theurgia*, as ſhall be ſaid in one of the ſubſequent Chapters. Thus at preſent, taking it for granted that this was one of the fundamental Articles of the Pagan Theology, we may ſay, that what made them believe the Sibyls poſſeſs'd of a prophetick Gift, muſt have been owing to their having had a perſuaſion that they enjoy'd this intimate Union with the Gods, eſpecially with *Apollo* the Maſter of Divination. It was likewiſe for this reaſon that they gave the ſame Privilege to the *Pythia* of *Delphos*, and to the Prieſteſſes of *Dodona*, whom they believ'd intimately united with the Divinity by whom they were inſpir'd. Thus reaſon'd the *Platonicks* upon the Union which Man may have with the Gods: But other Philoſophers had very

different Sentiments about the prophetick Spirit of Sibyls, and attributed it to the Influence of a black melancholy Humour, or to ſome other Diſeaſe. Of were of opinion, that the Fury to which they wrought up, enabled them to know and foretel fu Events, as *Jamblichus* (1) and *Agathias* (2) main To this Fury, *Cicero* added Dreams, which ſomet inform us of things to come. There are, ſays he two ways of foreknowing Futurity, either in a wa Fury, or by Dreams: *Cum duobus modis animi, ſin tione & ſcientia, motu ipſi ſuo ſoluto & libero incit tur; uno furente, altero ſomniante. Furoris Divin nem Sibyllinis maxime verſibus contineri arbitrati,* This illuſtrious Author ſays in another place; thei Perſons, who without any Science, without any O vation, foretel future Events, by I know not wha rious Impulſe: *Carent arte ii qui non ratione aut jecturâ, obſervatis ac notatis ſignis, ſed concitatione dam animi . . . . Ut Sibylla Erythræa.*

We find ancient Authors who aſcrib'd this Fa of Divination which the Sibyls had, to the Vapour Exhalations of the Caverns inhabited by them, a been ſaid of the Cave of *Delphos*.

Laſtly, St. *Jerom* maintain'd that this Gift was municated to them as a Reward of their Cha Hear how the Father of the Church, celebratin Praiſes of Chaſtity, delivers his Thoughts with re to the Sibyls: *Quid referam Sibyllas, Erythræam Cumanam, & octo reliquas, nam Varro decem eſſe mat, quarum inſigne Virginitas, & Virginitatis mium Divinatio* (4). True it is, that Chaſtity h ways been looked upon, even by the Pagans, as ceſſary qualification in thoſe who approach'd the Al that the Prieſts, before they offered up the Sacr were obliged to prepare themſelves for that Servi Continence, and that there were even ſome of them uſed medicinal means to acquire this Gift. 'Tis lik true, that in order to be aſſured of the Chaſtity

Pr

(1) Ad Porp. (2) Hiſt. l. 1. (3) De Di
(4) Ad Jovin.

eſs of *Delphos*, they choſe her in the earlier times, among the Country-People, where this Virtue is xpoſed than in Towns. I know not, however, foundation St. *Jerom* had, for entertaining ſuch a rable Notion of the Chaſtity of the Sibyls, ſince is one of them who boaſts of having had a great er of Lovers, without being married, in this which I have taken from the *Latin* Tranſla-

1);

ille mihi Lecti, Connubia nulla fuere.

Sibyl of *Perſia* too, ſpeaks of her Husband who vith her in *Noah*'s Ark, as we ſhall ſee in the el.

ır Opinion therefore is, that the Sibyls, being of en melancholy Humour, living retired, and giv- vay to a fanatick Impulſe, as *Virgil* deſcribes the of *Cumæ*, deliver'd at a venture what came into mind, and that in the courſe of their frequent ictions, they ſometimes hit right; or rather by the of a favourable Commentary, People perſuaded ſelves that they had divined. And indeed, how was it for thoſe who collected their Predictions, put them in Verſe, as was done to thoſe of the teſs of *Delphos*, to retrench or add what they 'd, and that frequently even after the Event? e have been Prophets in ſpight of themſelves, and Public frequently gives itſelf the trouble to accom- ate Words ſpoke at random, to Facts which were r dream'd of by him who utter'd them. Do we not nſtances of this every day among ourſelves, with ion to one of our pretended Prophets (2)? And his Work is a Maſter-piece of Obſcurity, have not ral Events that happened ſince his Death, been ein diſcover'd? The good-natur'd *Ronſard* at leaſt, fully perſuaded that this extraordinary Man both w and foretold what was to come, ſince after hav- ſearch'd what Cauſe might have rendered this ſame urity preſent to his view, he thus concludes:

) L. 6. (2) Noſtradamus.

" In ſhort, let the Cauſe be what it will, he it is
" by dubious Words drop'd from his prophetick L
" has like an ancient Oracle foretold the greateſt pa
" our Deſtiny, for many a year to come *(a)*.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Collection of the Sibylline *Verſes.*

As to the manner how the Collection of the Siby
Verſes was made, 'tis not known. 'Tis not likely
they propheſy'd in Verſe, far leſs that they themſ
kept their Predictions, and digeſted them into O
Beſides, they lived in different periods of Time,
in Countries remote the one from the other. I
then came the World by a Collection of thoſe Pr
tions, put in Hexameters? In what Age did it app
Who was its Author? Theſe are Facts which A
quity has not tranſmitted down to us. All tha
know is, that a Woman came to *Tarquin* the Pr
offering him a Collection of thoſe Verſes, in nine Bo
and that ſhe demanded for them three hundred P
of Gold; that when the Prince would not give
Sum, ſhe threw three of them into the Fire, and
acted the ſame Sum for the remaining ſix; which
ing refuſed her, ſhe burnt three more of them,
ſtill perſiſted in aſking the three hundred Piece
thoſe that were left; at length, the King fearing
ſhe would burn the other three, gave her the Sun
demanded.

This Story has all the air of a Romance; it i
teſted however by a great many Authors, and pe
the Falſhood of it lies only in the Circumſtances:
'tis certain that the *Romans* had in their poſſeſſion a
lection of the Sibylline Verſes, and that they pre
it from the Reign of *Tarquin* to the time of *Sylla*,
it periſh'd in the burning of the Capitol, where it
been depoſited. And therefore, that the Reader

(a) Bref. il eſt ce qu'il eſt: Si eſt-ce toutefois
Que par les mots douteux de ſa prophete voix,
Comme un Oracle antique il a de mainte année
Predit la plus grand part de notre deſtinée.

be able to judge of this Fact, I ſhall put it in a true light. *Lactantius*, who relates it in the Narrative which we have given, ſays, it was the Sibyl of *Cumæ* who preſented this Collection to *Tarquin*, and he has been follow'd by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Iſidorus*. Perhaps *Lactantius* had found it in *Varro*'s Books of divine Things, whence he had taken his Account of the Sibyls; but other Authors barely affirm, that a Woman offer'd thoſe Books to *Tarquin*, without ſaying it was the *Sibyl* herſelf. *Servius*, who agrees to this Fact, and appears to have examined it, ſays, it is not credible that the Sibyl of *Cumæ*, with all the length of Years they have given her, having been in the time of *Æneas* who conſulted her, was alſo alive in the time of *Tarquin*; that is, five or ſix hundred Years after. *Multæ Sibyllæ fuerunt*, ſays he, *quas omnes Varro in libris rerum divinarum commemorat, & requirit a qua ſint Romana fata conſcripta; & multi ſequentes Virgilium, ab hac Cumana dicunt, quæ licet longæva dicatur, non tamen valde congruit, eam uſque ad Tarquinii tempora duraſſe, cui libros Sibyllinos conſtat eſſe oblatos* (1).

I might quote ſeveral other ancient Authors for the truth of the ſubſtance of this Story; but I content myſelf with the ſingle Teſtimony of *Pliny*, who aſſerts it to be univerſally atteſted: *Inter omnes vero convenit, Sibyllam ad Tarquinium Superbum tres libros attuliſſe; ex quibus igni duo cremati ab ipſa, tertius cum Capitolio Syllanis temporibus*, &c (2). In this Paſſage there are only two Articles, in which we find *Pliny* differs from *Lactantius*, or if you will, from *Varro*: Firſt, in ſaying the Books were preſented not to *Tarquin* the elder, but to *Tarquin* the Proud; and then, that this Collection conſiſted, not of nine Books, but only of three, wherein *Solinus* his Copier agrees with him; Circumſtances which are ſo far from deſtroying the Fact, that in my opinion, they ſerve but to confirm it.

Be that as it will, the *Romans* carefully kept this Collection, from the time of *Tarquin* to the burning of the Capitol, when it was conſumed with that Edifice.

(1) In 6. Æn. (2) L. 13. c. 13.

In this long period of time, it was only conſulted by the Prieſts, as we learn from *Solinus* (1): *Cujus Librum ad Cornelium uſque Syllam Pontifices noſtri conſulebant.*

After this Accident, the *Romans* to repair their loſs, ſent, as *Tacitus* has it (2), into different Places, to *Samos*, to *Troy*, into *Africk*, *Sicily*, and among the Colonies ſettled in *Italy*, to collect all the Sibylline Verſes could be found; and the Deputies brought back a great quantity of them. As no doubt there were many of them dubious, Prieſts were commiſſioned to make a judicious Choice of them. *Poſt exuſtum civili bello Capitolium, quæſitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam, ac Siciliam, & Italicas Colonias Carminibus Sibyllæ; (una ſeu plures fuere) datoque Sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humanâ ope potuiſſent, diſcernere.* *Feneſtella* in *Lactantius* ſays only, that the Senate, after the Capitol was rebuilt, ſent to *Erythræa*, *P. Gabinius*, *M. Otacilius*, and *L. Valerius*, to ſearch for the Verſes of the Sibyl of that Name, and that they had found in the hands of private Perſons, about an hundred of them, which they brought to *Rome*.

Thus was the ſecond Collection of Sibylline Verſes made up; but I don't believe they had equal Faith in them as in the former. They had been in the poſſeſſion it ſeems, of private Perſons, who added or retrenched what they had a mind. There were none, according to *Lactantius*, but the Verſes of the *Cumean* Sibyl, that were carefully kept by the *Romans:* And theſe, none had acceſs to ſee. The *Quindecimviri* were the only Perſons who had permiſſion to inſpect and conſult them. As to thoſe of the other Sibyls, they were in every body's hands: *Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina & formantur & habentur, præter quam Cumeæ, cujus Libri a Romanis occuluntur, nec eos ab ullo, niſi a Quindecimviris inſpici fas habent.* The Conſequence of this was, that upon every Event, Predictions were propagated in *Rome* and through all *Italy*; and this abuſe went ſo far, that *Tiberius* forbid the keeping of thoſe private Collections, and order'd that they, in whoſe hands

(1) C. 8. (2) Annal. l. 6. c. 12.

hands they were, ſhould deliver them up to the Prætor: *Simul commonefecit (Tiberius) quia multa vana ſub nomine celebri vulgabantur, ſanxiſſe Auguſtum, quem intra diem ad Prætorem urbanum deferrentur, neque habere privatim liceret* (1).

To conclude, theſe Books were not writ upon Paper; but upon Linen-cloth, that they might laſt the longer: 'Tis to this that *Claudian* alludes, in theſe Verſes (2),

Quid meditentur aves? quid carmine poſcat
Fatidico cuſtos Romani carbaſus ævi?

As alſo *Symmachus*, when he ſays; *Cumanos (Verſus) lintea texta ſumpſerunt.*

There was a College of fifteen Perſons founded, to be the Guardians of this Collection, whom they called the *Quindecimviri* of the Sibyls (*a*): To them this Depoſitum was committed: By them it was to be conſulted; and ſo great was the Faith that was put in the Predictions it contain'd, that whenever they were to enter upon a War; when Plague or Famine, or any epidemical Calamity infeſted either City or Country, hither they were ſure to have recourſe. It was a kind of ſtanding Oracle, as often conſulted by the *Romans*, as that of *Delphos* was by the *Greeks* and other Nations. We learn more particularly from *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, on what Occaſions they had recourſe to the Sibylline Books. "The Senate, ſays he, orders them "to be conſulted, upon the riſe of any Sedition, upon "the defeat of the Army, or when ſome Prodigies "are obſerved, which preſage a great Calamity, as there "have been many ſuch." As to this laſt Article, it is confirmed by *Varro* (3): *Ad cujus (Sibyllæ) Libros tot annis poſt publicè ſolemus redire, cum deſideramus quid faciendum ſit nobis ex aliquo portento.* And the *Roman* Hiſtory furniſhes us with ſeveral Examples, which prove that they conſulted them upon like occaſions.

(1) Tacit. ibid. (2) De Bel. Ger. l. 8.

(*a*) They were at firſt only two, then ten, as has been ſaid in explaining the Oracles.

(3) De Re Ruſt. l. 1. c. 1.

We know not what was the fate of this Collection of Sibylline Verſes; for as to that which we have at preſent, conſiſting of eight Books, upon which *Gallæus* has made a learned Commentary, tho' it may poſſibly contain ſome of the ancient Predictions, yet all the Criticks look upon it as a very dubious Compoſition, and likely to have been the Product of the pious Fraud of ſome more zealous than judicious Chriſtians, who thought, by compiling it, to ſtrengthen the Authority of the Chriſtian Religion, and enable its Defenders to combat Paganiſm with more advantage: As if Truth ſtood in need of Forgery and Lyes, in order to its triumphing over Error. What puts the matter quite out of doubt, is, that we find in this indigeſted Collection, Predictions relating to the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, clearer than they are in *Iſaiah* and the other Prophets. There the very Name of Jeſus Chriſt, and that of the Virgin *Mary*, occur in every Page. It ſpeaks of the Myſtery of Redemption, of our Saviour's Miracles, his Paſſion, his Death and Reſurrection, the Creation of the World, the terreſtrial Paradiſe, the Longevity of the Patriarchs, the Deluge. One of the Sibyls even vaunts, that ſhe had been in the Ark with *Noah*. There mention is made of the Invention of Arts, and they who are ſaid to have excelled in them, are the ſame with thoſe whom *Moſes* names; with a thouſand other particularities which are evidently drawn from the ſacred Books: Inſomuch that it is amazing to find Authors ſo blindly prepoſſeſs'd as to hold, that whatever this Collection contains was compoſed by the Sibyls. Would God have revealed to Pagans the Myſteries of our Religion, in a clearer manner than he had done to his own People, by the Mouth of his Prophets?

I ſaid, there were probably in this laſt Collection Verſes taken from the two former; but 'tis not eaſy to diſtinguiſh ſuch as were borrowed thence from thoſe which the Author has ſpun out of his own Brain. *P. Petit*, 'tis true, attempted to do it; but to me, it appears, that this otherwiſe ingenious Author has, in

this part of his Work, ſhew'd more Credulity than ſound Criticiſm. He even ſeems ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of his *Sibyl*, and allows her ſuch a deep Inſight into Futurity, that the Prieſteſs of *Apollo*, compared to her, was but a Learner (1). But what proves undeniably the difference between this Collection and the ancient one, is, that the *Sibylline* Verſes, conſulted at *Rome*, breath'd nothing but Idolatry, and the Worſhip of falſe Gods, and for the moſt part preſcrib'd nothing but barbarous Sacrifices, and human Victims; whereas thoſe we have now remaining, inculcate the Worſhip of the true God, and are moſtly calculated to lead Men to Piety.

We are then to diſtinguiſh three Collections of *Sibylline* Verſes; for I wave thoſe that ſome private Perſons might have. The firſt is that which was preſented to *Tarquinius*, which contain'd only three Books. The ſecond is that which was compil'd after the burning of the Capitol, conſiſting of ſeveral Shreds, which the Deputies we mentioned had brought back from their Travels; how many Books it contained is what we don't know. The third, in fine, is what we have in eight Books, wherein there is no doubt, but the Author has inſerted ſeveral Predictions of the ſecond, whether he took them from a Copy, or pick'd up ſuch of them as were become publick; but he has added a vaſt number of others, which certainly were not the Compoſition of thoſe Propheteſſes.

If we credit *Servius*, the ancient Collection contain'd in all but a hundred Predictions. This Author upon theſe Verſes of the ſixth Book of the *Æneid*,

Exciſum Euboïcæ latus ingens rupis in antrum
Quò lati ducunt Aditus centum, Oſtia centum,
Unde ruunt totidem voces, reſponſa Sibyllæ,

makes this Remark: There were but a hundred Reſponſes, or an hundred Predictions of the *Sibyls*, neither more nor leſs: *Sane ſciendum omnia Reſponſa Sibyllæ, plus minuſve centum contineri ſermonibus* (a); but

(1) See that Author's third Book.

(a) I have followed the Amendment of *P. Petit*, who ſuppreſſes the

but 'tis probable, that this learned Commentator meant only in this place the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ*, to whom the Paſſage in *Virgil* relates. *Lactantius*, who allowed ten *Sibyls*, as alſo *Varro*, attributes to each of them a Book of Predictions (1), tho' there is no way to diſtinguiſh to which of them each of thoſe Books belong'd, except that of the *Erythræan Sibyl*, who had put her Name at the Head of the Book which contain'd hers: *Et ſunt ſinguli Libri, qui quia Sibyllæ nomine inſcribuntur, ſuntque confuſi, nec diſcerni ac ſuum cuique aſſignari poteſt, niſi Erithræa quæ et nomen ſuum verum carmini inſeruit.* I know not whence *Lactantius* had taken what he here ſays; but 'tis certain the *Romans* had but three of thoſe Books; the Avarice of *Tarquin* having occaſion'd the other ſix to be burn'd by her who preſented them to him.

Before we cloſe this Article, I reckon it will not be amiſs to inſert here ſome Predictions of the *Sibyls*: by theſe we may judge what account ought to be made of the Collection wherein they are contain'd: I ſhall make uſe of the *Latin* Tranſlation. Hear how the *Perſian Sibyl*, who calls herſelf the Daughter of *Noah*, ſpeaks of the Deluge:

. . . . . *Siquidem cum diluueretur*
Mundus aquis, cum vir ſolus probus exuperavit
Quidam, quem per aquas vexit domus eruta ſylvis,
Et pecudes et aves, rurſum impleretur ut orbis,
Ejus ego nurus, ejus item de ſanguine nata.

And ſhe adds in another place;

O ævi ſexti ſtirps prima, ô gaudia magna!
Quod ſortita fui, poſtquam diſcrimina mortis
Effugi, jactata meo cum conjuge multum, &c.

But as this *Sibyl* is not very ſure of what ſhe ſays of herſelf, or rather as the Impoſtor, who puts Words in her mouth, had forgot himſelf in this place, ſhe aſſerts elſewhere, that ſhe had met with the Adventure of *Lot*'s Daughters; and again in another place, ſhe calls herſelf Chriſtian:

Not

the Particle *Non*, to reconcile Servius with himſelf. *Petr. Pet. de Sibylla*, L. 3. c. 14.

(1) Div. Inſt. L. 1. c. 6.

Nos igitur ſancta Chriſti de ſtirpe creati
Cæleſti, nomen retinemus proximitatis.

As if there had really been Chriſtians in the days of *Noah* or of *Lot*.

She whom they called the *Libyan*, ſpeaks of the miraculous Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of his Miracles in theſe Terms;

Virgo hunc ſancta dabit terris, gremioque fovebit.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ille quidem morbis preſſos ſanabit, et omnes
Firmos reſtituet læſos, &c.

Wou'd you not think this was *Iſaiah*, or one of the Evangeliſts ſpeaking? She of *Delphos* is as plain upon our Saviour's Conception and Nativity:

Non tarde veniet, tacitâ ſed mente tenendum
Hoc opus; hoc memori ſemper qui corde reponet
Hujus pertentant cor gaudia magna Prophetæ
Eximii, qui Virgineâ conceptus ab alvo,
Prodibit ſine contactu maris, &c.

Then forgetting that ſhe ſpeaks in the Character of a true Prophet, ſhe reſumes her Pagan Stile, and mentions her Gallantries with *Apollo:*

Quod fuerim Phœbo grata, ferens pretium.

The *Cumean Sibyl*, after having ſpoke of the Incarnation,

E cælo veniens mortales induit artus.

throws out at random ſeveral Predictions, which the *Romans* did her the honour to believe had a relation to their Empire.

Among the Predictions of the *Erythræan Sibyl* we find Acroſtick Verſes, the initial Letters of which form theſe words, *Jeſus-Chriſtus, Dei-Filius, Salvator.* Of her St. *Auguſtin* ſays to this purpoſe (1), "The *Erythræan Sibyl* has propheſy'd of *Jeſus Chriſt* in a very "perſpicuous manner: I had ſeen a Tranſlation thereof, "but it was a very falſe one, when *Flavianus* the Pro"conſul, a very knowing Man, ſhew'd me the original "Greek

(1) *De Civ. Dei, L. 18.*

" *Greek*, where was this Prediction in Acroſtick Verſes, " each of which began with one of the Letters which " make up theſe words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σωτήρ."

The *Sibyl* of *Samos*, after having ſpoke of God, in an equally ſublime and orthodox Manner, ſays, there is none but he who is worthy to be ador'd.

Principium, finem, media omnia novit: ab ipſo
Omnia ſunt: ſolus Deus eſt, neque eſt Deus alter.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Illum igitur ſolum exiſtentem colite Opificem mundi,
Qui ſolus e ſæculo, et in ſæculum fuit, eſtque futurus.

She of *Cumæ* in *Ionia* ſpeaks of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of the End of the World, and of the general Conflagration; then ſhe foretels the Overthrow of *Alexander*'s Empire, on whoſe Ruins the Power of the *Romans* was to be formed.

The *Helleſpontine* propheſies of an Age under *Jeſus Chriſt* as happy as the golden Age, ſo much ſung by the Poets, and mentions the Eclipſe that was to happen at his Death.

The *Phrygian* foretels the Annunciation, and the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, miraculouſly conceived in the Womb of a Virgin, his Death, his Paſſion, his Reſurrection; and as if ſhe had copied the Evangeliſts, ſhe propheſies that he ſhall ſhew his Hands and his Feet to his Apoſtles.

Tum Dominus linquet manes, lucemque reviſet,
Prima reſurgendi lectis veſtigia monſtrans.
Porro ſuis primum Dominus pateſiet, eritque
Corporeus, ſicut fuit ante, manuſque pedeſque
Oſtendet, &c.

To theſe Predictions ſo plain and clear, ſhe ſubjoins others about Idolaters, whom ſhe threatens with the Wrath of God, unleſs they abandon the Worſhip of Idols. She foreſees the laſt Judgment, and *Jeſus Chriſt* ſeated upon a Throne, coming to judge all Mankind. She does not even omit the Signs that are to uſher

uſher in the Laſt Day, nor the Trumpet, which ſhall be heard in the four Corners of the World.

In fine, ſhe of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, ſpeaks alſo of the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt* at *Bethlehem*; but if the *Cumæan Sibyl* foretold the *Romans* only a Train of Proſperity, ſhe threatens *Rome* with the moſt grievous Calamities; and after having drawn an ugly Picture of that City, ſhe thus denounces its approaching Ruin: VIII. 479

Nunc Deus æternus diſperdet teque tuoſque;
Nec ſuper ulla tui in terra monumenta manebunt.

The Author of this Collection had conceal'd his Forgeries much better, if, inſtead of inſerting ſo many Predictions, which God never revealed to Pagan Women, he had interſperſed it with ſeveral of their Oracles, which are to be found in profane Authors; but it would ſeem he had not read them over ſo carefully as *Gallæus*, *P. Petit*, and others who have collected them. A ſingle Example, which I am going to quote from *Pauſanias*, will let us ſee how they were conceived, and at the ſame time in what manner they were apply'd to Events. "*Philip*, ſays that Author (1), "having given battel to *Flaminius*, was totally routed, "and obtain'd a Peace, but upon condition, that he "ſhould evacuate all the Fortreſſes which he held in "*Greece*; nay, this Peace, tho' dear bought, was but "an empty Name, ſince, in effect, he became the "Slave of the *Romans*. Thus was fulfilled what had "been long before foretold by the *Sibyl*, inſpired no "doubt from above, that the *Macedonian* Empire, "after having arrived to the higheſt pitch of Glory "under *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, ſhould ſink and "fall into ruin under another *Philip*; for the Oracle "which ſhe delivered was conceived in theſe Terms: "*Ye* Macedonians, *who value yourſelves on being the* "*Subjects of Monarchs ſprung from the ancient Kings of* "Argos, *know, that two of the Name of* Philip *ſhall* "*bring about your greateſt Proſperity and Misfortune.* "*The firſt ſhall give Lords to mighty Cities and Nations;* "*the ſecond, vanquiſh'd by a People come from the Eaſt*

"and

(1) *Achaic. p. 412.*

" *and West, shall involve you in irrecoverable Ruin, and* " *subject you to everlasting Infamy.* Accordingly, adds " *Pausanias*, the *Romans*, by whom the *Macedonian* " Empire was overthrown, were in the West of *Eu-* " *rope*, and they were assisted by *Attalus* King of *My-* " *sia*, and by the *Mysians*, who were the Eastern " People (1).

'Tis easy to judge from this, and several other Examples which might be brought, that most of the Predictions of the *Sibyls*, which are still to be found in ancient Authors, had been made after the Event.

The *Sibyls* had likewise foretold several other Overthrows of Empires, Earthquakes, and other Calamities, which the Pagans believed to have happened conformably to their Predictions, as has been said. It would seem they had made particular mention of that great Earthquake, which shook the Island of *Rhodes* to its very Foundations, since the Author I have now cited, says upon this Occasion (2), *That the Prediction of the Sibyl was fully accomplish'd.*

ARTICLE V.

In what Manner the Sibyls *deliver'd their Oracles, and what we are to think of the long Life that was attributed to them.*

Gallæus, in his thirteenth Dissertation upon the *Sibyls*, explains at great length all the Manners in which Futurity may be revealed to Men. He quotes all the Passages of Scripture, where they are mentioned, and carefully examines in what sense the Devil may be said to foreknow and reveal it. I have no mind to follow him in Questions, which would carry me too far. It would be necessary first of all to prove, that the *Sibyls* gave true Predictions, and then to determine from whom they had their Revelations; each of those two Articles is clog'd with great difficulties.

Let us resume a little of what we said upon the Oracles, and apply it to the *Sibyls*. The Oracles were sometimes pronounced *viva voce*, as those of the Priestess

(1) In Acha. Lib. 7. p. 412. Han. (2) In Cor. p. 93.

Prieſteſs of *Delphos*; the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* in *Italy* ſometimes delivered hers in the ſame manner, ſince *Helenus* tells *Æneas*, as he is adviſing him to conſult her when he arriv'd in *Italy*, to intreat her not to write her Predictions upon Leaves of Trees, as ſhe uſually did; but to anſwer him in another manner, which *Æneas* literally obeys, when he comes to conſult her:

. . . . . *Foliis tantum ne carmina manda,*
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis;
Ipſa canas oro (1).

The Prieſteſs of *Apollo*, after remaining a while upon the *Tripos*, turn'd furious, and in the Tranſport with which ſhe was actuated, pronounc'd her Oracles; the *Sibyl* was ſeized with the ſame Fury when ſhe utter'd her Predictions.

. . . . . *Sed pectus anhelum,*
Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri,
Nec mortale ſonans, afflata eſt numine quando
Jam propiore Dei (2).

Ovid repreſents her much in the ſame way:

. . . . *Tandemque Deo furibunda recepto,*
Magna petis, dixit, &c. (3).

As there were Prieſts at *Delphos*, whoſe buſineſs it was to gather up what the Prieſteſs pronounced in her Fury, and put it in Verſe; ſo 'tis probable, that they did much the ſame with the Reſponſes of the *Sibyl*, ſince all thoſe, which Antiquity has tranſmitted down to us, are likewiſe in Verſe.

The Oracles were delivered in other different ways, either in a Dream, or by Letters under a Seal, *&c.* As to the other *Sibyls*, 'tis not known in what manner they delivered theirs. *Virgil* informs us only of the ſingular manner how the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was wont to declare hers. She wrote them upon the Leaves of a Tree, which ſhe ranged in order at the Entrance to her Cave; and it requir'd one to be pretty nimble and expeditious, to gather up the Leaves in the ſame order as ſhe left them. For if they happen'd to be diſcompos'd by the Wind, or any other Accident, all was loſt; and

(1) *Æn. L. 6. v. 74.* (2) *Ibid. v. 48.* (3) *Met. L. 14. v. 107.*

and the Perſon was obliged to go away without expecting another Reſponſe.

. . . . . *Rupe ſub ima*
Fata canit, foliiſque notas et nomina mandat.
Quæcunque in foliis deſcripſit carmina Virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atque antro ſecluſa relinquit.
Illa manent immota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt:
Verum eadem verſo tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondes,
Nunquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere ſaxo,
Nec revocare ſitus, aut jungere carmina curat.
Inconſulti abeunt, ſedemque odere Sibyllæ (1).

This manner of the *Cumæan Sibyl*'s delivering her Oracles was by no means a Fiction of the Poet's; it was an ancient Tradition which we find in *Varro*. That learned *Roman*, according to *Servius* (2), ſays expreſsly in his Book of Divine Things, that this *Sibyl* wrote her Predictions on the Leaves of the Palm-tree. The ſame *Servius* likewiſe informs us, that ſhe had three ways of delivering her Oracles, either by word of Mouth, or by Writing, or by Signs: *Tribus modis futura prædicit; aut voce, aut ſcriptura, aut ſignis, id eſt quibuſdam notis, ut in Obeliſco Romano videmus; vel, ut alii dicunt, notis literarum, ut per aliquam literam, ſignificet aliquid* (3). It may be ask'd what this Author means by thoſe Signs; but ſince he tells us himſelf they were Marks like thoſe which are found upon the Obelisk that was at *Rome*, 'tis plain, that he has in his view that hieroglyphical Writing, in uſe among the *Egyptians*, and which was upon the Obelisk that had been carried from *Egypt* to *Rome*: as to which *Pliny* may be conſulted (4).

In fine, nothing was more famous in *Italy*, than the Cave where this *Sibyl* had delivered her Oracles. *Ariſtotle* (5) mentions it as a Place of great Curioſity; and *Virgil* gives a magnificent Deſcription of it. Religion had conſecrated this Cave, and made a Temple of it, as ſhall be ſaid in the following Article.

I

(1) Æn. L. 3. v. 444. (2) In 3 Æn. (3) Loc. cit. (4) L. 36. c. 8. & 9. (5) Adon.

I am not now to collect all that the *Roman* Hiſtorians and Poets ſay of this *Sibyl*; but I cannot paſs in ſilence, what *Ovid* tells in his *Metamorphoſes*, of her Amours with *Apollo*. That God, ſays he (1), falling in love with her, ſhe promiſed to receive his Addreſſes, if he would grant her to live as many Years, as ſhe had Grains of Sand in her hand: but after ſhe had obtained her Requeſt, ſhe repaid the God with nothing but Ingratitude, and was puniſhed in the Enjoyment of her vain Deſire; for having forgot to ask, that her youthful Vigour might be continued through that length of Years, ſhe lived till ſhe became a Burden to herſelf, oppreſſed with old Age, and ſo emaciated, that ſhe had nothing left but the Voice.

. . . . . *Nullique videnda*
Voce tamen noſcar, vocem mihi fata relinquent.

'Tis eaſy to ſee, that this Fable is founded upon a double Tradition; the one, that they look'd upon *Apollo* to be the God, who had deepeſt Inſight into Futurity, and who communicated the ſame to his Favourites, which accounts for their ſaying, he had been in love with this *Sibyl*, who was believ'd to be greatly endued with the prophetick Gift. And what accounts for the other part of the Fable is the general Perſuaſion that prevailed of the *Sibyl*'s having lived to a very great Age. *Virgil*, in two Paſſages, calls her of *Cumæ* the aged Prieſteſs, *Longæva Sacerdos* (2). *Eraſmus* aſſures us, it was from this Longevity of the *Sibyls*, that the Proverb came, *Sibyllâ vivacior* (3); and *Propertius* ſays, in the ſecond Book of his Elegies (4), *Tho' you ſhould live as many Ages as the* Sibyl:

Et ſi Cumææ ſæcula Vatis agas.

To the ſame purpoſe are uſually quoted the Verſes of an old Poet, who gives three Examples of Perſons who were long-liv'd, *viz. Hecuba*, the Wife of *Priam*; *Æthra*, the Mother of *Theſeus*; and the *Sibyl*.

Ovid tells us, that at the time when *Æneas* conſulted her, ſhe had already lived ſeven hundred

(1) Met. L. 14. v. 130. (2) Æn. L. 6. (3) Adag. (4) El. 2.

Years, and that ſhe had three hundred more to live:

. . . . . *Namque mihi jam ſæcula ſeptem*
Acta vides: ſupereſt, numeros ut pulveris æquem,
Ter centum meſſes, ter centum muſta videre.

Phlegon gives the ſame Account of the *Erythræan Sibyl*; and ſhe herſelf, in her Predictions, boaſts of this Privilege.

Theſe Teſtimonies for the Longevity of the *Sibyls*, induce me to make two Reflections. Firſt, that 'tis eaſy to ſee they are nothing but Exaggerations of the Poets. That ſome of them lived as long as *Hecuba* and *Æthra*, that is, fourſcore or fourſcore and ten Years, has nothing in it extraordinary; but this is the moſt we can allow. Even *Lucian*, who gives a long Detail of Perſons who were long-liv'd (1), makes no mention of the *Sibyls*; which is a ſtrong Preſumption againſt the great Age which is aſſigned to them. But as poetical Fictions have always ſome Foundation, learned Authors will have it, that the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was ſaid to have lived a thouſand Years, only becauſe ſhe had foretold what was to befal the *Romans* in that ſpace of time. The Transformation of that *Sibyl* into *Voice*, is nothing but an Emblem, which imports that her Oracles were to laſt for ever.

The ſecond Reflection is, that in all appearance, the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was the ſame with that of *Erythræa*, who having quitted her native Country, came and ſettled in *Italy*. And indeed, if we credit *Servius*, the Amour, which we have juſt now taken from *Ovid*, concerns the *Erythræan Sibyl*. That Author ſpeaking of *Apollo*'s Amours with that Virgin, ſubjoins to what we have ſaid of her, that the God granted her the long Life ſhe ſought, only upon condition ſhe would abandon the Iſle *Erythræa*, the Place of her Birth, to come and ſettle in *Italy*. Accordingly ſhe came thither, and fixed her Reſidence near *Cumæ*, where ſhe lived ſo long, till, quite ſpent with old Age, nothing remain'd of her but the Voice. Thoſe of her own Country, ſays the

(1) In Macr.

the ſame Author, whether out of pity, or ſome other Motive, wrote her a Letter; but fearing, that ſhe would not be able to read the Character then in uſe, and which muſt have been much alter'd ſince ſhe had left their Iſland, they thought fit to uſe the oldeſt they knew, and to ſeal the Letter after the old faſhion; but no ſooner had ſhe read it than ſhe died.

We may add, that the Ancients give the ſame Account of the long Life of the *Sibyls* of *Erythræ* and *Cumæ* in *Ionia*, as we have now given of the *Cumæan Sibyl* in *Italy*; which made *Gallæus* inclined to believe that thoſe three *Sibyls* were but one, who had paſſed her Life in the Iſland of *Erythræa* in *Ionia*, and at *Cumæ* in *Italy*, where ſhe ended her days.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Worſhip paid to the Sibyls.

The Pagans, eſpecially the *Romans*, had the higheſt poſſible Veneration for the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, the Collection whereof they preſerved in the Capitol, under a Guard of fifteen Prieſts, who conſulted them upon important Occaſions, as I have already ſaid. We muſt add here, that their Veneration for the *Sibyls* themſelves was no leſs than for their Oracles; and if they did not always look upon them to be Divinities, they at leaſt reputed them of a middle Nature between Gods and Men. This is what one of the *Sibyls* ſaid of herſelf, according to *Pauſanias* (1). While ſhe acknowledg'd, that after a Life of ſeveral Ages, ſhe was to pay the Tribute which all Men owe to Death; at the ſame time ſhe ſaid, ſhe was to be one day tranſform'd into that Face which appears in the Moon, as may be ſeen in *Plutarch* (2); as if before the *Sibyls* were, that Planet had not exhibited the ſame Appearance of a Face, which is thought to be there diſcern'd. Mythologiſts, ancient and modern, have trifled egregiouſly in making moral and phyſical Lectures upon this Metamorphoſis of the *Sibyls*, and I hope it will not be expected I am to copy them. And indeed what reaſonable

(1) In. Phoc. (2) Opuſc de Facie Lunæ.

ſonable Allegories can be imagin'd as a Foundation for a Fiction ſo frivolous?

Such was the Idea the Ancients had of the *Sibyls*: In later times, they, at leaſt ſome of them, had divine Honours paid them. *P. Petit*, in the Treatiſe we have mentioned, ſays, there is nothing in Antiquity to perſuade us, that the *Sibyls* were worſhip'd as Divinities (1); but he is certainly in a miſtake. *Lactantius*, who had read the Work of *Varro*, in which he ſpeaks of the *Sibyls*, is poſitive that the *Tiburtine* was worſhip'd as a Goddeſs at *Tibur*: *Tiburi cultam ut Deam juxta ripas amnis Anienis, cujus in gurgite ſimulachrum ejus inventum eſſe dicitur, tenens in manu librum* (2). It would likewiſe ſeem, that the Worſhip which thoſe of her own Country paid to her, was brought to *Rome*, ſince that learned Father of the Church ſubjoins immediately after thoſe words now cited, *Cujus ſacra Sextus in Capitolium tranſtulit*. The higheſt Mark of ſupreme Worſhip given to any one, was to conſecrate Temples to him; now 'tis certain, that ſome of the *Sibyls* had Temples. St. *Juſtin Martyr* mentions that of the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, built over the very Cave where ſhe had delivered her Oracles: and as he had the Curioſity to viſit it when in *Italy*, he has given a very full Deſcription of it. *Virgil* makes mention of this Temple; or rather he conſiders as a Temple the Grotto where the *Sibyl* delivered her Oracles, becauſe in after-times there was one actually built there: *Vaſta alta in Templa Sacerdos* (3). We read in M. *Spon's* Travels (4), that near the Place, which the People of the Country give out to be the Cave of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, are to be ſeen the Ruins of a ſmall Temple, which is thought to have been conſecrated to her. We may add farther, that the Inhabitants of *Gergis*, in the leſſer *Phrygia*, had a cuſtom of repreſenting upon their Medals, the *Sibyl* who was born in that City, as being their great Divinity (5).

Another Proof of the Worſhip paid to the *Sibyls*, is, that

(1) L. 2. c. 14. (2) Lact. de Fal. Rel. l. 1. c. 6. (3) Æn. L. 6. (4) P. I. p. 37. (5) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. L. 4. c. 15.

here were Statues erected to them, which were
in the Temples; thoſe of which *Gallæus* has
us Prints, were even in the Church of *Sienna*,
probably they had been left at its Conſecration.
if we would know what Honours were paid to
s in the Temples, *Arnobius* will inform us: *Cum*
nia ſupplices irent Templa, cum Deorum ante ora
ati, limina ipſa converrerent oſculis (1); *They pro-*
d themſelves before the Statues of the Gods, and
the very Ground. We may add farther, that they
l not touch the Book containing their Oracles,
their Hands were cover'd; which was the Prac-
l all the other religious Ceremonies (2).
ieſe are the moſt poſitive Arguments we find for
Vorſhip paid to the *Sibyls*. 'Tis true *Gallæus* (3)
ges others in confirmation of this Truth; but there
any of them, which, in my opinion, are the far-
poſſible from being concluſive.
t however this be, it is probable, that a religious
ſhip was paid to the *Sibyls* in ſeveral Places, eſpe-
in the Places of their Nativity; but I don't believe
are any other Proofs of it, than thoſe which I
now pointed out.
fine, to bring this Subject to a period, it only
ains, that I briefly take notice of the Tomb and
aph of the *Erythræan Sibyl*, the moſt celebrated of all.
he Paſſage, where it is mentioned by *Pauſanias*,
ains ſome Particularities concerning this *Sibyl*,
h are not to be met with elſewhere, I ſhall copy
, making uſe of the elegant Tranſlation of M. *Ge-*
. "The *Sibyl Herophile*, ſays *Pauſanias* (4), is
ter than ſhe who was Daughter to *Jupiter* and
amia, and yet ſhe lived before the Siege of *Troy*;
r ſhe propheſy'd, that *Helen* ſhould be educated at
parta, to be the Curſe of *Aſia*, and that upon her
ccount all *Greece* ſhould one day conſpire the Ruin
f *Troy*. The Inhabitants of *Delos* have Hymns in
onour of *Apollo*, which they aſcribe to this Woman.
n theſe Verſes, ſhe gives herſelf out not only for

1) Adv. Gen. L. 1. (2) See Gall. p. 267. (3) Gall. p. 267.
In Phoc. p. 630.

" *Herophile*, but for *Diana* too. Sometimes ſhe makes " herſelf the Wife, ſometimes the Siſter, and ſome- " times the Daughter of *Apollo*; but then ſhe ſpeaks " like one inſpired, and as it were delirious: For elſe- " where ſhe ſays ſhe was born of an immortal Mother, " one of the Nymphs of *Ida*, and a mortal Father; *I* " *am*, ſays ſhe, *the Daughter of an immortal Nymph*, " *but of a mortal Father*, *a Native of* Ida, *that Coun-* " *try where the Soil is ſo parch'd and light*; Marpeſſus " *is the Birth-place of my Mother*, *and the River* Ai- " doneus. Accordingly about Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, " there are to be ſeen at this day, the Ruins of *Mar-* " *peſſus*, where are ſtill remaining about ſixty Inhabi- " tants. *Marpeſſus* is about two hundred and forty " Furlongs from *Alexandria*, a City of *Troas*. The " Inhabitants of *Alexandria* ſay, *Herophile* was the " Keeper of the Temple * to *Apollo Smintheus*. and " that ſhe had given an Interpretation of *Hecuba's* " Dream, whereof the Truth was juſtified by the E- " vent. This *Sibyl* paſſed a good part of her Life at " *Samos*; then ſhe came to *Claros*, which belongs to " the *Colophonians*; then to *Delos*; from that to *Del-* " *phos*, where ſhe deliver'd her Oracles from the Rock " I have ſpoke of. She ended her days in *Troas*: her " Tomb is ſtill ſubſiſting in the ſacred Grove of *Apollo* " *Smintheus*, with an Epitaph in elegiack Verſe, en- " grav'd on a Column, which is to this effect: *I am* " *that famous* Sibyl, *whom* Apollo *had for the Interpre-* " *ter of his Oracles*; *once an eloquent Virgin*, *now lying* " *ſpeechleſs underneath this Marble*, *and condemned to* " *an eternal Silence*: *nevertheleſs by the Favour of the* " *God*, *dead as I am*, *I enjoy the ſweet Society of* Mer- " cury, *and of the Nymphs my Companions*. And in- " deed, nigh her Monument ſtands *Mercury* in a " quadranguiar Figure; on the left, a Fountain of " Water falls into a Baſon, where Statues of Nymphs " are to be ſeen. The *Erythræans* are they of all the " *Greeks* who claim this *Sibyl* with the greateſt warmth. " They vauntingly ſhew their Mount *Cerycus*, and in " this

* Neocoros.

" this Mountain a Cave, where they pretend *Herophil*
" had her Birth. According to them, a Shepherd of
" the Country, named *Theodorus*, was her Father, and
" a Nymph her Mother. This Nymph was ſurnamed
" *Idæa*, becauſe every Place was then called *Ida*, which
" was planted with a number of Trees. As for thoſe
" Verſes, which ſpeak of *Marpeſſus* and the River *Ai-*
" *doneus*, as her native Country, the *Erythræans* ſtrike
" them out of the Poems of *Herophile*."

I muſt not omit that the Veneration for the Sibylline Verſes laſted a good while under the Reign of the Emperors; but a part of the Senate having embraced Chriſtianity, in the time of *Theodoſius*, that ſuperſtitious Veneration began to be laid aſide; and at laſt *Stilico*, under the Reign of *Honorius*, cauſed them to be burned.

But ſo much now for theſe celebrated Virgins, whoſe Predictions were in vogue for ſo many Ages among the Pagans: let us paſs to other means that were uſed for knowing the Will of the Gods, and that Futurity about which human Curioſity has always been moſt keenly exerciſed.

CHAP. III.

Of Divination.

MAN, always anxious about future Events, did not content himſelf with ſeeking to come at the knowledge thereof by Oracles, and the Predictions of *Sibyls*; he attempted to make the Diſcovery by a thouſand other ways, and invented ſeveral ſorts of Divinations, and for theſe he even eſtabliſhed Maxims and Rules, as if ſuch frivolous Obſervations had been capable of being reduced to fixed and certain Rules.

As Divination was defined, *Rerum futurarum Scientia*, it was of ſeveral ſorts, as ſhall be ſhewn as we go This Science is as ancient as Idolatry, and made a conſiderable part of the Pagan Theology. It was

even authorized by the Laws, particularly among the *Romans*.

Cicero, who has compoſed two Books, equally curious and elegant, upon Divination, examines firſt how far the thing is poſſible, and delivers three Opinions of the Philoſophers on this Queſtion. Some believed, that as ſoon as the Being of Gods was admitted, a Divination muſt likewiſe neceſſarily be admitted. Others held, that there might be Gods, and yet there be no Divination; and the laſt were perſuaded, that the thing was poſſible, tho' there were even no Gods exiſting. 'Tis not worth while to reaſon upon theſe three Opinions: Religion informs us, that Futurity is not only hid from Man, unleſs God pleaſe to reveal it to him; but alſo that it is a criminal tempting of Providence to pry into it, and that all the Arts employed for that end, are as criminal as inſignificant. *Cicero* himſelf, tho' immers'd in Pagan Darkneſs, yet in the Work I have quoted, makes a jeſt of thoſe Pieces of Superſtition, and has turned them into ridicule; tho' his Brother had done all that lay in his power to ſupport them.

This learned and ingenious Author divides Divination into artificial and natural. *I am then of their opinion*, ſays his Brother *Quintus*, *who allow two ſorts of Divination; the one wherein Art has a great ſhare; and the other wherein it has none. 'Tis an Art in thoſe who follow the ancient Obſervations; but it is not ſo in thoſe, who, without having recourſe to any Conjecture, founded upon previous Obſervations, foretel future Events by a kind of Agitation of the Mind, and by a Motion free and detach'd from all ſorts of Reaſonings, as is frequently their Caſe who deal in Dreams, and ſometimes theirs who are actuated by a certain Fury, as* Bœotian Bacchis, Epimenides *of* Crete, *and the* Erythræan Sibyl.

To prove the univerſality of the Practice of Divination, he ſays in another place: *Now, is there any People who do not receive, either Divination by Art, as for inſtance, that which is drawn from inſpecting the Entrails of Victims, from the Interpretation of Prodigies and Thunders,*

Thunders, from the Uſe of Auſpices, from the Practice of Lots and Aſtrological Predictions; or natural Divination, which is what they get by Dreams, and by Prophecy (*a*).

I have ſaid enough of natural Divination, that is, of Dreams and enthuſiaſtick Impulſe, in the Chapter of Oracles, and in that of the Sibyls: As to the artificial, it was practiſed a hundred different ways. The ſacred Scripture ſpeaks of nine ſorts of Divination: The firſt was by inſpection of the Planets, Stars, and Clouds; of this we ſhall diſcourſe in the Chapter of Aſtrology. The ſecond, by means of Auguries. The third, by Witchcrafts. The fourth, by Charms. The fifth, by conſulting Spirits; or, as *Moſes* ſays, thoſe who interrogated *Python*, or a familiar Spirit. The ſixth, by Diviners, or Magicians, whom the ſame *Moſes* calls *Jedeoni*. The ſeventh, by Necromancy, or by calling up the Dead. The eighth, by means of Staves or Rods, as may be ſeen in the Prophet *Hoſea* (1): This ſort of Divination may be called *Rabdomancy*; and *Bolomancy*, that which was perform'd by mingling Arrows: The Prophet *Ezekiel* mentions this, in relation to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as ſhall be ſaid elſewhere. In fine, the ninth was by inſpection of the Liver, and was term'd *Hepatoſcopia*.

Theſe nine ſorts of Divination are very ancient, ſince moſt of 'em were in uſe even in the time of *Moſes*: A world of others have been ſince invented, which it ſhall ſuffice to name. In the mean time we ſhall inſiſt a little longer upon thoſe which were practiſed by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, becauſe they fall in with the Hiſtory of their Religion, whereof they were a part.

The four moſt general kinds of Divination, were thoſe in which they had recourſe to ſome one of the four Elements, Water, Earth, Air, and Fire; whence theſe Divinations derived their Names (*a*). As

(*a*) Tranſlation of Mr. *l'Abbé Regnier des Marets.*

(1) Hoſ. iv. 12.

(*a*) The Names of Pyromancy, Hydromancy, Geomancy, are compounded of the *Greek* Words, ſignifying Fire, Water, Earth, and ſo others; and of the Word μαντεια, which in the ſame Language ſignifies Divination.

As to the firſt, they made uſe either of Sea-Water, and then it was called *Hydromancy*, or Spring-Water, and it was named *Pegomancy*. This ſort of Divination is very ancient, ſince we are told, it derives its Origin from the *Perſians*, who communicated it to other Nations, and particularly to the *Greeks*, eſpecially to *Pythagoras*, who, according to *Varro*, was very much addicted to it (1). The Ceremony was performed two ways, either by filling a Baſon with Water, and ſuſpending a Ring to a thread, which they held with one Finger, while he who perform'd the Operation pronounc'd certain Words, and according as the Ring ſtruck againſt the ſides of the Baſon, he drew from it his Predictions; or by conjuring up Spirits who appear'd at the bottom of the Baſon; and it was this ſecond kind which *Numa Pompilius* practiſed.

Pegomancy, or Divination by Fountain-Water, was performed by throwing Lots, or a kind of Dice. They drew happy Preſages when they went to the bottom; but when they remain'd on the ſurface of the Water, it was a bad Omen. *Rous* (2) informs us, that there were other Methods beſides of prognoſticating by means of Water; 1. By drinking the Water of certain Fountains, as that of *Caſtalia* in *Bœotia*, which had the Virtue of communicating that Gift. 2. By throwing Cakes into certain Fountains, as into that of *Ino* in *Laconia*; for if they went to the bottom, it was a good Omen, but bad if they floated above, as we learn from *Pauſanias* (3). The ſame Obſervations were alſo made by Letters, which they uſed to throw into the two Lakes of the *Palici*, as ſhall be ſaid in the Hiſtory of theſe Gods. 3. When the Image of the thing they wanted to ſee, appear'd in the Water, as they tell us it happen'd in the Fountain of *Apollo Phryxeus*, in *Achaia*. 4. By throwing Glaſs-Vials into certain Waters, to know the iſſue of ſome Diſeaſe; for 'tis alledg'd, that upon taking them out, a judgment could be made whether it was mortal, or if the Patient would recover

5. By

(1) Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 33. (2) Arch. Att. (3) In Lac p. 208.

5. By obſerving the motion of three Stones which were thrown into the Water: for which that Author may be conſulted (1).

Pyromancy was performed by means of Fire, either by obſerving the ſparkling of the Flame, or by the Light of a Lamp. For this purpoſe at *Athens*, they had always a Lamp burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, conſtantly fed by Virgins, who regularly obſerved the motion of the Flame, the *Aruſpices* obſerv'd it in like manner, as we ſhall take notice afterwards.

Another ancient kind of Pyromancy, was to fill Bladders with Urine, which they threw into the Fire; and by obſerving in what manner the Urine run out when the Bladder burſt, they believed they could preſage future Events: As alſo by throwing Pitch into the Fire, and attending to the manner of its burning, taking particular notice of the Smoke, *&c.* Several ways were deviſed of divining by means of Fire, but I inſiſt only upon thoſe which made a part of Idolatry.

Geomancy was performed by employing Earth, as its Name ſufficiently denotes. It conſiſted moſtly in drawing Lines or Circles, by which they flatter'd themſelves to be able to divine whatever they were deſirous to be informed about; or in obſerving the Chinks and Crannies which naturally break out in the ſurface of the Earth, whence, ſaid they, iſſued divine Exhalations, as we have ſaid of the Cave of *Delphos*.

Divination by means of Air, was alſo perform'd in different manners, either by obſerving the Flight of Birds and the Cries of certain Animals, or by examining from what ſide Thunder broke, or upon occaſional appearance of Meteors and Comets; but of theſe we ſhall ſpeak in the Article of Auguries and Prodigies: In fine, from the inſpection of the Clouds; and it was a Woman named *Anthuſa*, who, in the time of the Emperor *Leo*, invented this ſort of Divination, which, if we credit *Photius*, had never been thought of by any body before her.

There were beſides, an infinity of other ſorts of Divination,

(1) *Arch. Att. l.* 7. *c.* 7.

vination, which I ſhall only name, that I may come to thoſe which were authorized by the Laws and by Religion. They gave the name *Ornithomancy* to that which they drew from the Flight or the chirping of Birds, *Cledoniſmancy* to that which they drew from the Voice. *Cicero* remarks on this occaſion (1), that the *Pythagoreans* not only obſerv'd the Voice of the Gods, but of Men too; *Pythagorici non ſolum voces Deorum obſervabant, ſed & hominum.* Divination by the Lines which appear in the Palm of the Hand, was denominated *Chiromancy*; and this ſort of Divination has been moſt in vogue, and been of longeſt continuance.

That which was practiſed by means of Keys, was named *Clidomancy*; by a Sieve, *Coſcinomancy*; by Meal, *Alphitomancy*; by means of certain Stones, *Lithomancy*; by one or more Rings, *Dactyliomancy*; by conjuring up the Dead, *Pſychomancy*, or *Sciomancy*; by the Flame of a Lamp, *Lychnomancy*; by means of a Mirror, *Catoptromancy*; when waxen Figures were made uſe of therein, it was denominated *Ceromancy*; if it was perform'd with an Ax or Hatchet, *Axinomancy*; and when they had recourſe to Numbers, *Arithmomancy*.

We meet with ſome other kinds of Divination in *Cicero*'s Books; in the fourth Book of *Wiſdom*, by *Cardan*; in *Robert Fludd*, and elſewhere: But poſſibly we have dwelt too long upon ſo vain and frivolous a Subject. As moſt of theſe Divinations made a part of the Science of the *Augurs*, *Auſpices*, and *Aruſpices*, whoſe Functions were authorized by the Laws of the *Romans*, and conſtituted a part of their Religion, we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent Chapter, what uſe they made of them.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Auguria, Auſpicia, *and* Aruſpicia.

THE *Augurium*, to ſpeak accurately, was taken from the Phenomena which appeared in the Skies; the *Auſpicium*, from the Flight and Chirping of Birds; and the *Aruſpicium* from the inſpection of

1) De Div. l. 5.

of the Entrails of the Victims: The Augurs however, obſerv'd alſo the Chirping of Birds; and hence the very Name Augur, is thought to be derived, *ab avium garritu.*

Be that as it will, the Augur's Art is very ancient, ſince it was in uſe in the time of *Moſes*, who thus prohibits it, as well as every other ſort of Divination: *Cave ne imitari velis abominationes illarum gentium, nec inveniatur in te qui luſtret filium tuum, aut filiam, ducens per ignem; aut qui Ariolos ſciſcitetur, & obſervet ſomnia atque auguria*, &c (1). 'Tis thought to have taken its riſe among the *Chaldeans*, whence the *Greeks*, and then the *Romans*, came to the knowledge of it. The laſt had ſo great eſteem and regard for this Science, that there was a Law of the twelve Tables, forbidding to diſobey the Augurs, under pain of Death: *Quæ Augur injuſta, nefaſta, vitioſa, dirave dixerit, irrita infeſtaque ſunto: Quique non paruerit, capitale eſto.*

This Art was known in *Italy* before the time of *Romulus*, ſince that Prince did not ſet about the building of *Rome* till he had taken the Auguries. The *Etrurians* or *Tuſcans* practiſed it in the earlieſt times, and had render'd themſelves extremely expert in it ſince the time they had learn'd it from *Tages*. The Kings who were *Romulus*'s Succeſſors, not to ſuffer a Science to be loſt which they thought ſo uſeful, and at the ſame time not to render it contemptible by becoming too familiar, fetch'd from *Etruria* the moſt ſkilful Augurs, to introduce the practice of it into the religious Ceremonies, and to teach it to their Citizens; and from that time, they ſent every Year into *Tuſcany* ſome of the Youth of the beſt Families in *Rome*, to ſtudy it there, as I ſhall prove in the Sequel.

Romulus at firſt made up this College only of three Augurs, taken from the three Tribes which then comprehended all the Inhabitants of the City, and *Servius* added a fourth. None were qualify'd for being Members of this College, but ſuch as were of a *Patrician* Family, and the Cuſtom of admitting no others into it,

continued.

(1) *Deut. xviii. v. 9, 10.*

continued till the Year of *Rome* CCCCLIV, under the Conſulſhip of *Q. Apuleius Panſa*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, when the Tribunes of the People inſiſted on having Plebeians raiſed to the Augural Dignity; which after ſome ſtruggle was granted to them, and five were choſen from among the People: Thus this College conſiſted of nine Perſons till the time of *Sylla*, who added two more to it, as we learn from *Livy* and *Florus*; or fifteen, according to other Hiſtorians, who will have it, that under that Dictator the College of Augurs was compoſed of twenty-four Perſons. The Head of this College was named *Magiſter Augurum*. The number of Augurs, however, was not limited to thoſe who compoſed this College, ſince beſides thoſe who were in Commiſſion, the Emperors had private ones for themſelves, who lived at Court, and attended them wherever they went; and ſome of the Cities ſubject to the *Romans* had ſo many of them, that the College of Augurs at *Lions*, amounted to three hundred Perſons.

In the earlier times, the Augurs were elected by the Aſſembly of the People, but afterwards only two of the eldeſt of each *Curia* had the Privilege to propoſe one from among thoſe who had ſtudied that Science; and after a ſerious examination, he was admitted or rejected by the College in a body: And this Cuſtom continued to the Year of *Rome* DCLI, when *Marius*, diſobliged that another ſhould have been promoted to the Augural Dignity, which he had ſollicited, promulgated a Law (1), inveſting the People for the future with the Power of electing the Augurs, the Pontifs, and the other Prieſts (2); but not long after, *Sylla* abrogated this Law, and reſtored to the Augurs the Right of Election, of which they had been diveſted through the Reſentment of *Marius*. They did not enjoy it long; for *Julius Cæſar*, who aſpired after the Dignity of High-Prieſt, which he deſpaired of attaining, but by the Faction of the People, prevail'd with the Tribune *Titius Attius Labienus* to re-eſtabliſh the *Domitian*

r. There were likewiſe other Alterations made in this

(1) the *Domitian* Law. (2) Cic. de Leg. Agr.

atter during the time of the Broils that harraſſed ommonwealth. But at length, *Auguſtus*, after ; put an end to the civil Wars, reinſtated the Col- f Augurs in their Right of Election; and thus it till the time that the Emperors reſerv'd it to :lves.

at Precautions were taken in the Election of Au- and none were qualify'd for being advanced to ignity, but Perſons of a blameleſs Life, and free all corporal Defects. And then his Character cred and *indelible*, nor could the Augurs be de- on any account whatſoever. Their Functions f very great Conſideration, both with regard to on and the State. The Senate could not aſſem- it in a place which they had conſecrated. If in ne of an Aſſembly, either of the Senate or People, bſerved any bad Omen, they had a Power to e the Meeting, as alſo to invalidate the Elec- f Magiſtrates, who had been choſen under bad ces.

fine, ſo high regard had they for the Augurs, and eir Declarations, that ſuch as contemned their is, or made their Predictions the ſubject of their ry, were accounted impious and prophane. Ac- gly, they conſtrued as a Puniſhment from the the Overthrow of *Claudius Pulcher*, who or- the ſacred Chickens to be thrown into the Sea, ſe they had refuſed to eat what was ſet before : *If they won't eat*, ſays he, *they ſhall drink*.

ey enter'd upon no important Enterprize, no War, ge, without having firſt conſulted the Augurs. Preſages which they drew on theſe occaſions, avourable, *Proſpera*, they made anſwer, *Id aves nt*, the Birds are for it: If they were bad, *Adverſa*, *a*, *Piacularia*, their anſwer was, *Id aves abdicunt*, rds are againſt it. When the Omens offer'd of elves, they were called, *Oblativa*; and if they ppear'd when ſought after, *Impetrata*.

e Auguries were taken in different manners, and s with particular Ceremonies. They were taken from

from the Flight of Birds, and three things were obſerv'd; the Augury, *Augurium*; the Auſpice, *Auſpicium*; and that particular Motion called, *Tripudium* *; from the Entrails of Animals, and this they called, the *Extiſpicium*: From Prodigies, as ſhall be ſaid in a ſeparate Article: From Meteors, and the Phenomena which appeared in the Heavens; and of all the ways of taking the Augury, this was the moſt authentick and certain, in regard that theſe ſorts of Phenomena were ſeldom exhibited more than once, on one and the ſame Day. Accordingly, when the chief Augur had a mind to diſſolve an Aſſembly, he had no more to do but to give publick intimation, that he had obſerv'd Signs in the Heavens, with this Formula; *Alio die dixerit*, *He refers to another Day.* But the Senate conſidering, that the Power of the Augurs was capable of authorizing numbers of Abuſes, decreed that thoſe Advertiſements of theirs ſhould not henceforth adjourn Aſſemblies that were legally convened.

Among the Signs in the Heavens which the Augurs obſerv'd, there were ſome that had no Meaning, and theſe they called *Bruta*, or *Vana*; others which declared a certain Event, were term'd *Fatidica*; of theſe laſt, ſuch as appear'd while they were deliberating upon an Affair, had the name of *Conſiliaria Signa*: Such as did not offer till the thing was determined, were called *Auctoritativa*, or confirming Signs. Of theſe again there were two kinds; *Poſtularia*, which obliged them to renew the Sacrifices; and *Monitoria*, which warn'd them of what was to be avoided.

All Days and Seaſons were not equally proper for taking the Auguries, and therefore *Metellus*, as *Plutarch* reports, forbid them to be taken after the Month of *Auguſt*, becauſe the Birds moult in that Seaſon. As little were they allowed to be taken, immediately after the Ides of each Month, becauſe the Moon then begins to wane, nor after Noon on any day whatſoever.

The

* When the Corn was thrown to the Chickens, if they fell greedily upon it, ſo that ſome of it drop'd out of their Mouths and rebounded from the ground, it was called *Tripudium*, or *Tripudium ſolimum*, than which no Omen was more auſpicious.

The Place where the Augury was taken, was to be on an Eminence, and therefore, according to *Servius*, it was called *Templum*, *Arx*, *Auguraculum*, and the Field conſecrated to that uſe, *Ager effatus* (1). When the Weather was calm and ſerene, (for the Augury was not allowed to be taken in any other State of the Air) and when all the other Ceremonies were perform'd, the Augur cloathed in his Robe call'd *Læna* or *Trabea*, and holding in his right hand the augural Staff, which reſembled our Biſhop's Croſier, ſat down at the Entry of his Tent, ſurvey'd all around, and after having mark'd out the Diviſions of the Heavens with his Staff, and drawn one Line from Eaſt to Weſt, and another from South to North, he offered up Sacrifice, and addreſſed this Prayer to *Jupiter*: *Jovis Pater, ſi mihi es Auctor, Urbi, Populoque Romano Quiritium, hæc ſanè ſaxéque eſſe, ut tu nunc mihi bene ſponſis, beneque volueris.* *Father* Jupiter, *if thou art the Protector of* Rome, *and of the* Roman *People, grant me a favourable Augury.* Or as *Livy* has it, upon occaſion of the Election of *Numa Pompilius*: *Jupiter Pater, ſi eſt fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, Regem Romæ eſſe, ut tua ſigna nobis certa & clara ſint inter eos fines quos feci.* Jupiter, *if it is thy Will, that this* Numa Pompilius, *on whoſe Head I lay my hands, ſhould be King of* Rome, *grant clear and unerring Signs within theſe Bounds which I have marked out.* This Prayer being over, the Prieſt turned his Eyes to the right and left, and towards whatever Place the Birds took their flight, from thence to determine if the Augury was proſperous or unhappy.

As this Ceremony conſtituted a Part of the Religion of the *Romans*, it was attended to with high Veneration, and during the Sacrifice and Prayer, profound Silence was kept. If the Augury was favourable, he who had taken it came down from his Place, and gave Intimation of it to the People in his form which we have already reported; *The Birds approve it, or diſapprove it.* Though the Augury was favourable, they ſometimes defer'd the Enterprize

(1) Serv. in *Virgil.*

till the Gods confirm'd it by a new Sign: This is what we learn from *Virgil* in theſe Verſes;

Da deinde auxilium, Pater, atque hæc omina firma; *Jupiter* be propitious to me, and confirm the Preſages thou haſt now given me.

Of all the Signs in the Heavens, which were obſerv'd in taking the Augury, the moſt unerring were Thunder and Lightnings; eſpecially when it thunder'd in ſerene Weather. If the Thunder and Lightnings came from the left hand, it was a good Omen, and a bad one if they came from the right. *Virgil*, who has ſhewn his Skill in introducing into his Poems a great Part of the religious Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, ſays to this purpoſe (1):

Audiit, & cæli Genitor de parte ſerenâ
Intonuit lævum, &c.

Donatus explaining this Verſe, lets us know that the Reaſon why Thunder breaking on the left, was reputed a favourable Omen; namely, that all Appearances on that hand proceeded from the right of the Gods: *Quia ſacrificantis latus lævum, dextra eſt ejus qui poſtulata largitur*. The Thunders, which paſſed from North to Eaſt, were reckoned auſpicious.

The Winds were another Sign of the Heavens obſerv'd in Auguries, becauſe they looked upon them as the Meſſengers of the Gods, who came to ſignify their Decrees to Men. *Lutatius*, the ancient Commentator upon *Statius*, explaining that Place where the Poet ſays, that the Inſpection of the Winds, and of the Flight of Birds cauſed the War to be deferr'd,

. . . . . *Ventiſque aut alite viſa*
Bellorum proferre Diem, &c.

obſerves that the Augurs drew their Preſages from the Winds: *Solent Augures Ventorum flatibus futura cognoſcere*; but he lets us know nothing more particular upon this Subject. Thus we are at a loſs to determine what Winds were favourable, and what were unlucky.

Farthermore, all that we have now been ſaying of the Auguries that were taken from Signs in the Heavens

(1) Æn. L. 9. v. 630.

was equally practiſed in thoſe which they took from the Flight of Birds: Their different manner in flying prognoſticated good or bad Omens. If it was an unlucky Omen, it was called *Siniſtra* or *Funeſta*, or *Arcula*, that is, ſuch as prohibited any Enterprize; *Devia*, to denote that the ſame Enterprize would be difficult to accompliſh; *Remora*, when it ought to be delayed; *Inebra*, when the Augury ſeem'd to portend ſome obſtacle in the way; and in fine, *Altera*, when a ſecond Preſage deſtroy'd the firſt.

The Birds, whoſe Flight and Chirping they more exactly noticed, were the Eagle, the Vultur, the Kite, the Owl, the Raven and the Crow. *Horace* (1) ſays of the Raven:

Oſcinem Corvum prece ſuſcitabo
Solis ab ortu.

And *Virgil* ſpeaking of the Crow:

Sæpe ſiniſtra cavâ prædixit ab ilice Cornix.

But the moſt common way of taking the Augury, conſiſted in examining the manner how the ſacred Chickens took the Corn that was offered them. They generally fetch'd theſe Chickens from the Iſland of *Negropont* or *Eubœa*, and they had them ſhut up in Coops. He who had the care of them was named *Pullarius*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2): ſo great was the Faith which the *Romans* had in the manner of their feeding, that they undertook nothing of Importance, without having previouſly taken this ſort of Augury. Even Generals of Armies had them brought into their Camps, and conſulted them before they gave battel. The Conſul, after notice given to the Perſon who had the care of thoſe Chickens, to make the neceſſary Preparations for taking the Auſpice, threw down Grain to them himſelf: If they fell on with greedineſs *, the Omen was good; but if they refuſed to eat, ſpurning away the Corn with their Feet, and ſcattering it here and there, it was reckoned ſo unlucky, that they deſiſted from the Enterprize for which they conſulted them.

(1) L. 3. Od. 27. (2) De Div.

* There appears to be ſomewhat omitted in the Original; I have filled up the Senſe from *Roſinus Ant.* L. 3. c. 10.

'Tis matter of juſt Surprize to find that ſo grave and wiſe a People as the *Romans*, had for whole Ages been addicted to ſuch a childiſh Superſtition, and made the greateſt Enterprizes depend upon a Chicken's having or wanting an Appetite; but the Fact is nevertheleſs unqueſtionably true. *Cicero* indeed openly ridicules it, without appearing to have made it a ſerious Affair; but the times it ſeems were changed when he wrote his Books of Divination: it may be queſtioned, whether in another Age it would have been ſafe for him to rally the thing as he does.

Be that as it will, the *Romans* were ſo attach'd to the *Auſpices* and *Auguries*, and had ſo great Faith in them, as to take them upon every Enterprize. After having uſed the antecedent Ceremonies preſcrib'd by Religion, they always conſulted a Perſon well verſed in that ſort of Science. We have their form of interrogating him whom they addreſs'd ſtill remaining: Quintus Fabius, *favour me with your Aſſiſtance in taking the Auſpice; tell me if all the uſual Ceremonies have been punctually obſerv'd, and if there is nothing deficient in the Auſpice. Quinte Fabi, te volo mihi in Auſpicio eſſe; dicito ſi ſilentium eſſe videtur.* To which the Anſwer was: There is nothing deficient in it; *Silentium eſſe videtur.*

The *Aruſpices* were equally regarded at *Rome* with the Augurs. As their Functions conſiſted in examining the Entrails of the Victims, they were likewiſe named *Extiſpices*, a name compounded of two *Latin* words, *Exta*, Entrails, and *inſpicere*, to ſurvey, to obſerve, as has been ſaid in ſpeaking of the Sacrifices. The *Tuſcans*, of all the People of *Italy*, were moſt Maſters of this Science, they having been taught it by *Tages*; and it was from their Country that the *Romans* brought thoſe whom they employ'd, or at leaſt choſe them from among thoſe whom they had ſent thither to be inſtructed in it: for they ſent every Year into *Tuſcany*, as the Senate had ordained, ſix young Perſons, according to *Cicero*, or ten, as *Valerius Maximus* has it, or twelve, as we are aſſured by other Authors, to be inſtructed in

he Knowledge of the *Aruſpices*, and other ſorts of Divination. And for fear that this Science ſhould be unlervalued, by the Quality of the Perſons who profeſſed it, they choſe theſe Youths from among the beſt Families in *Rome*: *Tantum autem ſtudium antiquis, non olum obſervandæ, ſed etiam amplificandæ Religionis fuit, ut e florentiſſima & opulentiſſima Civitate decem principum ilii Senatus-Conſulto ſingulis Hetruriæ populis, percipiendæ ſacrorum diſciplinæ gratiâ, traderentur* (1).

Andrew Glareanus reckons, that as the *Tuſcans* were divided into twelve Nations, ſo we ought to read in *Valerius Maximus*, and in *Cicero*'s ſecond Book of Divination, twelve Youths, and not ten, as it is in *Valerius Maximus*, nor ſix, as *Cicero* makes it; being perſuaded that the Text in both theſe Authors has been vitiated by ſome Tranſcriber. We ſaid *Tages* was the firſt who taught the *Tuſcans* the Science of the *Aruſpices*, and that other ſort of Divination, which the *Latins* call the *Tuſcan Divination*; we are now to let you know who this *Tages* was. *Cicero* thus relates his Hiſtory, or rather his Fable (2): "A Peaſant, ſays "he, labouring in a Field, and his Plough-ſhare go-"ing pretty deep into the Earth, turned up a Clod, "whence ſprung a Child, who taught him as well as "the other *Tuſcans*, the Principles of Divination."

Ovid tells the ſame Fable in the 15th Book of his *Metamorphoſes* (3):

Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Hetruſcam
Edocuit gentem caſus aperire futuros.

As the manner of relating a Fact, may conſiderably alter its Circumſtances without deſtroying it, I am perſuaded, that the Fable I have now rehearſed has a true Foundation, and that it imports, either that *Tages* was of an obſcure Birth, or that he was a Native of the Country, *Autochthon*; for it was thoſe ſorts of People they commonly gave out to be ſprung from the Earth. However this may be, *Tages* grew expert in the Science of Divination, eſpecially in that which conſiſted in exploring the Entrails; and he afterwards communicated

(1) Val. Max. L. 3. c. 11. (2) De Div. L. 2. (3) V. 558.

it to the *Tuſcans*, who likewiſe became great Proficients therein. He had even compoſed upon this Subject a Treatiſe, which was kept with peculiar care, and explained afterwards by *Antiſtius Labeo*, who divided it into fifteen Books.

'Tis not known, whether *Tages* himſelf had invented this ſort of Divination, or if he had learned it from Strangers who travelled into *Tuſcany* in his time. This much at leaſt we are aſſured of by ſeveral Authors, that it was known and practiſed in other Countries. The *Greeks* had it in the time of *Tireſias* and *Cares*; the firſt of whom, according to *Pliny*, invented the Auſpice; and the ſecond, the Augury. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who has preſerved to us precious Fragments upon Antiquity, alledges that the *Phrygians* were the firſt of all the Nations in the World, who made Obſervations upon the Singing and Flight of Birds; and at the ſame time informs us, that they gave the name of *Præpetes* to thoſe who made Obſervations by the Flight; and of *Oſcines*, to thoſe who ſtudied their Chirping; which, by the way, may ſerve to make us underſtand the Verſes of *Horace*, which I have quoted in this Chapter.

Other Authors again trace the Original of this Science higher up, and maintain, that it was in uſe in the earlieſt Ages in *Chaldea*, and in *Egypt*, whence the *Greeks* learned it, and for a long time put it in practice. Nay there were in *Greece* two Families, the *Jamidæ* and the *Clytidæ*, who were peculiarly ſet apart for the Functions which it preſcrib'd. From *Greece* it paſſed into *Etruria*, and the *Tuſcans* accompliſhed themſelves therein, ſo as to become the moſt knowing of all the *Aruſpices*, as has been already ſaid. It muſt have been diffuſed thro' ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, even before the Foundation of *Rome*; ſince *Romulus*, in his new City, founded a College of three *Auſpices*, chuſing one from each Tribe.

The *Aruſpex* drew his Preſages from the Motions of the Victim which they led to ſacrifice, from its Entrails, and from the Fire in which it was conſumed. If the Victim ſuffer'd

ſuffer'd itſelf to be led without any ſtruggle; if it gave no extraordinary Cries when it got the deadly Blow; if it did not get looſe from the Perſon's hands who led it; all theſe were good Omens, and bad if the contrary happened. The Victim being ſtruck down, its Belly was rip'd up, and its Entrails examined, eſpecially the Liver, the Heart, the Spleen, the Kidneys, and the Tongue. Their Colour was particularly noticed, and accurate Obſervation made, if they appear'd withered, and if every Part was as it ought to be.

Before the Victim was opened, one of the Lobes of the Liver was allotted to thoſe who offered the Sacrifice, and the other to the Enemies of the State. That which was found to be ruddy, and of a freſh Vermilion Colour, neither larger nor ſmaller than it ought to be, not blemiſhed nor withered, prognoſticated the greateſt Proſperity to thoſe for whom it was ſet apart; that which was lean, livid, *&c.* preſaged the worſt of all Omens. *Lucan*, who has deſcrib'd with a great deal of Elegance all the Operations of the *Aruſpices*, has not omitted this Circumſtance:

The Liver wet with putrid Streams he ſpy'd,
And Veins that threatned on the hoſtile ſide;
Part of the heaving Lungs is no where found,
And thinner Films the ſever'd Entrails bound;
No uſual Motion ſtirs the panting Heart;
The chinky Veſſels ooze on ev'ry Part;
The Cawl where wrapt the cloſe Inteſtines lie,
Betrays its dark Receſſes to the Eye.
One Prodigy ſuperiour threaten'd ſtill;
The never-failing Harbinger of Ill:
Lo! by the fibrous Liver's riſing Head,
A ſecond rival Prominence is ſpread, &c.

Rowe's Lucan. B. 1. v. 1057.

Next to the Liver, the Heart was the Part which they obſerved with moſt care. If it palpitated, was lean, and of a leſs ſize than ordinary, all theſe were bad Omens; but if no Heart was found in the Victim, they drew from thence the moſt unhappy Preſages. We are aſſured, that on the day of Cæſar's Aſſaſſina-

tion, this Part was wanting in two Victims which they had offered up. The ſame thing happen'd, ſay they, to *Caius Marius* in a Sacrifice which he offer'd at *Utica* in *Africk*, and to the Emperor *Pertinax*.

In like manner they did with the Spleen, the Gall, and the Lungs; nor was the Augury propitious unleſs theſe three Parts had much the ſame Qualities with thoſe that were requiſite in the Heart and Liver. If the Entrails drop'd from the hands of him who examined them; if they ſmelt rank; in fine, if they were livid, wither'd, or bloated, the *Aruſpex* boded nothing from thence but Misfortunes.

After having ſcrupulouſly examined the Entrails of the Victim, they kindled the Fire and drew ſeveral Omens from its manner of burning. If the Flame was clear, if it mounted up without dividing, if it did not go out till the Victim was entirely conſumed, this was an infallible Mark that the Sacrifice was acceptable. If on the contrary, they had difficulty in kindling the Fire; if the Flame divided; if, inſtead of faſtening on the Victim, it only play'd around, or if it ſunk downward, all theſe were bad Preſages.

Again, the *Aruſpex* drew his Prognoſticks from the Wine uſed for the Libation. If it loſt its Colour and Flavour, the Omen was unlucky. This, according to *Virgil* (1), is what happened to *Dido*, when offering a Sacrifice ſhe perceived the Wine was chang'd into a blackiſh and corrupted Blood:

. . . . . *Latices nigreſcere ſacros*
Fuſaque in obſcœnum ſe vertere vina cruorem.

As alſo to *Xerxes*, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, being at Supper the Evening before he laid ſiege to *Sparta*, ſaw, to his aſtoniſhment, the Wine that was ſerved up for his Drink turn three times into Blood: *Infuſum namque Pateræ ejus vinum, in ſanguinem nec ſemel, ſed iterum & tertio converſum.*

Such were the Preſages drawn by the *Augurs*, the *Auſpices*, and *Aruſpices*: But as there were ſeveral other

(1) Æn. L. 4. v. 453.

others, which every private Man might obſerve, I ſhall ſpeak of them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Of Preſages and Prodigies.

MR. *Simon*, in a Diſſertation, whereof a Copy is printed in the firſt Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), reduces to ſeven kinds the Preſages now to be under our Conſideration.

1. Caſual Words, which were again divided into two Claſſes; thoſe whoſe Author was unknown, which they called *Divine Voices:* Such was the Voice whereby the *Romans* were apprized, without knowing whence it proceeded, of the Approach of the *Gauls*, and to which they built a Temple, under the name of *Aius Loquutius*. Theſe ſame articulate Sounds were called human Voices, when it was known who pronounced them. They uſed this ſort of Preſage, either by picking up the firſt Words they heard at coming out of the Houſe, or by ſending a Slave into the Street, to report the firſt Words which he heard. To this kind of Preſage, we may refer what was taken from the Words pronounced by Children at play, which were interpreted either in a good or bad ſenſe.

2. The Startings of ſome Parts of the Body, chiefly of the Eyes, the Eye-brows, and the Heart, formed the ſecond kind of Preſages. The Starting of the right Eye and of the Eye-brows, was a happy Omen; that of the Heart, or its Palpitations, were a bad Omen; and preſaged, according to *Melampus*, the Treachery of a Friend. The Numbneſs of the little Finger, and the Starting of the Thumb of the left Hand, portended nothing favourable.

3. The Tingling of the Ear, and thoſe imaginary Sounds, which were ſometimes heard, were likewiſe bad Preſages: Hence this ancient Epigram,

Garrula

(1) P. 54.

Garrula quid toties resonas mihi noctibus auris?
Nescio quem dicis nunc meminisse mei.

4. Sneezings in the Morning were by no means good Omens, but those in the Afternoon were.

5. Accidental Falls were always bad Omens, even those of Statues: Thus, those of *Nero* being found overturned one first Day of *January*, they foreboded from thence the approaching Death of that Prince. If at going abroad, a Person hit his Foot against the Threshold of the Door; if by any straining, he broke the Strings of his Shoes; or if at rising from his Seat he happen'd to be held by his Robe, all these were taken for bad Omens.

6. The accidental Rencounter of certain Persons, or certain Animals, presaged either good or bad. If they met in the Morning an *Æthiopian*, a Dwarf, an Eunuch, a Man deformed, they were sure to return quickly home, and stir no more abroad for that Day. The Rencounter of a Serpent, of a Wolf, a Fox, a Dog, a Cat; the Squeak of a Mouse, *&c.* presaged nothing but bad luck. The Lion, the Ants, the Bees, were, on the contrary, of a happy Omen.

7. Again, there were Names of good or bad portent; and they were very scrupulous in observing, that the first Soldiers they listed, the Children who serv'd at the Sacrifices, those who perform'd the Dedication of a Temple, should have lucky Names; and they had an aversion to those which imported any thing sad or disastrous.

Several other Presages might be added to those we have now recited: But what could we learn from a longer detail, but that the Superstition of the Pagans knew no bounds, since there was hardly any Action in life, especially among the *Romans*, for which they had not recourse to Presages; none where they believed themselves at liberty to neglect them? But that superstitious Attention was chiefly engaged in all the Ceremonies of Religion, in the publick Acts, which for that reason, were all usher'd in with this Preamble; *Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit*; in Marriages, at the Birth of Children, in Travelling, in their Repasts, &c.

&c. But it was not enough to obſerve the Preſages, it was neceſſary to accept of them when favourable, thank the Gods for them, beg of them their Accompliſhment, and even ſupplicate them to ſend new ones in confirmation of the firſt; and in caſe they were bad, pray that they would divert their Effect: *Quod Di prius Omen in ipſum convertant* (1), ſays *Sinon*, in *Virgil*, ſpeaking of *Calchas*.

The *Romans* had particular Gods whom they invoked, and to whom they ſacrificed, when they wanted to have bad Omens diverted, and the Effect of them prevented; and theſe Gods were named *Averrunci*, or *Averruncani*, from the old *Latin* Word *averruncare*, which ſignify'd to ward off or divert. But independently of the aid of thoſe Gods, they thought bad Preſages could be redreſs'd by many other ways, ſince, in order to obviate the bad effect of an unlucky Expreſſion or Object, it ſufficed to ſpit haſtily, as it were to throw out the Poiſon they had ſuck'd in. They were ſcrupulouſly careful, when they could not ſhun making uſe of unlucky Words, to ſoften the terms, and keep as far as poſſible from the ſhocking Idea which they naturally raiſed: Thus, inſtead of ſaying directly, a Man was dead, they ſaid, he has liv'd, *Vixit*. At *Athens* they called a Priſon, the Houſe; the common Executioner, the publick Man; the Furies, *Eumenides*, or the good-natur'd Goddeſſes; and ſo of the reſt.

The Prodigies.

Of all Preſages, Prodigies were the worſt, and thoſe for which the Pagan Religion preſcrib'd the greateſt Ceremonies. When the Prodigy was followed by any diſmal Event, they were always credulous enough to believe, that the one had been the Cauſe of the other, or at leaſt ſent to prognoſticate the ſame. *Titus Livius*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, and other Hiſtorians, have taken care to inſert into their Works the Prodigies, which the Annals they conſulted, inform'd them to have fallen out at different times; and they have mark'd the

(1) *Virg. Æn. l. 2. v. 190.*

the calamitous Events which followed upon them. *Pliny* likewiſe reports a great number of them, as alſo *Valerius Maximus*; and *Julius Obſequens* has made up a Collection of them. I have no deſign to dwell long upon a Subject ſo known, and the Diſſertation of M. *Freret*, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), may ſave a good deal of reading upon this Subject.

All the Prodigies treated of by the Ancients may be reduced to two Claſſes. In the firſt, we comprehend thoſe Miracles of Paganiſm which ſeem inexplicable, unleſs we have recourſe to a ſupernatural Cauſe. Such, among others, was the Story of the *Dii Penates*, or Houſhold Gods, which is thus related by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (2). "While they were employ'd in carrying on the Works, there happen'd a ſurprizing Prodigy. The Temple and the Sanctuary being put in order to receive the Gods which *Æneas* had brought from *Troy*, and which he had placed at *Lavinium*, their Statues were tranſported into the new Temple; but the next day they were found in the very ſame Place, and upon the ſame Baſes whence they had been taken the Evening before, tho' the Gates had been ſhut during the night, nor was there any appearance of a Breach in the Walls: They were tranſported a ſecond time from *Lavinium* in form, after a Sacrifice had been offered up to appeaſe the offended Gods; but they were again found ſet down in the ſame Place at *Lavinium*."

We may take into the ſame Claſs, that of *Jupiter Terminalis*, which there was no poſſibility of forcing from its place, at the time of building the Capitol: The Adventure of *Accius Nævius*, who cut, as they ſay, a Flint-Stone with a Razor, to convince the Incredulity of a King of *Rome* who ſlighted the Augurs, and the *Tuſcan* Divination: That of the Veſtal Virgin *Æmilia*, who drew Water in a Sieve: That of another Veſtal, who with her Girdle drew to ſhore a Ship ſtranded, which the ſtrongeſt Efforts of others were not able to move;

(1) T. 4. p. 411. (2) L. 1.

nove: And that of another, who with the Lappet of her Gown kindled the ſacred Fire, which her inadverten-:y had ſuffer'd to go out. To the Prodigies of this firſt kind we may join, the Apparition of thoſe two young Knights, mounted on two white Horſes, who were ſeen near the Lake *Rhegillum*, at the time when the Dicta-:or *Poſthumius* was upon the point of loſing the Bat-:el; and, having fought for the *Romans* till they had gain'd the Victory, diſappear'd in a moment, while the General, who order'd ſtrict ſearch after them, that he might have rewarded their Valour, could never hear account of them more: The Adventure which *Julius Obſequens* relates (1) of that Statue of *Juno*, who being interrogated by a young Man, if ſhe would go to *Rome*, gave a nod with the Head, to ſignify the Goddeſs's conſenting to go; and not only ſo, but anſwered, that ſhe would go with all her heart, to the great aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent at this Prodigy; *Viſne ire Romam, Juno? Poſteaquam capite annuiſſet, ſe libenter iturum, magnâ omnium admiratione reſpondit:* That of the two Oxen that ſpake: And in fine, that of the Shield which fell from Heaven, under the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*, as is told by the ſame Author; with ſeveral others which appear to be ſupernatural Effects.

The Prodigies of the ſecond Claſs were indeed of the kind of purely natural Events, but being leſs frequent, and appearing to be contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, were aſcribed to a ſuperiour Cauſe, thro' the Superſtition and exceſſive Credulity of the Pagans, affrighted with the ſight of theſe Effects, either rare or quite unknown. Such were moſt part of Meteors, as the *Parhelia* *, the Appearances of Fire and Lights by night, monſtrous Births, whether of Men or Animals, Showers of Blood, of Stones, of Aſhes or Fire, and a thouſand other things purely natural, whereof I ſhall give ſome Examples, drawn from ancient Authors, and in particular from *Julius Obſequens*

Under

(1) C. 19.

* The Image of the Sun reflected on the Clouds when the Atmoſphere is in a certain Diſpoſition.

Under the Reign of *Romulus*, ſays this Author (1), and at a time when that Prince was beſieging the Town of *Fidenæ*, there fell a Shower of Blood, and ſoon after, *Rome* was infeſted with the Plague. Under that of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (2), there fell from Heaven a prodigious quantity of Stones, much like a Shower of Hail. Under the Conſulſhip of *P. Poſthumius Tubero*, and of *Menenius Agrippa*, there were ſeen in the Heavens, during a conſiderable part of the Night, burning Arrows (3).

The ſame Author makes frequent mention of theſe ſame fiery Meteors appearing in the Heavens, like Armies encountering one another; as alſo Spectres and extraordinary Voices that had been heard by night.

The Lake of *Alba*, according to *Livy*, ſwell'd to a conſiderable height, without any preceding Rain, or other viſible Cauſe; and that Incident ſo terrify'd the *Romans*, who were then employed in the Siege of *Veii*, that not having an opportunity to conſult the *Tuſcans*, with whom they were then at War, they were obliged to ſend to the Oracle of *Delphos*. Under the Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius Maximus*, and of *Q. Manilius Vitulus* (4), Blood was ſeen riſing out of the Earth, while a Shower of Milk fell from Heaven; and under that of *C. Quintus Flaminius*, and of *P. Furio*, a River appeared cover'd with Blood.

The other Prodigies reported by the Ancients, are pretty much of the ſame kind. To be ſhort, they are either Statues of Gods ſtruck with Thunder, or overſpread with Blood; Earthquakes, or ſudden Inundations; Here, a Child of two Months cries out, *Triumph* (5); there, the Heavens are all inflamed, and Nights illuminated by the Sun, or rather by a Globe of Light which reſembles him; or elſe 'tis thick Darkneſs at Noon-day. Sometimes you have the Birth of a Monſter, of an Infant, for inſtance, with two Heads and but one Hand; or who has the Shape of ſome brute Animal; a Stone of an enormous Size falling from Heaven; a Rainbow without Clouds, *&c.*

It

(1) C. 1. (2) C. 4. (3) C. 9. (4) C. 27. (5) C. 4.

It would be no hard matter, if one was ſo diſpoſed, o account for the Prodigies of this ſecond kind, from atural Cauſes. All thoſe nocturnal Fires, thoſe in-amed Spears, thoſe Armies appearing in the Heavens, re what we now call the *Lumen Boreale*, northern ights, ſo common for ſome Years paſt, and perhaps s ancient as the World. Thoſe extraordinary Inunda-ions, whereof no viſible Cauſe could be diſcern'd, might ave been owing to ſome Fermentation which raiſed he Waters. Showers of Stones, of Aſhes, or Fire, were the effect of ſome Vulcano, like thoſe of Mount *Ætna* or *Veſuvius*. Thoſe of Milk, a whitiſh Water ondenſed by ſome quality in the Air: No body que-ſtions now-a-days, but that thoſe of Blood, are the Stains left upon Stones, upon the Earth, and upon Leaves of Trees, by Butterflies which hatch in hot and ſtormy Weather, M. *de Peyreſc* had gueſſed at it an hundred Years ago, upon occaſion of one of thoſe Showers; having obſerved, that the ſame Stains were found in cover'd Places; and M. *Reaumur*, in his Me-moirs for the Hiſtory of Inſects (1), has put the mat-ter beyond doubt.

As to the Prodigies of the firſt kind, I own they are harder to be explain'd: But are they all well atteſted? Were they all ſeen and writ down by Perſons of ability, at the very time when we are told they happen'd? Are they not moſtly founded upon popular Traditions? May they not, ſome of them at leaſt, be explained na-turally, eſpecially if we ſtrip them of thoſe marvellous Circumſtances, with which exceſs of Credulity had cloathed them? We may ſay with the Author of the Diſſertation now quoted, that thoſe Facts, and all o-thers that reſemble them, are to be looked upon as Fa-bles invented by corrupt Prieſts, and ſwallowed down by an ignorant ſuperſtitious Populace. The conſent of People, ſays he, who believe all, tho' they have ſeen nothing, and who are always the Bubbles of Stories of that kind, can hardly have more weight to make us en-tertain them, than the Teſtimony of Pagan Prieſts, who

in

(1) Tom. II.

in every Age and Country, have had too ſtrong Motives from Self-Intereſt, for improving thoſe ſorts of Miracles, to be Vouchers of great Credit.

Be that as it will, inexpreſſible was the Aſtoniſhment and Conſternation of the Pagans, upon the apparition of one of thoſe Prodigies, even of ſuch as might eaſily have been accounted to be purely natural Effects. The whole Empire was in perplexity upon ſuch an occaſion, it was the only Subject of Converſation at *Rome*: The Senate gave orders to the *Quindecimviri*, to conſult the Books of the *Sibyls*, for it was principally upon thoſe occaſions they had recourſe to them, as I have already remark'd, after *Varro*, and they preſcrib'd the Ceremonies of Expiation, whereof we ſhall ſpeak in the following Chapter. If in the mean while, any Calamity happened to befal the Commonwealth; if an Enemy declared War againſt it; if it was overtaken with an epidemical Diſtemper, *&c.* All was imputed to the Influence of the Prodigy; it was this had come to denounce theſe Calamities.

Is it not ſurprizing, I muſt again repeat it, to ſee the *Romans*, of whom we have ſo high an Idea given us, who are extolled as the wiſeſt and moſt intelligent People of the World; to ſee that Kingly People, as *Virgil* calls them, carry Superſtition ſuch a length as we have ſeen they did, chiefly with relation to Prodigies? But our Aſtoniſhment ceaſes, when we conſider the weakneſs of Man, having no other Guides but his own light. It will perhaps be ſaid, it was only the Vulgar who gave into thoſe childiſh Superſtitions, and that the more knowing People and the Philoſophers knew better things. The Religion however, which preſcrib'd the particular Ceremonies on thoſe Occaſions, was the ſame for the People and for the Philoſopher. *Cicero* himſelf, who in his Books of Divination had made a jeſt of moſt of the popular Superſtitions; and who, in another place, expreſſes his wonder how two Augurs when they met, could refrain from laughing at one another, ſays, in the ſame Work, that the *Auſpice* ought to be reſpected, for the ſake of the Religion

gion and Republick whereby it is authorized: *Aruſpicinam ego, Reipublicæ cauſa communiſque Religionis, colendam cenſeo.* But we ſhall examine more throughly, what Opinion we are to have of the Religion of the Pagan Sages, in the Reflexions upon Idolatry, which occur at the end of the next Book.

CHAP. VI.

Of Expiations.

EXpiation was an Act of Religion, inſtituted for purifying the Guilty, and the Places which were reckon'd defiled. Tho' this Ceremony, to ſpeak accurately, was only to be uſed for Crimes, yet they put it in practice upon ſeveral other Occaſions *(a)*. Dread of publick Calamities, and hope of appeaſing the incenſed Gods, occaſioned the Inſtitution of ſeveral ſorts of Expiations: Monſters, Prodigies, Preſages, Auguries, all were ſubject to it; and the expiatory Sacrifices were renewed upon a thouſand occaſions, inſomuch that there was hardly any Action in life, whether private or publick, but had need of them, or which was not either followed or uſher'd in with the Ceremony of Expiation. Was a General to aſſume the Command of an Army; were Games or Feſtivals to be celebrated, an Aſſembly to be called, or was a Perſon to be initiated into any Myſtery, they were ſure to have recourſe to expiatory Sacrifices. As to private Life, every Individual took care to purify himſelf, not only for the ſmalleſt Faults, but even upon occaſion of every Object which Superſtition taught to conſider as of bad portent. Accordingly, theſe Words, which occur ſo often in the Writings of the Ancients, *Expiare, Purgare, Februare*, ſignify'd to perform Acts of Religion, either for blotting out ſome Fault, or for diverting impending Calamities.

Tho' in general, publick Expiations were accompany'd

(a) See the Copy of a Diſſertation on this Subject, by M. l'Abbé *de Boiſſi*; *Mem. of the Acad. of Bel. Lit.* T. 1. p. 41.

pany'd with Prayers and Sacrifices, yet there were of them more or leſs ſolemn, encumber'd with more or fewer Ceremonies, nor was it always the ſame Gods who were to be invoked. Thoſe whom the *Latins* ſtiled *Averrunci*, were implored in order to avert the Evils which ſome Prodigy or Object of bad Omen had portended. They were free to make their Addreſſes to others, upon private Occaſions, wherein they thought there was need of Expiation.

There were then ſeveral ſorts of Expiations, and particular Ceremonies for each kind. I ſhall ſay but little of thoſe uſed by every private Man, ſince it ſufficed for him to waſh himſelf, or to receive the holy Water when he was entring into the Temple; but I ſhall expatiate more fully upon thoſe which Religion and the Laws had preſcrib'd.

Expiations for Prodigies. One of the moſt ſolemn, was what they uſed upon the appearance of ſome Prodigy. The Senate, after having order'd the Sibylline Books to be conſulted by thoſe who had the keeping of them, to ſee what was to be done upon thoſe occaſions, ordinarily appointed Days of Faſting, Feſtivals, eſpecially thoſe of the *Lectiſternia*, Games, publick Prayers, and Sacrifices. Then you might have ſeen the whole City of *Rome*, and in imitation of her, all the other Cities of the Empire, in Mourning and Conſternation; the Temples adorn'd, the *Lectiſternia* prepared in the publick Places, expiatory Sacrifices repeated over and over again. The Senators and Patricians, their Wives and their Children, with Garlands on their Heads; every Tribe, every Order, preceded by the High-Prieſt, and the *Duumviri*, march'd gravely thro' the Streets, and the Proceſſion was accompany'd with the whole Youth, ſinging Hymns, or repeating Prayers, while the Prieſts were offering expiatory Sacrifices in the Temples, and invoking the Gods to divert the Calamities, with which they thought themſelves threatned.

Expiation for Homicide. Anciently, but a few Ceremonies were required for the Expiation of Homicide; but in after times, a great many were added, and it became

came even exceedingly burdenſome. All that was requiſite at firſt for a Perſon's Purification from Murder, was to waſh himſelf in running Water; and thus it was, according to *Athenæus* (1), that *Achilles* was purify'd, after having killed *Strambelus* King of the *Leleges*. *Æneas*, as he was leaving *Troy*, then in the Enemies hands, left to his Father the care of the Houſhold-Gods, which he was going to take along with him, not daring to touch them with his polluted Hands (*a*), until he had purify'd himſelf in ſome River: *Donec me flumine vivo abluero* (2); a Puniſhment, if indeed it was one, abundantly gentle, for a Crime ſuch as Homicide. Accordingly *Ovid*, after having mention'd ſeveral Heroes who had been purify'd in this manner, breaks forth into this Exclamation; How credulous muſt they be, who believe that the Crime of Murder can be purg'd away at ſo eaſy a rate!

Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aqua (3).

This ſort of Expiation did not laſt long, ſince we ſee in the Heroick Ages, it was attended with more irkſome and ſolemn Ceremonies: at that time, when the Offender was a Perſon of Diſtinction, even Kings themſelves did not diſdain to perform the Ceremony. Thus in *Apollodorus*, *Copreus* who had ſlain *Iphiſus*, is expiated by *Euriſtheus* King of *Mycenæ*. *Adraſtus*, according to the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, came to receive Expiation from *Craſus* King of *Lydia*. Frequently the Hero guilty of Manſlaughter was even obliged to traverſe ſeveral Countries, not lighting upon any body who would give him Expiation; which was the Caſe of *Hercules*, who was expiated at length by *Ceyx* King of *Trachinia*.

No body has given a fuller Deſcription of the Ceremonial of this ſort of Expiation, than *Apollonius* of *Rhodes*, on occaſion of the Murder of *Abſyrtus*, *Medea*'s Brother,

(1) L. 2. c. 8.

(*a*) Tu Genitor, cape ſacra manu, patrioſque Penates;
Me bello e tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti
Attrectare nefas. Virg. Æn. l. 2.

(2) *Æn. l.* 2. (3) *Faſt. l.* 2.

Brother, ſlain by *Jaſon*: That Prince, arrived with *Medea* in the Iſland of *Æ* Addreſſes to *Circe*, deſiring her to perfo mony of Expiation for them; and having miſſion to come to the Palace of that Prin vanc'd both of them, with downcaſt E manner of Suppliants, till they came up where *Jaſon* ſtuck into the Ground the with he had ſlain his Brother-in-law. Th Poſture made *Circe* eaſily perceive that th tives, guilty of ſome Murder, and ſhe prep expiate them. Firſt, ſhe cauſed a young Pig ed, to be brought, and having cut its Thr the Hands of *Jaſon* and *Medea* with its ſhe offer'd Libations in honour of *Ju* After which, having ordered the Remai fice to be thrown out of the Hall, ſhe b Altar, Cakes made of Flower, Salt and V company'd theſe Ceremonies with Prayer peaſe the wrath of the Furies, who con the Guilty. The Ceremony ended, ſ Gueſts to ſit down upon magnificent Sea were regaled.

The *Romans* had Ceremonies for expi der, different from thoſe of the *Greeks*. very authentick Example of them in *Di carnaſſus*, who relates in what manner *He* piated, after having kill'd his Siſter. "given, ſays he (1), for the Father of t "*ratius*, and the Son was abſolved from "Parricide: But the King, who did "Judgment of Men ſufficient to abſolve "a City which made profeſſion of fea "ſent for the Pontifs, and would needs "appeaſe the Gods and *Genii*, and the C "thro' all the Tryals that were in uſe, "involuntary Crimes. The Pontifs th "two Altars, the one to *Juno*, the Prote "the other to a certain God, or *Genius*

(1) L. 3. c. 22.

" who has ſince bore the Name of the *Curiatii*, whom " *Horatius* had ſlain. Upon theſe Altars were offer'd " ſeveral Sacrifices of Expiation, after which, the Cri- " minal was made to paſs under the Yoke; that is, " under a croſs Beam, ſupported by two other pieces of " Timber,

The Ceremony of Expiation for Cities was one of the moſt ſolemn. In the *Roman* Kalendar, there were Days mark'd out for this Ceremony (1): It was perform'd at *Rome* on the 5th of *February*. The Sacrifice which was there offer'd, was denominated, according to *Servius*, *Suburbale*, or *Suburbium*, and the Victims there ſacrificed, were called, as *Feſtus* has it, *Amburbiales*. Beſides this Feſtival, there was another, which return'd but once in five Years, the Solemnity whereof was employ'd in purifying a whole City; and from the word *Luſtrare*, to expiate, the Name *Luſtrum* came to denote, the ſpace of five Years. *Expiation of Cities.*

Important Occaſions ſometimes made it neceſſary to celebrate this Solemnity, out of the ordinary time, as was the Caſe, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, when the *Tarquins* were baniſhed from *Rome*. If any particular place happen'd to be defiled, they took care to have it expiated; and theſe ſorts of Expiations had Names whereby they were deſign'd. That of the Croſs-ways, for inſtance, was term'd *Compitalia*; that of the Fields, *Ambarvalia*. The *Greeks* had particular Expiations for the Theatres, and for the Places where the People aſſembled.

Before and after a Battel, there was a Purification of the Army, and that Ceremony was termed *Armiluſtrium*; a Word which was taken in after times, to expreſs a Review of the Troops, as appears from ſeveral Paſſages of *Cæſar*'s *Commentaries*; juſt as that of *Luſtrum* was taken for the Inrolment of the People; but both theſe Ceremonies were always accompany'd with Sacrifices. The Feſtival of the *Armi-* *Expiation of armies.*

(1) See *Roſinus's Rom. Kal.*

was often practis'd for Expiation of Crimes
is we are to understand *Clemens* of *Alexandri*
says, that those who were to be initiated, b
rogated by the Priests, answered, *I have*
what is prescrib'd in order to the Mysteries,
the Fast.

The publick Expiations were far from l
in number to the private ones, since they u
almost every Action of Life, as we have alread
Thus, there were neither Nuptials nor Fu
hardly any matter of consequence, that w
ceded by Expiation. Whatever was repu
Portent; the Encounter of a Weasel, a Raven
an unexpected Storm, a Dream, and a thousan
cidents, obliged the People to have recourse
Ceremony. But 'tis necessary to observe, th
sort of private Expiations, there was not a
cessity, as in the publick ones, of offering
but a simple Ablution sufficed. The Sea-W
ever, when it could be had, was preferred
Rivers; and running Water to that which
Sometimes the Party was obliged to wash
Body, sometimes only his Hands or Ears.
Euripides we learn this last Usage, when he

doubt but that the Pagans, in the Ceremonies of their Expiations, had imitated moſt of thoſe which *Moſes* had preſcribed to the *Jews*, as is prov'd by learned Commentators on the ſacred Books.

Here I ſhould ſubjoin what regards Oaths, one of the moſt ancient and moſt ſolemn Acts of Religion, ſince it was a kind of Expiation, he who took the Oath, purging himſelf thereby from the Crime that was laid to his charge. But as this Subject has been handled by ſeveral Authors, whether Lawyers or Divines, I ſhall only refer the Reader to them, or rather to the two learned Diſſertations of the late Abbé *Maſſieu*, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1). *Of Oaths.*

There the Author examines, 1. Into the Origin of Oaths, which, he ſays, is near as ancient as the World, ſince they began as ſoon as Men became falſe and diſhoneſt.

2. By what Divinities the Ancients ſwore; and he proves, that it was by almoſt all the Gods, eſpecially by two, who were regarded as the Guarantees thereof, to wit, Good Faith, *Bona Fides*, and *Deus Fidius*. The Gods themſelves ſwore by *Styx*, and this Oath was of all others the moſt inviolable *(a)*.

3. The Ceremonies of the Oath; at firſt they were very ſimple, and no more was required but holding up the Hand, as is ſtill the Practice at this Day. The Great introduced more Formality into it; Kings lifted up their Scepters, Generals of Armies their Spears or Shields, and the Soldiers their Swords, the Points of which ſome of them put to their Throats, as we learn from *Marcellinus*. In later times, it was required that the Oath ſhould be taken in the Temples, the Party laying his Hand upon the Altar. Nay, if there was occaſion for taking an Oath when no Temples were near, an Altar was raiſed in haſte, or there were portable ones immediately ſet up. Frequently too it happen'd, that

(1) Tom. 1. and 3.

(a) See the Article of the infernal Rivers.

thoſe who ſwore, dipt their Hands in the Blood of the ſacrificed Victims.

4. What were the moral Sentiments of the Ancients about Oaths; and they were ſuch, that Perjury was looked upon as the greateſt of Crimes. But more allowances were made for the Oaths of Orators, Poets, and Lovers, but then theſe were not taken in Courts of Juſtice. That fine Sentence of *Pythagoras*, *Honour the Gods, and revere an Oath* *, comprehends, according to the Commentators on that famous Philoſopher, the pureſt, and at the ſame time, the moſt ſublime Morality, with relation to this laſt Act of Religion.

5. The Uſe which the Ancients made of an Oath in civil Society; and this was much the ſame as among our ſelves, that is, it was required of all who enter'd into any Office, or who were to intermeddle in any manner of way with the Government, and the publick Revenues. The General, when he aſſumed the Command of an Army; the Soldier when he was liſted; thoſe who enter'd into the Prieſthood, or into other Offices which depended upon it; the Veſtals, the Augurs, the *Feciales*, or thoſe who were employed in Treaties of Peace; all of them were obliged to take an Oath.

6. In fine, what Notion they had in thoſe Days, of ſuch as violated their Oath. And he finds that they were looked upon as the baſeſt of all Mortals, ſince they had trampled upon all the ſacred Ties of Religion, and endeavoured to put a Cheat upon the Gods, as well as upon Men.

CHAP. VII.

Of Magick.

AFTER having ſpoke of Divination, and other Means which the Pagans made uſe of for coming at the knowledge of future Events, I muſt needs ſay ſomewhat of Magick, which, of all the Exceſſes to which

* Αθανατους μεν πρωτα θεους νομιζε ουτως διακειμενους,
Τιμα, και σεβου ορκον. Pyth. Aur. Carm.

which a vain and criminal Curioſity has carry'd Men, was the greateſt, and at the ſame time the moſt dangerous. How may we be juſtly amazed, on the one hand, to conſider the Uſeleſſneſs of ſo frivolous an Art; on the other, the Crimes in which it has involv'd the moſt civiliz'd and moſt knowing Nations, as well as the more rude and barbarous ones! It will not, I preſume, be expected, that I ſhould fully handle a Subject, on which we have perhaps but too many Works already. I ſhall ſpeak of it, only ſo far as it had a relation to the Pagan Theology, and to the ſuperſtitious Practices of Idolatry.

The Ancients are not agreed as to the Time when, nor Country where Magick had its Original. But what does it avail to know, whether it was the *Egyptians* or *Chaldeans*, or other People, who were Inventors of an Art, as abominable as it is frivolous? What we may aver, is, that it is of very great antiquity, and perhaps as old as Idolatry itſelf. Scripture informs us, that the *Egyptians* practiſed it from the earlieſt Ages, when it makes mention of the Magicians whom *Pharaoh* oppoſed to *Moſes*, and who imitated, by their Inchantments, almoſt all the Miracles which God wrought, by means of that great Man. Among thoſe Magicians, there were two whom St. *Paul* names *Jannes* and *Jambres*, whom *Pliny* had heard of; but he puts them and *Moſes*, their great Adverſary, in the ſame rank, and takes them for *Jews* as well as him: *Eſt & alia Magices factio, a Moſe, a Jamne, a Jopate Judæis pridem, ſed multis millibus annorum poſt Zoroaſtrem.* It is the ſame *Zoroaſter*, in ſhort, whom the Ancients believ'd to be the firſt Inventor of Magick: *Rex Bactrianorum Zoroaſter*, ſays *Juſtin* after *Trogus Pompeius*, *qui primus dicitur artes Magicas inveniſſe.*

Magick is commonly diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral kinds: The Natural, which is nothing but a deeper and more exact Inſight into Phyſical Cauſes, than that of the ignorant Vulgar, whoſe way is, to take for Prodigies, Effects, of whoſe Cauſe they are ignorant, and for real Predictions what was foretold to happen by the natural

Philoſopher.

Philoſopher. We are told, it was in this ſort of Magick that *Hermes Triſmegiſtus* of old, *Zoroaſter*, and ſome others excell'd. The *Indians*, *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, and *Perſians*, were alſo very much addicted to it; and in this Science, we are aſſured by *Plato*, that the Children of the Kings of *Perſia* were educated.

The ſecond kind of Magick is what they call Mathematical, which, joining certain ſubtile and ingenious Uſages, to the pretended Influence of the Stars upon things here below, pretends to produce miraculous Effects. As this coincides with Aſtrology, of which we are to ſpeak in the following Chapter, we ſhall inſiſt no longer upon it: Only we may obſerve, that certain Machines well made, and ſome pieces of Clock-work, in times of Ignorance paſs'd for effects of this Magick, and made thoſe be taken for Magicians who had compos'd them. M. *Bonami*, in a Diſſertation whereof a Copy is printed, in the 7th Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, of which I ſhall make conſiderable uſe, in the Sequel of this Chapter, ſays, 'tis highly probable that the *Egyptian* Magick, ſo famous in the Writings of the Ancients, conſiſted in nothing but Diſcoveries drawn from the Mathematicks and natural Philoſophy; ſince ſo many of the *Greek* Philoſophers, who travell'd on purpoſe into *Egypt*, in order to be inſtructed in the Sciences of the *Egyptians*, ſuch as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, not only brought back nothing but pieces of mere natural Knowledge, but did not even allledge that any other was there to be acquired.

But I am perſuaded, that the Magicians of *Egypt* put in practice the moſt ſuperſtitious Rites, and this is the Idea of them given us by *Moſes*. I ſhall not even name the other ſorts of Magick, which are founded upon Uſages as criminal as inſignificant, and which lead thoſe who are addicted to them into Exceſſes, which are ſhocking to think of. Thanks to Heaven, ſo vile a Science is now-a-days exploded; Men's eyes at length are open'd, to ſee the vanity of thoſe Superſtitions, and the folly of relying upon them; and if it is ſtill practiſed by ſome of the rude and abject Multitude, yet ſure

ure it never was in leſs repute, than it is in our days.

Let us now come to that Magick which conſtituted one of the principal Doctrines of the Pagan Theology, than which none had more illuſtrious Partiſans, eſpecially among the Philoſophers who lived in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity.

Magick may be defined, the Art of producing in Nature, things above the Power of Man, by the aſſiſtance of the Gods, upon uſing certain Words and Ceremonies. As the Magicians invoked two ſorts of Divinities, the one benevolent, and the other malevolent and miſchievous, this difference conſtitutes two ſorts of Magick. The one, namely that which had recourſe to the beneficent Gods, was called *Theurgia* *; the other, which had no other end but to do miſchief, for which purpoſe it invoked only the malevolent *Genii*, was called *Goétia* †. The wiſeſt of the Pagan World, and their greateſt Philoſophers, deſpiſed the latter, as much as they eſteemed the former. This, namely *Theurgy*, was, according to them, a divine Art, which ſerv'd only to advance the Mind of Man to higher perfection, and render the Soul more pure; and they, who by means of this Magick had the happineſs to arrive at what they call'd *Autopſia*, or *Intuition*, a ſtate wherein they enjoy'd intimate Intercourſe with the Gods, believ'd themſelves inveſted with all their Power, and were perſuaded that nothing to them was impoſſible.

Towards this ſtate of Perfection all thoſe aſpired, who made profeſſion of this ſort of Magick; but then it laid them under ſevere Regulations. None could be Prieſt of this Order, but a Man of unblemiſh'd Morals, and all who joined with him in his Operations, were bound to ſtrict Purity; they were not allowed to have any commerce with Women; to eat any kind of animal Food, nor to defile themſelves by the touch of a dead Body. The Philoſophers, and Perſons of the greateſt Virtue, thought it their honour to be initiated into the Myſteries of this ſort of Magick. Their *Goétia*

* Θεουργία. † Γοητία.

tia was quite different: Every thing render'd it equally odious and contemptible. The Profeſſors of it had correſpondence with none but the evil *Genii*, and employ'd their Operations only to do miſchief. The Apparatus of their Ceremonies heighten'd the averſion which all ſober People had to this Magick. The ſubterraneous Places were choſen preferably to others: The Darkneſs of the Night, the black Victims which they offer'd, the Bones of the Dead, the Corpſes with which they were ſurrounded in the Caves; the Infants whoſe throats they cut, to rake into their Entrails for an inſight into Futurity; all conſpired to make it equally ſhocking and criminal.

Jamblichus, in his Treatiſe of Myſteries, inſiſts at great length upon this Subject, and his Work ſuppoſes thro' the whole, this diſtinction between the *Theurgia* and *Goetia*, and of the firſt he ſeems to have a high eſteem. What both of them had in common, is, that they equally employed Words, to which they believed a certain Virtue to be annexed. Sometimes the mere Charm of theſe Words wrought all the effect that was expected. Sometimes it was neceſſary to add to them Compoſitions of Herbs; there was always a neceſſity of obſerving exactly the time when the Sacrifices were offered, the Days, the Hours, the aſpect of the Stars, the number and quality of the Victims. What puzzled them moſt, was to know what Divinities they were to invoke, what Offerings to preſent to them, what Plants, what Perfumes, were moſt agreeable to them. And indeed, the Doſe, if too ſtrong or too weak, render'd the whole magical Operation abortive, as well as the omiſſion of a ſingle Divinity. As one broken String diſconcerts the Harmony of an Inſtrument; juſt ſo, *Jamblichus* remarks, one God, whoſe Name had been omitted, or in whoſe honour they had neglected, among the other Ingredients that were offer'd, the particular Perfume, Herb, or whatever elſe was ſpecially conſecrated to him, defeated the effect of the Sacrifice.

Pliny ridicules this Superſtition with ſome Humour (1), when, after mentioning an Herb, the mere throw-

(1) L. 26 c 4.

throwing of which into the midſt of an Army, was ſufficient, they ſaid, to put it to the rout, he asks, "Where was this Herb when *Rome* was ſo diſtreſs'd by "the *Cimbri* and *Teutones?* Why did not the *Per-*"*ſians* make uſe of it when *Lucullus* cut their Troops "in pieces?" Then reſuming his ſerious air, he expoſtulates with *Scipio* for having drawn together ſuch quantities of Arms and warlike Engines, ſince one ſingle Plant had been ſufficient to open to him the Gates of *Carthage*.

As Paganiſm admitted a vaſt number of Gods, ſome of them beneficent, others malevolent; as each had his own particular Worſhip and Ceremonies appropriated to him; ſo none could obtain a favour from them, nor deſired ſucceſs in their Enterprizes, unleſs they were careful to obſerve the manner of worſhipping them, as it was taught by Religion. This Principle laid down, 'tis eaſy to ſee that both the kinds of Magick above named had a plain Connection with their Theology, and that ſuch as profeſſed either of them, muſt needs have been excellent Pagan Theologues. This is what makes *Pliny* ſay, that Magick, the Offspring of Medicine, after having fortify'd itſelf with the help of Aſtrology, had borrow'd all its Splendor and Authority from Religion.

They who profeſs'd *Theurgy*, did not arrive all at once at that ſtate of Perfection to which they aſpired, and they were firſt to undergo Expiations; next, they got themſelves initiated into the leſſer Myſteries, which were as a Preparation for a more advanced State: They were obliged to faſt and pray, to live in ſtrict Continence and Self-purification: Then came the high Myſteries, where their ſole Employment was to meditate, and contemplate univerſal Nature, who by that time diſcloſed all her Secrets to them who had paſſed thro' thoſe Tryals. *Nero*, who was ſo fooliſh that he would needs command the Gods, which he thought there was no way of attaining but by Magick, had ſuch a high eſteem for the Magicians (1), that he ſent for them from every

(1) Plin. l. 30. c. 12.

of that Magick, that he did not doubt but
relates of the Transformation of *Ulyſſes*'s C
into Hogs, was the effect of *Circe*'s Inchantm
judg'd the ſame way of what was given out
the *Arcadians*, who, according to the Stor
were ſwimming over a Pond were transfo
Wolves, and recovered their former figure
of nine Years, if after abſtaining from hu
during that time, they repaſſed the ſame Po

I have obſerv'd, that in order to ſucceed i
rations of *Theurgy*, it was neceſſary that noth
be forgot in the Rites and Ceremonies which
ſcrib'd in relation to it: Thus it alſo was with
of Prayers and other Words that were of nec
pronounced; and tho' thoſe Forms were o
poſed of words in a ſtrange Language, whic
underſtood, it was neceſſary however to re
ſuch as they were, without omitting one S
was ſaid in ſpeaking of the Evocations and
Devoting(1). They were even ſo fully p
the neceſſity of keeping exactly to the Cerem
it was alledged, if *Tullus Hoſtilius* had co
Pontif ſet over the religious Rites, when he
to bring down *Jupiter* from Heaven, accor

: taught, had preſcribed thoſe for Evocations, which ere a conſequence of *Theurgick* Magick.

The Evocation of the Manes.

Among theſe Evocations, the moſt ſolemn, and at the ſame time the moſt frequently practiſed, was that of conjuring up ouls departed. The Cuſtom of raiſing the *Manes* was o ancient, that its Origin is traced as high as the earlieſt eriods of time; and all the Anathemas denounc'd by he ſacred Authors, againſt thoſe who conſulted familiar ſpirits, are proofs of the Antiquity of this Practice. Among the different ſorts of Magick which *Moſes* prohibits, that of calling up the Dead is there expreſly ſpecify'd: *Nec ſit . . . . qui quærat a Mortuis Veritatem.* Every body knows the Hiſtory of *Saul*, who went to conſult the Witch of *Endor*, to call up the Ghoſt of *Samuel* (1). I ſhall not enter into the effect which this Conjuration produc'd, nor ſhall I examine if it was really *Samuel* who appeared to that Prince, or if it was the Devil who deceived him under a borrow'd appearance, or in fine, if the Witch herſelf impoſed upon him by ſome illuſion. We know that the Fathers and eccleſiaſtick Writers are much divided in their Sentiments about it, and that there is nothing in Religion to determine us to follow the one Opinion rather than the other. I only take notice of the uſe of the thing, and this, 'tis certain, was as ancient, as it was univerſally practiſed.

Prophane Authors look upon *Orpheus* as the Inventor of this curſed Art, and ſo far indeed it is true, that the Hymns which are aſcrib'd to him, are moſtly real pieces of Conjuration: But 'tis probable that this Practice came from the eaſtern People, and was carried into *Greece* with the other religious Ceremonies, by Colonies which came and ſettled there. Let this be as it will, it is certain that in *Homer*'s time, this ſort of Conjuration was in practice, as appears from ſome Paſſages in the *Iliad*, where mention is made of it. Nor was it at that time reputed odious or criminal, ſince there were Perſons who made publick profeſſion of conjuring up Ghoſts, and

(1) 1 Sam. xxviii. ver. 11, 12.

and there were Temples where the Ceremony of Conjuration was to be perform'd. *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of that which was in *Theſprotia*, where *Orpheus* came to call up the Soul of his Wife *Eurydice* (1). 'Tis this very Journey, and the motive which put him upon it, that made it be believ'd he went down to Hell. *Ulyſſes*'s Travels into the Country of the *Cimmerians*, whither he went to conſult the Ghoſt of *Tireſias*, which *Homer* ſo well deſcribes in the *Odyſſey* (2), has all the air of ſuch another Conjuration; and the ſame may be ſaid of all the other pretended Journeys into *Pluto*'s Kingdom.

But 'tis not only the Poets who ſpeak of conjuring up Spirits; Hiſtory likewiſe furniſhes examples thereof. *Periander*, the Tyrant of *Corinth*, viſited the *Theſprotians*, to conſult his Wife about ſomething left with her in truſt: And Hiſtorians tell us, that the *Lacedæmonians* having ſtarved *Pauſanias* to death in the Temple of *Pallas*, and not being able to appeaſe his *Manes* which tormented them without intermiſſion, ſent for the Magicians from *Theſſaly*, who having brought up the Ghoſts of his Enemies, they baniſhed *Pauſanias*'s Ghoſt ſo effectually, that it was obliged to quit the Country.

I have no mind to diſplay the horrid Rites that were practiſed by thoſe who dealt in Necromancy, when they raiſed the Souls of the Dead: 'Tis enough that I have ſhew'd the Union and Connection, which this execrable Art had with the Pagan Religion which authorized it.

We ſhall conclude, by remarking that this Phraſe, *to call up Souls*, is not accurate: For what the Magicians, and Prieſts appointed in the Temples of the *Manes* called up, was neither Soul nor Body, but a ſort of middle Subſtance, between Soul and Body, which the *Greeks* called εἴδωλον, the *Latins*, *Simulachrum*, *Imago*, *Umbra* *. When *Patroclus* prays *Achilles* to grant him the honours of Burial, 'tis that he might not be hindred from

(1) In Bœot. (2) L. 11.

* The *Engliſh* Reader may conſult for this, Mr. *Pope*'s Note upon *Homer*, *Iliad* 23. v. 92.

from paſſing the fatal River by the thin Phantoms of the Dead: It was neither Soul nor Body that went down to the infernal Regions, but theſe Phantoms. Accordingly, *Ulyſſes* ſees the Phantom of *Hercules* in the *Elyſian* Fields, while the Hero himſelf is in Heaven. But I ſhall explain this point of the Pagan Theology, when I come to ſpeak of the infernal Regions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Aſtrologers.

THE Ancients are not agreed as to the People who have a juſt claim to the Invention of Aſtrology. *Herodotus* ſays, it took its riſe in *Egypt*; and 'tis agreed, that it was cultivated there from the earlieſt periods of time; but the name of *Chaldaick* Science, which it has always had, proves that it is in *Chaldea* we are to ſearch for its Original: accordingly this is the Sentiment of *Cicero* (1). "As the *Aſſyrians*, ſays he, "inhabiting vaſt Plains, whence they have a full view "of the Heavens on every ſide, were the firſt who ob- "ſerv'd the courſe of the Stars, they too were the firſt "who taught Poſterity the effects which were thought "to be owing to them; and of their Obſervations have "made a Science, whereby they pretend to be able to "foretel every one what is to befal him, and what "Fate is ordain'd for him from his Birth." A Paſſage in the Prophet *Iſaiah* informs us, that this Art of Prediction by means of the Stars, was very ancient in *Chaldea*, and particularly at *Babylon*, the Capital thereof: *Let now the Aſtrologers*, ſays that Prophet, (2), making an Apoſtrophe to that idolatrous City, *the Star-gazers, the monthly Prognoſticators, ſtand up and ſave thee from thoſe things that ſhall come upon thee.*

We ſee then, judicial Aſtrology was known in *Chaldea* in the earlieſt Ages: This is all we can ſay for certain about the Origin of this Science. For how little ground ſhould we gain did we know aſſuredly, as *Suidas*

(1) De Div. l. 1. (2) If. xlvii. 13.

ſays, that *Zoroaſter* and *Oſtanes* were the Inventers of it, ſince many Difficulties would ſtill remain as to the Country of theſe two Perſonages, and ſtill more as to the Time when they lived? Teſtimonies from *Beroſus* and *Eupolemus*, cited by *Euſebius* (1), inform us indeed, that *Abraham* was well verſed in the Knowledge of the Stars, and was Maſter of what was anciently called, the *Chaldaick* Science; but theſe two Authors have not diſtinguiſh'd Aſtronomy, to which that holy Patriarch perhaps applied himſelf, from judicial Aſtrology: For it frequently happen'd that theſe two Sciences were confounded, tho' the one is as ſolid and uſeful, as the other is vain and frivolous.

From *Chaldea* this Science paſſed into *Egypt*, where it was very much cultivated, as has been already remark'd; and from *Egypt* into *Greece*: this is the ordinary courſe which Sciences, Arts, and Fables took. The *Greeks*, vain and curious as they were, gave great Application to it; and we are told that *Chilo* the *Lacedemonian*, one of the ſeven wiſe Men of *Greece*, was the firſt who addicted himſelf to it. From *Greece* it was propagated to the other weſtern Countries, where it made ſuch progreſs, that never was any Science more univerſally diffuſed.

I am not to inſiſt upon its Propagation, far leſs upon the different Rites which the Aſtrologers uſed, to come at the knowledge of Futurity by ſurveying the Stars: Nothing is ſo frivolous as the Principles they built upon. And indeed, what is that poſition of the Heavens which the Aſtrologer takes, to ground his Predictions upon? The ancient Aſtronomers had divided the Zodiack into twelve portions, and gave Names to the twelve Conſtellations, of which it was form'd; but they might have had other Names, as they actually had in other Planiſpheres. The *Barbarick* Sphere, ſays *Firmicus*, was entirely different from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and that of the *Chineſe* again was different from all the three. In the *Greek* Sphere, the Planets bore the Names of ſeven Divinities; the *Arabians*,

(1) Præp. Ev. l. 7.

bians, who would have thought themſelves guilty of Idolatry, had they placed human Figures in the Heavens, put Animals or other things in their room; Peacocks, for example, in place of the Twins; a Sheaf, inſtead of the Virgin; a Quiver, inſtead of Sagittarius, *&c.* All this was quite arbitrary. How comes it then that the Aſtrologers judg'd of the Temper and Actions of Men from the Names of thoſe Planets or Conſtellations, under whoſe aſpect they were born? What ground had they for ſaying, that he who was born under the Sign of the Virgin, was chaſte? That they at whoſe Birth *Venus* had preſided, were galant and amorous? That *Mercury* inſpired with Wit and Ingenuity; *Saturn* with Wiſdom and Prudence; that the Moon made the good Sailors; *Mars*, the Warriors? *&c.* Had theſe Conſtellations and Planets the ſmalleſt Connection with the Symbols that repreſented them? And how came they to have the ſame Connection in Countries, where they were differently repreſented?

Farther, who can pretend to take the exact poſition of the Heavens, at the moment of any one's Birth; of thoſe Heavens where the Scenes are continually ſhifting, and which are ſo immenſely diſtant from us? But why attempt to refute thoſe Abſurdities? Numbers of others have done it before me, and the Triumph on this Subject is ſo eaſy, that there is but little honour in the Succeſs. In ſhort, is it not evident, ſo evident I mean, as to be able to ſtrike the moſt opinionative and headſtrong with Conviction, that thoſe Bodies which roll in Spaces ſo remote from us, cannot ſo exactly direct their Influences, that is, the minute Corpuſcles which fly off from them, (for there is no other way of conceiving their Action) as to meet with nothing to divert them from falling directly upon our Earth, which is but an inviſible Point in reſpect of them, where it would take them many Years to arrive, even tho' they ſhould move with the velocity of a Cannon-Bullet; upon a Kingdom, a Province, a Town, a Houſe, and in particular, upon a Man, who occupies but a ſmall Space in that ſame inviſible point of Earth? How is

it conceivable, even tho' theſe Corpuſcles ſhould come into the place where a Child is born, that they ſhould be able to determine all the Actions of the Child's Life, with which they have certainly no manner of Connection; to act upon his Thoughts, upon his Liberty, *&c.*? What wild Extravagance then has embolden'd Men to advance, that theſe Influences acted ſo powerfully upon us, that they determined all our Actions, inclined us to good or evil; that they formed our Tempers, our Inclinations, our Habits? How could it be ſaid in good earneſt, that the Sign of the Ram preſided over the Head; the Bull over the Gullet; the Twins, over the Breaſt; the Scorpion, over the Entrails; the Fiſhes over the Feet: That the Lion gave Strength; that the different aſpects of theſe Signs were the Cauſes of the good or bad Diſpoſition of our Bodies? That there was great need of caution, for example, in taking Medicine under the aſpect of the Bull, becauſe, as this Animal chews his cud, the Perſon would vomit it up? With a thouſand other Extravagances which I would be aſham'd to repeat.

We ſhall end this Chapter and Book, with one Reflection. Would it then be for our Intereſt to ſee into this Futurity, which Men have ſtrain'd ſo hard to know? No, ſurely no; 'tis with infinite Wiſdom, that God has conceal'd it from us, as *Horace* ſays:

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginoſa nocte premit Deus.

Nothing is more moving nor more elegant than what *Cicero* ſays upon this occaſion (1). "In what deep "Melancholy had *Priam* ſpent the remainder of his "Life, had he known the lamentable Fate that awaited "him? Would the three Conſulſhips, the three Tri- "umphs of *Pompey*, have made him ſenſible of the "ſmalleſt impreſſion of Joy, had he been capable to "foreſee, what we ourſelves are even unable to men- "tion without ſhedding a flood of Tears, that on a day, "after the loſs of a Battel, and the total defeat of his "Army, he ſhould be ſlain in the Deſarts of *Egypt*? "And

(1) De Div. l. 2.

Cicero's Work; let us examine the Sentiments of the Philoſophers which he has recited with ſo much Learning; we ſhall find that they who are the moſt orthodox, that is, they who ſuppoſe a Being independent on Matter, an infinite and eternal Intelligence, a firſt Mover who gives the World its preſent conſpicuous Order; we ſhall find, I ſay, that they ſuppoſe at the ſame time the Eternity of that Matter, and that none of them either comprehended or allowed a Creation, as has been ſaid already upon another occaſion. This, upon impartial enquiry, will be found the amount of the Opinions of all the Philoſophers.

We muſt farther obſerve, that the Philoſophers ſtudied the Nature of the Gods, only with a reference to things of Senſe, the Origin and Formation whereof, they were curious to know; and inſtead of ſubjecting Phyſicks to Divinity, they only founded their Divinity upon Phyſicks. Thus, the different Manners in which they conceived the Arrangement of the Univerſe, made up their different Creeds about the Deity. For, let it be ſaid with *Thales*, that Water is the Principle of all things, and that God is the Intelligence by whom the Univerſe was form'd of Water; it will be replied to him, that this Intelligence did not form the Water which itſelf made uſe of. If one alledged with *Anaximander*, that the Gods had a communicated Exiſtence, that they are born, and die after long intervals, and that theſe are ſo many numberleſs Worlds; might it not be juſtly ſaid to him with *Cicero* (1); How can he be allowed to be a God who is not eternal?

Let a Diſciple of *Anaximenes* pretend that the Air is God, that he is produced, that he is immenſe and infinite, that he is always in motion: But how could the Air be God, would they ſay, ſince it has no Form, whereas God ought to have a Form, nay, a moſt beautiful Form? Beſides, to ſay that he is produced, is to ſay that he is periſhable. *Anaxagoras*, the Pupil of *Anaximenes*, was no doubt nearer the Truth, ſince he maintain'd that the Syſtem and Diſpo-

(1) *De Nat. Deor. l. 1.*

the Gods had been Men, ſubject to Death like their Votaries; and this Article of the Pagan Theology will, I hope, be undeniably proved.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of the Gods.

THERE is nothing in the world about which the ancient Philoſophers reaſoned ſo much, as about the Nature of the Gods; but we are very imperfectly acquainted with their Syſtems; and had it not been for *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Cicero*, who have preſerved to us the Hiſtory of their Opinions, the one in the Lives of the Philoſophers, the other in his three Books of the Nature of the Gods, we ſhould have been entirely in the dark about them. 'Tis true, we ought to make a great diſtinction between theſe two Authors, the former being much leſs to be depended upon than the latter, who appears fully Maſter of his Subject: But as he has treated it like an Academick, we are often at a loſs to find out what is his own Opinion. That learned Philoſopher introduces in his Work three Philoſophers of oppoſite Sects, an *Epicurean*, a *Stoick*, and an *Academick*, who diſpute about the Nature of the Gods. As for the two firſt, each of them has a Creed of his own, and believes himſelf quite orthodox in excluſion of the other; but the Academick, who will yield to nothing but Evidence, ſtops them ſhort by turns, diſcovers to them the fallacy of their Prejudices, and thinks himſelf ſecure againſt Error, only by affirming nothing poſitively on either ſide.

We ſee plainly that 'tis not in their Syſtems we are to look for a juſt Idea of the Divinity; and if ever they wandered in their vain Speculations, as the Apoſtle reproaches them, 'tis eſpecially when they attempted to ſpeak of the Gods. They even ſhook off the Yoke of the groſs Idolatry of *Greece* and *Rome*, only to take up with vain Subtilties in its room, or the Syſtems which they deviſed were frequently even worſe than Polytheiſm itſelf. And indeed, let us run over the whole of

Cicero'

" Laws, that we ought not curiouſly to enquire what " God is. When he holds that God is incorporeal, it " is to make way for his Concluſion, that God is a " Being abſolutely incomprehenſible, neither capable " of Senſation, nor Wiſdom, nor Pleaſure; Attributes " eſſential to the Gods. He likewiſe ſays, both in the *Ti-* " *mæus*, and in his Treatiſe of the Laws, that the World, " the Heavens, the Stars, the Earth, the Souls of Men, " the Divinities who teach us the Religion of our Fa- " thers. all theſe, he ſays, are God; Opinions, conti- " nues the ſame Author, which, conſidered by them- " ſelves, are evidently falſe, and taken all together, " are prodigiouſly inconſiſtent."

Xenocrates again, ſays *Cicero* (1), who had the ſame Maſter with *Ariſtotle*, reaſons no better than he upon this Subject, ſince he admits eight Gods, whereof the Planets make five: But I have ſaid enough elſewhere of the Opinion of thoſe who reckon'd the Stars in the number of the Gods. As for that of the Stoicks, who added illuſtrious Men to the number, I reſerve it for the following Chapter. Nor ſhall I ſay any thing of the Opinions of the other Philoſophers, ſince it is enough to know, that they are reducible to three Claſſes. The firſt is that of the Materialiſt-Philoſophers, who believed that mere Matter, void of Senſe and Reaſon, was capable of forming the World; whether it was that one of the Elements produced all the reſt, as *Thales* aſſerted of the Water; or, that Matter being divided into an infinity of Atoms, theſe Atoms, by dancing fortuitouſly thro' the infinite Void, at length, by a happy Concourſe, ranged themſelves into regular Forms, as *Epicurus* dreamed.

The ſecond is the Opinion of thoſe more enlightned Philoſophers, who roſe to more ſublime Conceptions, and from the beautiful Order of the Univerſe inferred, that it muſt needs be the effect of an intelligent Cauſe; but not being able to comprehend a Subſtance not material, they believ'd Intelligence to be a Property of Matter; and this Perfection they attributed to the ætherial

(1) *Ibid.*

ſition of the Univerſe, were the effect of the Power and Wiſdom of an infinite Being; but then that ſame wiſe and powerful Being had not made that Univerſe, which he diſpoſed into ſuch a beautiful Order.

If *Pythagoras*, as *Cicero* reports (1), believed that God was the Soul diffuſed thro' all the bounds of Nature, and he from whom human Souls were derived; beſides, that this Syſtem is nothing but the pure Materialiſm of *Strato* and ſome others, how eaſy would it be to triumph with *Cicero*, in objecting to him, that if this was the caſe, God muſt needs ſuffer pain, that he would be torn and rent in pieces, when thoſe Souls are detached from him? Now, a God is incapable of ſuffering. Beſides, why is the Mind of Man ignorant of any thing, if it be God?

If *Parmenides* enters the liſts to prove, that God is like to a Crown, a luminous uninterrupted Circle, which encompaſſes the Heavens: He will be aſk'd, with *Cicero*, where he finds the divine Figure in that Circle, and how Thought can poſſibly be there? If the ſame Philoſopher deifies War, Diſcord, Concupiſcence, a thouſand other things, which, inſtead of being immortal, Sickneſs or Sleep, Oblivion, or Time alone will deſtroy; may not ſuch Hypotheſes as theſe be juſtly treated after the manner of Viſions and mere Chimæras?

If *Democritus* gives the title of God, both to the Images of Objects which ſtrike our Senſes, and to Nature, which furniſhes, which conveys theſe Images, and to the Ideas with which they fill our Minds; when after this he aſſerts that nothing is eternal, becauſe nothing continues eternally in the ſame ſtate: Is not this, to uſe *Cicero*'s Words, to deſtroy, and at once to demoliſh the Exiſtence of the Gods, and all the Opinions which eſtabliſh it?

" As for *Plato*, ſays the ſame Author (2), it would " take a long diſcourſe to ſhew how he varies upon this " Subject. In his *Timæus*, he ſays, the Father of this " Univerſe cannot be named; and in his Books of the " Laws,

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Ibid.

Authors, both ancient and modern, that illuſtrious Men had been raiſed to the Rank of Gods, had been honour'd with a publick Worſhip? We find ſome of the Learned, however, who, after having ſeriouſly examin'd the Opinions generally adopted, think them not always ſupported upon a ſolid Foundation; ſome I know, who hold that no example can be given of any Man, who was worſhipped as a God. 'Tis therefore, on this ſecond part of the Queſtion that I am to enlarge moſt, and I hope to prove the thing undeniably; for as to the firſt, I don't believe there ever was any Author, either ancient or modern, who thought that all the Pagan Gods had been Men. Let us reflect on what I ſaid, in diſcourſing of the Origin and Progreſs of Idolatry (1): There I ſhew'd, that Idolatry at firſt was far from being ſo monſtrous as it came to be in After-ages; that the Idea of the firſt Being, the Creator of the Univerſe, having been inſenſibly defaced, they had firſt affix'd it to ſenſible Objects; that the heavenly Bodies, eſpecially the Sun and Moon, whoſe reſplendent Beauty made a more vigorous Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, and whoſe Influences ſeem'd to act more immediately upon them, had attracted the firſt Homage, and been the firſt Gods; that from the Adoration of the Stars, Mankind had paſſed on to that of the Elements, the Rivers, the Fountains, *&c.* and in a word, to the Worſhip of univerſal Nature. I add, that this was the Opinion of moſt of the Philoſophers. *Cicero*, giving the Opinion of *Chryſippus* (2), ſays, he maintain'd that the Air was *Jupiter*, that the Sea was *Neptune*, the Earth *Ceres*, &c. *Denique diſputat Æthera eſſe eum, quem Homines Jovem appellant; quique aer per maria manaret, eum eſſe Neptunum; terramque eam eſſe, quæ Ceres diceretur; ſimilique ratione percurrit vocabula reliquorum Deorum.*

Zeno, according to *Diogenes Laertius* (3), had much the ſame Notions, ſince, according to that Chief of the Stoicks, it was the univerſal Soul of the World, who aſſumed different Names, according to the diffe-

rent.

(1) *L. III.* (2) *De Nat. Deor. l. 1.* (3) *In Zeno.*

celestial Fire, or to the Fire of the more subtilized and more agitated Matter.

The third, in fine, is that of those Philosophers, who finding that Intelligence could not be material, concluded that it must be absolutely distinguished from all that is Body: But at the same time they believ'd, as has been already said, that Bodies existed independently on that Intelligence, whose Power was necessary to the animating and ranging them into order.

I shall add nothing here to what I have said elsewhere of those ancient Egyptian Philosophers, who under the Name of *Chnef* comprehended a first Being, from whose Mouth proceeded the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings were derived. Nor shall I dwell longer upon this Subject, which respects the History of Philosophy, rather than that of Religion. They who want to be more particularly instructed in the Opinions of the Philosophers, as to the Divinity, may consult, besides *Diogenes Laertius* and *Cicero*, the History of Philosophy by *Stanley*, and *Cudworth*'s *Intellectual System*. Let us come to something more particularly relative to Mythology.

CHAP. II.

Wherein the Nature of the Pagan Gods is more particularly examined.

IT was not upon these vain Speculations that the Pagan Theology was form'd at first. On the contrary, it was only to polish and refine that gross System, that the Philosophers contriv'd so many different ones of their own. 'Tis of the Nature of the Gods, as they were really the Objects of the establish'd Pagan Worship, that I am to discourse; and there occurs an important Question to be previously examined. Had all these Gods been Men? or at least, had not some of them been so? I am persuaded that the examination of the second part of this Question, will be thought needless. Have we not always heard, have we not read in different Authors,

Authors, both ancient and modern, that illuſtrious Men had been raiſed to the Rank of Gods, had been honour'd with a publick Worſhip? We find ſome of the Learned, however, who, after having ſeriouſly examin'd the Opinions generally adopted, think them not always ſupported upon a ſolid Foundation; ſome I know, who hold that no example can be given of any Man, who was worſhipped as a God. 'Tis therefore, on this ſecond part of the Queſtion that I am to enlarge moſt, and I hope to prove the thing undeniably; for as to the firſt, I don't believe there ever was any Author, either ancient or modern, who thought that all the Pagan Gods had been Men. Let us reflect on what I ſaid, in diſcourſing of the Origin and Progreſs of Idolatry (1): There I ſhew'd, that Idolatry at firſt was far from being ſo monſtrous as it came to be in After-ages; that the Idea of the firſt Being, the Creator of the Univerſe, having been inſenſibly defaced, they had firſt affix'd it to ſenſible Objects; that the heavenly Bodies, eſpecially the Sun and Moon, whoſe reſplendent Beauty made a more vigorous Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, and whoſe Influences ſeem'd to act more immediately upon them, had attracted the firſt Homage, and been the firſt Gods; that from the Adoration of the Stars, Mankind had paſſed on to that of the Elements, the Rivers, the Fountains, *&c.* and in a word, to the Worſhip of univerſal Nature. I add, that this was the Opinion of moſt of the Philoſophers. *Cicero*, giving the Opinion of *Chryſippus* (2), ſays, he maintain'd that the Air was *Jupiter*, that the Sea was *Neptune*, the Earth *Ceres*, &c. *Denique diſputat Æthera eſſe eum, quem Homines Jovem appellant; quique aer per maria manaret, eum eſſe Neptunum; terramque eam eſſe, quæ Ceres diceretur; ſimilique ratione percurrit vocabula reliquorum Deorum.*

Zeno, according to *Diogenes Laertius* (3), had much the ſame Notions, ſince, according to that Chief of the Stoicks, it was the univerſal Soul of the World, who aſſumed different Names, according to the different

(1) L. III. (2) De Nat. Deor. l. 1. (3) In Zeno.

rent Relations of his Power: That it was called *Dios*, becauſe it is the Spring of all Operations; *Athene*, becauſe its Empire is in the Heavens; *Hera*, becauſe it is the Miſtreſs of the Univerſe; *Vulcan*, as preſiding over the Fire; and *Poſeidon*, in ſo far as its Power extends over the Waters.

Pliny ſpeaking of the Divinity, ſays, that Men had divided it into ſeveral Parts, in order to worſhip theſe Parts ſeparately, according to their various Exigences: *Fragilis & laborioſa Mortalitas, in partes ita digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor, ut portionibus coleret quiſque quo maxime indigeret* (1).

What I have now ſaid, gave riſe to thoſe diviſions of the Gods into different Claſſes, as we ſhall ſee afterwards; eſpecially into that of Natural Gods, who were the Stars and other Parts of the Univerſe; and of Animated Gods, that is, Men who had the honour of Deification conferred upon them. 'Tis therefore certain, that the Pagan World adored other Gods beſides deify'd Men, who, as I have proved elſewhere, were only the laſt Objects of Idolatry, while the Stars were the firſt Deities of the Pagan World.

To come now to the ſecond part of the Queſtion, which I propoſed to examine, I maintain that there were Men to whom divine Honours were really paid, and that the *Greeks* had hardly any other Gods but deify'd Men. I begin with the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, becauſe he is the Author, on whom the Learned before mentioned rely for the proof of their Allegation: Let us hear what that famous Hiſtorian ſays, ſpeaking of the *Perſians* (2). "They have neither Statues nor "Temples, nor Altars, and thoſe who have them, "they tax with Folly. What I take to be their Rea- "ſon, is, that they don't believe like the *Greeks*, that "the Gods are of human Race." Ἀγαλματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ εν κόσμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρεσι· ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι.

Herodotus therefore ſuppoſes, that the *Greeks* believ'd the

(1) L. 2. c. 7. (2) L. 1. c. 131.

the Gods derived their Origin from Men, or, which comes to the ſame, that they had been Men. I ſhall not quote particular Paſſages from *Diodorus Siculus*, ſince, if I were to copy all the Places where he ſuppoſes that the Gods had been Men, I might tranſcribe the whole firſt Books of his Hiſtory. It cannot be denied, that he has conſidered *Saturn*, *Atlas*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, and the reſt, as the Gods, nay, as the primary Gods of Paganiſm, yet he ſpeaks of them as of illuſtrious Men; he enters into the detail of their Actions and Conqueſts, and forgets not the Hiſtory of their Birth and of their Death. In a word, all the Hiſtorians, Mythologiſts, and Poets, have delivered the ſame Sentiments with *Diodorus*, upon this Subject. No body will doubt but that *Jupiter* was the greateſt Divinity of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and yet we are told the Hiſtory of his Birth, and the Stratagem which *Rhea* his Mother made uſe of to reſcue him from the Cruelty of *Saturn*. They tell us of his Education, his Conqueſts, his Amours, his Offspring; in fine, of his Death, and of the Place where his Tomb was erected. The ſame account is given of the other Gods.

It may be objected, that Poets, at leaſt ſuch as *Heſiod* and *Homer*, ought not to be taken into the number of thoſe whom I cite for proof of this Truth; but as they did not invent what they ſay of the Gods, as I have proved elſewhere, but only followed the eſtabliſh'd Notions of their Times, they are to be looked upon as the firſt and moſt ancient Witneſſes to this Tradition, that the Gods had been Men.

Tho' the Philoſophers invented different Syſtems about the Divinity, as we have ſeen in the preceding Chapter, there were, however, conſiderable Sects among them, who embraced the Opinion of deify'd Men; as that of the *Stoicks* and *Platoniſts*, thoſe at leaſt, in the later times. *Cicero*, who in his ſecond Book of the Nature of the Gods diſplays ſo ingeniouſly the Opinions of the former, ſays, they allowed an univerſal Soul, a Fire active, vital, intelligent, which animated all Nature; and that every Being wherein any ſingular Virtue was to be

ſeen,

made of a Father, who cauſes a Figure to be made, repreſenting the Son whom he has loſt, whom he honours as a God, and who became afterwards a publick Divinity; but this I have already quoted in ſpeaking of the Origin and Progreſs of Idolatry (1). In fine, we may oppoſe to thoſe who ſtand out againſt all theſe Proofs, the Authority of the primitive Fathers of the Church, and of the Apologiſts for the Chriſtian Religion; Perſons of Learning who have combated the Pagan Syſtem with ſo much advantage, and, to be ſure, were better informed in the nature of it than we, who are too remote from the time when it was the predominant Religion, to be able to judge of it ſo well as they.

The ſtrongeſt Objection which the Philoſophers made to them, was, that the accounts which their Poets had given of the Gods, were only to be looked upon as Fictions hatch'd from their own Brain; and that in truth, the publick Worſhip was ultimately directed to the immortal Beings and ſuperiour Intelligences, who preſided over and governed the World: As a Proof whereof, ſaid they, *Euhemerus* (*a*) was univerſally reputed an Atheiſt, for having alledged that the Gods had been mortal Men. But our Apologiſts did not allow themſelves to be dazzled with this ſpecious Reply: They proved to thoſe Philoſophers that Allegory had come too late; that it was a thing of their own Invention, which they employed only to refine a Syſtem equally monſtrous and abſurd. They ſhew'd them by an uninterrupted and generally receiv'd Tradition, that the firſt Race of Men who were rude and illiterate, were far from having made ſuch Refinements in Religion, but had, in the ſincerity of their Hearts, paid divine Homage to thoſe, who had either taught them the neceſſary Arts of Life, or done them ſome other important Service. And to prove it with more ſucceſs, they had recourſe to the Teſtimonies of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and ſeveral other Ancients whom I have not quoted; for this Article of the Pagan Syſtem is what they have moſt enlarged

(1) L. 3.

(*a*) See the following Chapter, where we ſpeak of this further.

enlarged upon, and proved with moſt Solidity. 'Tis then evident, according to theſe different Authors, that among the Pagan Gods, there were ſome who had been Men: But as Objections are raiſed againſt this Opinion, I ſhall propoſe and anſwer them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Wherein Anſwers are given to the Objections that may be raiſed againſt the Opinion, that ſeveral of the Pagan Gods had been Men; with new Proofs to confirm it.

THE firſt and perhaps the ſtrongeſt of theſe Objections, is, that had it been generally believ'd that there were Gods who had been Men, *Euhemerus* would not have been looked upon as an Atheiſt, for maintaining that Opinion in the Hiſtory which he publiſh'd upon that Subject, under the Title of *Sacred Hiſtory*. Before we anſwer this Difficulty, 'tis proper to let the Reader know ſomething of this Author and his Work.

The Ancients are not agreed as to the Place where *Euhemerus* was born; but without entering into critical Queſtions which would carry me too far from my Subject, and upon which, you may conſult the Diſſertation of Abbé *Sevin* (*a*), I hold to the Opinion of *Polybius*, who ſays, he was a *Meſſenian* by Birth. *Caſſander*, King of *Macedonia* (*b*), whoſe Intereſt he eſpouſed, heap'd Favours upon him, and gave him conſiderable Poſts. It was by that Prince's Orders he undertook long Voyages, and in the relation he gives of one of theſe Voyages, he publiſh'd this Hiſtory of the Gods, for which he was ſo much reproached. This Work, and the *Latin* Tranſlation of it which was done by *Ennius*, are not now extant; and 'tis highly probable that

(*a*) See the Mem. of the Acad. Bel. Let. Vol. 8.

(*b*) This is the ſecond of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors; ſo that 'tis eaſy to know when *Euhemerus* lived.

the Copies of it were suppress'd as much as possible. *Diodorus Siculus*, who had read this Relation, spoke of it in the sixth Book of his History; but this Book, as we know, is lost. *Eusebius* (1) by good luck has preserv'd us a Fragment of it, and from him we quote the following Account of it.

" *Euhemerus* being admitted into *Cassander*'s intimate " Friendship, and for that reason obliged to execute " Commissions of Trust from him in remote Countries, " came, as we are told, to the southern Parts of *Arabia*, " called the Happy. From thence setting sail upon " the same Ocean (*a*), he made a pretty long Voyage, " and landed in several Islands of that Sea. Among " others he lighted on one which was called the Island " *Panchaia*. All the Inhabitants of that Island lived " in the practice of an extraordinary Piety, continually " offered great Sacrifices to the Gods, and frequently " brought Offerings of Gold and Silver into their " Temples: The whole Island seem'd to be but one " Temple. *Euhemerus* admired what he was told as " to the Antiquity, and what he himself saw of the " Magnificence of their Edifices . . . . . There is espe- " cially on the top of a very high Hill, a Temple to " *Jupiter*, called *Triphilian*: They alledge it was built " by the God himself, when being as yet a mere Man, " he reigned over the whole Earth.

" In this Temple is a Column of Gold, upon which " are engrav'd in the *Panchaick* Characters, the princi- " pal Actions of *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and *Jupiter*. There " we are informed, that *Uranus*, the most ancient King " of the World, had been a just and beneficent Man, " perfectly well versed in the knowledge of the Stars, " and the first who had offered Sacrifice to the Gods of " Heaven; which was the Reason of his getting the " name *Uranus* or Heaven. His Sons by *Vesta* his " Wife, were *Pan* and *Saturn*, and his Daughters, " *Rhea* and *Ceres*. *Saturn* reigned after *Uranus*, and " having

(1) Præp. Evan. l. 2. c. 3.

(*a*) That is, upon the eastern Ocean, which washes the west Side of *Africa*.

" having married *Rhea*, had by her *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and " *Neptune*. *Jupiter* ſucceeded to the Throne of his " Father, married *Juno*, *Ceres*, and *Themis*; the firſt " bore to him the *Curetes*, the ſecond *Proſerpine*, and " the third *Minerva*. Having afterwards gone to *Ba-* " *bylon*, he was entertained there by *Belus*: Thence he " paſs'd into the Iſland *Panchaia*, and there erected an " Altar in honour of his Grandfather *Uranus*. In " his return from that Iſland, he came into *Syria*, to " the Court of *Caſius*, who reign'd there at that time. " Thence he came into *Cilicia*, where in a pitch'd " Battel he vanquiſh'd *Cilix*, who was Sovereign of that " Country. He travers'd other Places beſides, and " every where was honour'd and revered as a God."

This is all that the Fragment cited by *Euſebius* contains; but *Diodorus* had before made mention in another place (1), of the ſame Iſland of *Jupiter Triphilian*, and of the Names of the Inhabitants of the Country: I give you here what he ſays of the Temple, the reſt not belonging to my Subject.

" This Temple is very ſtately, and wholly built of " white Stones: The Length of it is about 200 Perches, " and of a proportional Breadth. It ſtands upon Columns " very maſſy, and extremely embelliſhed by the Sculp- " tor. The Statues of the Gods, remarkable for their " Largeneſs and immenſe Weight, are alſo Maſter- " pieces of Art."

After ſome other Particulars, *Diodorus* ſays, the *Panchaians* ſhew Characters, which *Jupiter*, ſay they, had drawn with his own Hand when he laid the firſt Foundations of their Temple. He adds, that this Temple, ſituated about ſixty Furlongs from *Panara*, the Capital of the Iſland, in a delightful Spot of Ground, watered with noble Springs, was full of Offerings of Gold and Silver, which in proceſs of time had been prodigiouſly accumulated; that the Gates were wrought with Ornaments of Gold and Silver, with Ivory, and Wood of the Frankincenſe-Tree; that the Bed of the God was ſix Cubits long, and four in breadth; that it was of

(1) L. 5.

maſſy Gold, and of finiſhed Workmanſhip; that the Table was no leſs magnificent, and near as large as the Bed by which it ſtood; that at a little diſtance from the Bed was erected a high Column of Gold, with an Inſcription upon it, in what the *Egyptians* call ſacred Characters, containing the Hiſtory of *Uranus*, of *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*; the whole written with *Mercury*'s own Hand (*a*). He ſays in another place, that the *Panchaians* were originally from the Iſland of *Crete*, whence *Jupiter* had conducted them into *Panchaia*, and ordered them to maintain Commerce with the *Cretans* their Anceſtors.

All the Ancients looked upon this Relation of *Euhemerus* as a Romance, forged out of his own Head, and the Author of it as an Atheiſt. The Iſland of *Panchaia*, according to *Plutarch* (1), is a Chimæra, and no Man, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, ever ſaw it, any more than the pretended Temple of *Jupiter Triphilian*. *Cicero* examining this Queſtion, is hardly more favourable to *Euhemerus* than *Plutarch*. "This Queſtion, "ſays he, has been treated by *Euhemerus*, whom our "*Ennius* tranſlated into *Latin*. He ſpeaks of the "Death, and of the Tombs of the Gods: Was it his "Deſign to confirm Religion, or to ſubvert it?"

I take not upon me to defend either this Writer or his Relation, which carries all the Characters of a real Romance; but as to the Subſtance of the Syſtem, what was there then in it of ſo extraordinary or unheard of a nature, to deſerve the Reproaches which were thrown upon its Author? Do not all the Poets, the more ancient ones eſpecially, ſpeak of the Gods as he does? Does not *Heſiod* give the ſame Genealogies of them? Does he not tell us that they were born and died one after

(*a*) *Diodorus* firſt ſaid that the *Panchaian* Characters had been drawn by *Jupiter* himſelf, and this is likewiſe the Opinion of *Eubius* and *Lactantius*, who probably had read either the Relation by *Euhemerus* himſelf, or *Ennius*'s Tranſlation: Then the ſame Author aſſerts, that they had been written by *Mercury*. We may reconcile theſe three Writers by ſaying, that as it was by *Jupiter*'s Orders *Mercury* drew them upon the Column it is as if he had writ them himſelf.

(1) De Iſid. & Oſir.

another? Has not *Euhemerus* ſhew'd more Diſ-
on than *Homer* and the other Poets, ſince none of
ſhocking Stories of the Gods are related by him,
h are to be found in their Works? In the prece-
Chapter we have ſeen how many Authors, even of
whom we moſt regard, had debaſed the Gods to
ank of Men, or rather raiſed Men to the rank of
. Had not *Cicero* himſelf, from whom I have
ed a Paſſage directly to the purpoſe, the ſame Sen-
nts with *Euhemerus?* Does he not ſay, (which is
additional Proof of his Opinion) that Heaven is
ſt wholly peopled with Mankind, and that they
have the Name of Gods had been Men? *Quod*
e prope Cælum, nonne genere humano completum
. . . . . *Illi qui majorum gentium Dii habentur,*
a nobis profecti reperiuntur (1).

Diodorus Siculus is ſo far from taxing *Euhemerus* with
iety, that on the contrary he makes uſe of his Au-
ity to prove the Opinion which I maintain. "The
ncients, ſays he, have tranſmitted to Poſterity a
iſtinction of Gods into two Claſſes. The one, ac-
rding to them, are eternal and immortal, as the
n, the Moon, and other Luminaries: They join
ith them the Winds, and all Beings which partake
their Nature. Theſe they believe have been from
ternity, and that they are to continue to Eternity.
The Gods of the ſecond Claſs were born upon the
arth, and arrived at the Titles and Honours of Divi-
ty, only for the Bleſſings they conferred upon Men:
uch are *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Ariſtæus*, and the like.
he Hiſtorians on the one hand, and the Mytholo-
ſts on the other, give us very different Accounts
theſe terreſtrial Gods. The Hiſtorian *Euhemerus*,
r example, *&c.*"

cannot be objected that this was only *Diodorus*'s
private Opinion, ſince he himſelf ſays, it was the
nion of all the Ancients; and after having cited for
f of it, the Authority of *Euhemerus*, as we have
ſeen, he ſubjoins: "We might ſatisfy ourſelves

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

" with this Paſſage of *Euhemerus*, taken from his ſa-
" cred Hiſtory; but to gratify thoſe who are curious to
" know what Opinion the *Greek* Mythologiſts had of
" theſe Gods of theirs, I ſhall ſet before you what we
" find in *Heſiod*, *Homer*, and *Orpheus*." The reſt of the Book, wherein he had examined what theſe ancient Poets ſaid of the Gods, is loſt; but as we have the Works of two of theſe Poets, 'tis eaſy to ſee what Accounts they there give of the Gods: To be ſure they ſpeak of them with leſs Decency than *Euhemerus*.

But why was he then reputed an Atheiſt? We might anſwer, in the firſt place, that at the time when his ſacred Hiſtory appear'd, the face of Religion was quite changed. The *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, juſtly ſhocked with the groſs Ideas which the firſt *Greek* Poets had given of the Gods, labour'd to turn them into ſuch Allegories as might diminiſh their Abſurdity, as has been ſaid elſewhere. Not being able to hear the Birth of the Gods continually ſounding in their ears, that pretended Birth, they ſaid, was nothing but the Introduction of their Worſhip into the Country where the Poets aſſerted they were born. The extravagant and ridiculous Idea of a *Saturn* who devours his own Children, was nothing, according to them, but the Emblem of all-conſuming Time. The other poetical Fictions, they explained much in the ſame way. In this Interval appears an Author, who ſays, he had ſeen in an Iſland an Inſcription engrav'd in very ancient Characters, containing the Hiſtory of the Gods; which ſpeaks of their Birth, their Conqueſts, and their Death; conſequently he ſeems deſign'd to renew, or rather to confirm by ſo authentick a Proof, the exploded Opinions of the ancient Poets: Is there then any wonder that they looked upon him as Impious and Atheiſtical? Will not this be always the Fate of every Man who attempts to deſtroy an eſtabliſh'd Religion?

This Anſwer, however ſpecious it is, not being entirely ſatisfactory, ſince in fact neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor the Authors whom I quoted in the preceding Chapter, incurred the ſame Cenſure as *Euhemerus*, tho'

they were poſterior to him, and in the main have ſaid the ſame thing with him in relation to the deify'd Men: So that I am perſuaded there were ſome Doctrines of a pernicious tendency, artfully wrought into *Euhemerus*'s Relation. Perhaps he had rejected the Gods of the firſt kind, the Stars, and thoſe Intelligences, who, according to the Philoſophers whom we juſt now mentioned, conducted them, and were reckoned to govern the World; and having reduced all the Gods to illuſtrious Men, whom it was eaſy to ſee at bottom not to be true Gods, ſince they were born and died like other Men, whereas the Gods ought to be eternal and immortal in their Nature, he thereby ſap'd the whole Foundations of Religion. And this undoubtedly was what made him paſs for an Atheiſt: For had he admitted theſe Deities of the firſt Claſs, and barely recited the Hiſtory of thoſe of the ſecond, that is to ſay, of the animated Gods, ſuch as it is in the Fragment we have now remaining, he had ſaid nothing but what may be found in the Poets and Hiſtorians who have given the Genealogy of theſe ſame Deities, and have ſpoke of their Birth, their Actions, their Death, and their ſepulchral Monuments.

It may be objected to me in the ſecond place, that *Herodotus* (1) makes a Diſtinction between the Worſhip which was paid to the Gods, and that which was paid to the Heroes, that is, to deify'd Men. *Sacrifices*, ſays that Author, *were offered to* Hercules *the Son of* Alcmena, *as to a Hero*; *but to* Olympian Hercules, *who was one of the great Divinities of* Egypt, *as to a Being of an immortal Nature*. To this Authority might be join'd that of *Pauſanias*, who ſays (2), Honours, ſuch as belong'd to Heroes, were paid to *Alexanor*, but divine Honours to *Evamerion*, whom the *Pergamenians*, authorized by an Oracle, ſurnamed *Teleſphorus*.

I might anſwer firſt, that the *Egyptian Hercules* had been a Man, as well as the Son of *Alcmena*: And the ſame thing might be ſaid of *Alexanor* and *Evamerion*; that Diſtinction in their Worſhip being only owing either to their greater Antiquity, or to the one having

(1) L. 2. (2) In Cor. p. 107.

been more illuſtrious and in higher Reputation than the other: But I go farther, and contend that the Heroes roſe inſenſibly, and as it were by ſteps, till they came to the Rank of Gods and received divine Honours; and this was the very Caſe as to the *Greek Hercules*, ſince, after he had been worſhipp'd for ſome time as an Hero, he came at length to have perfect Sacrifices offered to him; that is, Sacrifices where a part of the Victim was burnt in honour of the God, and the reſt was eaten at the Feaſt which always accompany'd the Ceremony of Sacrifice. Of this, the Fact which *Pauſanias* relates, leaves no room to doubt. *Pheſtus*, according to that Author (1), upon his arrival at *Sicyon*, being inform'd that *Hercules* had hitherto been worſhipped not as a God, but only as a Hero, thought this was very unbecoming, and therefore ordered divine Honours to be paid to him: However, that this Innovation might not appear ſhocking to the *Sicyonians*, he allowed them ſtill to reſerve a ſmall part of the Victim, to be offered to the ſame *Hercules* as to a Hero. From that time, adds this Author, they kill a Lamb, and having roaſted the Thighs upon the Altar, they eat one part of the Victim, and offer the other to *Hercules*, as to a Hero; inſomuch that at this day he is revered both as a God, and as a Hero. The two Holidays which were afterwards kept in his honour, were greatly diſtinguiſh'd; the firſt was called *Onomata*, and the other *Herculia*. This Fact undeniably proves, both that the Heroes aroſe to the rank of Gods, and that in the time of *Pheſtus's* arrival in *Sicyon*, *Hercules* was already worſhipp'd as a God thro' the reſt of *Greece*. For had it not been ſo, what ground would he have had for his Surprize and Indignation? The ſame thing may be advanced as to *Eſculapius*, *Thalaſſius* the God of Marriage, and ſeveral others, who, as *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, were taken into the number of the Gods, and worſhipped as ſuch.

We muſt not imagine that thoſe great Men owed their Divinity to the Poets alone; it was the People, the Pontifs, nay whole Cities that perform'd their Apotheoſis. Would ever the Authority of the Poets have

(1) Cor. l. 2. p. 102.

been

been ſufficient to cauſe a Worſhip to be eſtabliſh'd, Temples and Altars to be erected to Men, deify'd only by them? This is an Error forged by thoſe who look upon *Homer* and *Heſiod* as the Fathers of the Pagan Theology; whereas in their Poems, they only celebrated thoſe whoſe Worſhip was eſtabliſhed, and ſpoke of them in the ſame way as the Prieſts and People did. Undoubtedly, remarks St. *Auguſtin* (1), the Apotheoſes were publick Acts, ratify'd by the Authority of Senate and People: Thoſe of *Julius Cæſar*, of *Auguſtus*, and other Emperors, are an inconteſtable Proof of it. Thus the Poets are not the Authors of the Theology, of which their Works are full; all they have done is only to tranſmit to us the Tradition thereof.

But if I am now aſk'd, who thoſe were whom they put into the number of the Gods; I anſwer, 1. They were the ancient Kings: And as, according to *Lactantius* (2), they had no knowledge of any, before *Uranus* and *Saturn*, this is the Reaſon why they were looked upon as the moſt ancient Divinities. 2. They who had done conſiderable Services to the World, either by the Invention of ſome Art neceſſary to human Life, or by their Conqueſts and Victories. 3. The ancient Founders of Cities. 4. They who had diſcover'd ſome Country, or had conducted Colonies thither. 5. Thoſe whom Flattery promoted to that Rank, and of this number are the *Roman* Emperors, whoſe Apotheoſis was order'd by the Senate. In fine, all who became the Objects of publick Gratitude.

But altho' I contend, and hope to prove it in the Sequel, that the Gods, not only of the *Greeks*, but of the Nations from whom they receiv'd them, I mean the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, were all of them Men, except the Stars, and other parts of the Univerſe which were deify'd; yet I am far from giving into the Notion of a learned *Italian* Prelate, who, in his univerſal Hiſtory, whereof we have but the firſt Volume (3), ſays, that by the ſeveral Gods, of *Homer* for example, we are to underſtand the Kings of each particular Country, or

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 3, c. 31. (2) L. 3. c. 15. (3) M. Bian.

ntry itſelf where they reign'd: That *Jupiter* and his Succeſſors; *Juno*, *Syria*; *Neptune*, ; *Apollo*, *Babylon*; *Diana*, the *Amazons*; *uenia*; *Mercury*, *Phenicia*; *Venus*, the Iſland ; *Minerva*, *Egypt*, &c. Upon this *Perizo-* e conſulted, who finds it no hard matter to learned Author.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Progeny of the Gods.

AS there is no[th] re obſcure in fabulous Hiſtory, than erns the Children of the Gods, 'tis proper t[o] [th]e oint be well clear'd up. *Herodotus* diſtinguiſhes the Gods, as we have ſaid, into three Claſſes. There were eight in the firſt; twelve in the ſecond; and thoſe of the third were the Offspring of the others, as *Bacchus*, &c. According to this Diſtinction, 'tis plain, that all thoſe are to be looked upon as the Progeny of the Gods, who were neither of the firſt nor ſecond Claſs; but 'tis likewiſe certain that they called by that Name;

1. Several Poetical Perſonages, as when 'tis ſaid that *Acheron* was the Son of *Ceres*; the Nymphs, the Daughters of *Achelous*; *Love*, the Son of *Poverty*; and an infinity of others.

2. Moſt of the Princes, who were rank'd among the Gods, claim'd ſome one or other of them for their Fathers or Anceſtors, as ſhall be ſaid immediately.

3. They who were the Offspring of the ſtolen Embraces of Prieſts with the Women whom they ſeduced in the Temples. The Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which *Herodotus* mentions, was not the only one where it was a Cuſtom to introduce every Night, one of the fineſt Women of the City. The ſame Game was play'd, according to the ſame Hiſtorian, at *Thebes* i at *Patara* in *Lycia*, and no doubt in ſeve Places. Thus wicked Prieſts impoſed upon th of the ignorant People, making the Childr

ſprung from that inceſtuous Commerce, to paſs for the Offspring of the Gods.

4. They who were Imitators of the glorious Actions of the Gods, and who excell'd in the ſame Arts, paſſed for their Sons, as *Eſculapius*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and ſome others.

5. They who were found expoſed in the Temples or ſacred Groves: Thus *Erichthonius* paſſed for the Son of *Minerva* and *Vulcan*, as St. *Auguſtin* has remark'd.

6. Such as ſignaliz'd themſelves at Sea, were reckon'd Sons of *Neptune*.

7. They whoſe Character reſembled that of ſome God, paſſed for their Sons. Was one eloquent? he had *Apollo* for his Father: Was he ſubtle or deſigning? he paſſed for a Son of *Mercury*. Thus it was fabled that *Chione*, the Daughter of *Dedalion*, had been Miſtreſs to *Apollo* and *Mercury*, becauſe ſhe had two Sons, the one of whom, *Philammon*, excell'd in Eloquence; and the other, who was called *Autolycus*, was a dextrous Thief. In like manner they who were brave, claim'd *Mars* for their Father, as *Oenomaus*, *Tereus*, *Romulus*, &c. Much the ſame account may be given of thoſe who were ſaid by the Poets to be the Progeny either of the Rivers, or of the Mountains, as *Daphne* the Daughter of the River *Peneus*; *Oenone*, of *Cebrenus*; *Aventinus*, *Tyberinus*, *Inachus*, and numbers of others: By whom we are to underſtand, as *Lactantius* explains it, the Children of thoſe who bore the Names of thoſe Rivers or Mountains.

8. They whoſe Original was obſcure, were reputed Sons of the Earth, as *Tages*, that celebrated *Etrurian*, who was look'd upon as the Inventor of the *Tuſcan* Divination, and of the religious Ceremonies uſed in the Auguries. The Giants in fabulous Hiſtory, were likewiſe, for the ſame reaſon, reckon'd Sons of the Earth.

9. When any Prince was concerned to conceal a ſcandalous Intrigue, they were ſure to father the Offspring upon ſome God. Thus *Prætus* having got into the Tower, where *Acriſius* King of *Argos*, affrighted with the Prediction of an Oracle, had ſhut up his Daughter

Danaë,

Danaë; they fabled that *Jupiter* had transformed himſelf into a Shower of Gold, to ſeduce that Princeſs, and *Perſeus* paſſed for the Son of that God. Juſt ſo, *Amulius* having found a way to convey himſelf ſecretly into the Priſon where *Numitor* had confin'd his Daughter *Rhea Sylvia*, *Romulus* and *Remus* ſprung from the Embraces of that Prince with his Niece, were paſſed upon the World for Sons of *Mars*. The ſecret Gallant of *Alcmena* was taken for *Jupiter*, and *Hercules* was always look'd upon as the Son of that God. *Æneas* owed his Title of Son of *Venus*, upon which the *Romans* ſo much valued themſelves, to the Report which his Father *Anchiſes* induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, of his having had a Son by that Goddeſs in the Foreſts of Mount *Ida*. The ſame Sentiments we are to have of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Leda*'s Twins; as well as of a world of others, whom it would be tedious to name. *Olympias* exerted all her efforts to make the World believe, that *Jupiter* was the Father of *Alexander* her Son; but ſo long as that Princeſs was alive, People were not ſo credulous, nor did that ſham Story ſtop the mouth of evil Speakers.

10. In fine, almoſt all the Heroes of Antiquity had Gods at leaſt for their Anceſtors, and they paſſed either for their Sons or Grand-Sons; for you need but trace their Genealogies a little, 'till you find them commonly terminating in ſome God.

This is what I had to ſay upon the Nature of the Gods whom Paganiſm introduc'd; they not having been all upon an equal level, were diſtributed into ſeveral Claſſes, which ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Diſtribution of the Pagan Gods into ſeveral Claſſes.

AS the Number of the Gods whom the Pagans worſhip'd was almoſt infinite, if we would ſpeak of them with any Order, we muſt range them into ſeveral Claſſes; this is what has been done by Mythologiſts

gifts both ancient and modern, whenever the Queſtion was about reducing into a kind of Syſtem, a Theology ſo monſtrous as was that of the Pagan World.

Herodotus (1), after the *Egyptians*, claſſes the Gods into three ſorts; thus it is he expreſſes himſelf with relation to *Hercules*: "Among the *Greeks*, ſays he, "*Hercules* and *Pan* are the laſt of the Gods; νεώτατοι "τῶν θεῶν; but among the *Egyptians*, *Pan* is a very "ancient God, and of the number of the eight who are "the firſt of all: *Hercules* is in the ſecond Claſs, who "are twelve in number; and *Bacchus* in the third, "conſiſting of thoſe who are the Offspring of the "twelve Great Gods."

'Tis a pity but this Author had given us the Names of the Gods who compoſed theſe three Claſſes; we ſhould then have had an exact inſight into the *Egyptian* Mythology. The Learned, to ſupply this defect, have diſtributed the Gods into ſeveral Claſſes.

They were divided into Great Gods, *Dii majorum gentium*, or Gods of Counſel, *Dii Conſuentes* or *Conſulentes*; and into the Gods of leſſer Nations, *minorum gentium*. The former were the great Gods acknowledged eſpecially in *Greece* and *Italy*. The latter were thoſe who had been added and aſſociated with the ancient ones, and they were peculiar to certain People. Such was the *Quirinus* of the *Romans*, the *Semo-Sancus* of the *Etrurians*, &c. The *Greeks* acknowledged twelve of theſe Great Gods, whoſe Names *Ennius* has preſerv'd to us; *Juno*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*.

Juno, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercurius*, *Jovis*, *Neptunus*, *Vulcanus*, *Apollo*.

Each of theſe Gods preſided over one Month of the Year; *Juno* over the Month of *January*; *Neptune*, over *February*, and ſo of the reſt: Or elſe over each of the Signs of the Zodiack, as we learn from *Manilius* (2); which comes to the ſame thing. One of the Whimſies of *Alexander* was, as *Arrian* has it, that he would needs be

(1) L. 2. c. 145. (2) Aſtr. 20.

be admitted into the number of theſe great Gods, and ſo make the thirteenth in this firſt Claſs.

2. The *Romans* added eight more to the number; theſe were the ſelect Gods, *Selecti*; *Janus*, *Saturn*, the *Genius*, *Sol* the Sun, *Luna* the Moon, *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, and the ancient *Veſta*, or *Terra*, the Earth. Theſe Gods had a privilege excluſive of others, to be repreſented in Gold, in Silver, and in Ivory; which is to be underſtood only of the later times; for in the beginning, as has been already remark'd, they uſed nothing in the Figures of the Gods but Timber, or ſome ſhapeleſs Stone. *Potius Lignea*, ſays *Pliny* (1), *aut fictilia Deorum ſimulachra, in Delubris dedicata, uſque ad devictam Aſiam, unde irrepſit Luxuria.*

3. Then came the Gods called *Semones*, or *Semi-homines*, or *Semi-Dii*, who were believ'd not of Dignity enough to be Inhabitants of Heaven, tho' they deſerv'd a better place than the Earth; as *Priapus*, *Hippona*, *Vertumnus*, and all the Heroes in particular.

4. There were common Gods, who were thoſe who favour'd all Parties; as *Mars*, *Bellona*, *Victory*, *Fortune*: Or who were adored in every Place, and among all Nations; as *Veſta*, or the great Mother of the Gods: and thus it is that theſe were diſtinct from the Gods called *Topical*, who were worſhipped only in certain Places (*a*), as *Aſtarte* in *Syria*; *Derceto* and *Semiramis* among the *Aſſyrians*; *Quirinus*, at *Rome*; *Faunus*, among the *Latins*; *Tages* by the *Tuſcans*, and *Sancus* among the *Sabins*. Thus again, the *Egyptians* adored *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; the *Mauritanians*, *Juba*; the *Carthaginians*, *Uranus*; the *Sicilians*, *Adramus*; the *Athenians*, *Minerva*; the People of *Delphos*, *Apollo*; thoſe of *Naxos*, *Bacchus*; thoſe of *Cos*, *Ariſtæus*; thoſe of *Lemnos*, *Vulcan*; thoſe of *Paphos*, *Venus*. Such again was *Theutat* among the *Gauls*, *Endovellicus* among the *Iberians*, *Mars* among the *Thracians*, *Adad* among the *Aſſyrians*, *Taraxippus* among the *Eleans*, *Coronis* among the *Sicyonians*, *Zamolxis*

(1) L. 34.

(*a*) This Word comes from the Greek τόπος, a Place.

molxis among the *Thracians*, not to mention a vaſt many more whoſe Names are leſs known (*a*).

5. Farther, there were in every Country the Gods *Indigetes*, ſo called, either becauſe they had an Attachment to certain Places, *quaſi in loco degentes*; or becauſe they were ready to liſten to thoſe who needed their Aid, *quia faciles invocari*; or to denote that they were of the Country where they were invoked, *quaſi Indigenæ*; or becauſe it was not allowable to call them by their proper Name, *quia indigetari nefas*; for the Learned give all theſe Etymologies to the Name of theſe Gods *Indigetes* (*b*).

6. There were, beſides, the Gods denominated *Cabiri*, as you would ſay aſſociated, ſuch were *Proſerpine*, *Pluto*, &c. And in the ſame rank were placed, the *Corybantes*, the *Curetes*, and the *Idæi Dactyli*.

7. The *Dii Palici*, whoſe Worſhip was famous eſpecially in *Sicily*; and the *Patæci*, whoſe Figures ſerv'd for Ornaments to the Prows of Ships, whereof they were the Patrons.

8. They ador'd likewiſe the *Dii Penates* and the *Dii Lares*; the Houſes of private Perſons ſerv'd them for Temples and Sanctuaries, as the Croſs-Streets were the Places where they worſhipp'd the Gods *Compitales*.

9. They acknowledg'd Gods of the Woods, of the Fountains, of the Rivers, and of the Sea; ſuch as the *Satyrs*, the *Nymphs*, the *Naiads*, the *Sirens*, the *Nereids*, &c.

10. There are Authors who divide the Gods only into three Claſſes: Thoſe whom the Poets have invented, are in the firſt; thoſe of the Philoſophers take up the ſecond; and thoſe of the Legiſlators and Politicians, the third (*c*). 11.

(*a*) See *Lilio Gyraldi*, Synt. 10.

(*b*) *Servius* upon the twelfth Book of the *Æneid*, thus ſpeaks of the Name of theſe Gods: *Indigetes duplici ratione dicuntur; vel ſecundum Lucretium quod nullius rei egeant.*

Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus, nil indiga noſtri.

Vel quod nos eorum indigeamus, ut ille quidam Deos omnes Indigetes appellari volunt. Alii Patrios Deos dici debere tradunt, alii ab invocatione dictos volunt, quod indigito eſt precor & invoco, vel certe Indigites *ſunt Dii ex hominibus facti, & Dii Indigites, quaſi in Diis agentes.*

(*c*) *Varro & Scævola*, apud Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 4.

11. Others divided Heaven into ſixteen Manſions, and placed Gods in each (*a*), calling thoſe ἄξονας who were not included in any of theſe Spheres.

12. *Cicero* (1) diſtributes all the Gods into three Claſſes; the firſt is that of the celeſtial Gods, who may likewiſe be called *Majorum gentium Dii:* The ſecond is that of thoſe who had been raiſed to that Dignity by their Merit, who may be called the Demi-Gods and *Indigetes*; the third is that of the Virtues, which exalt us to Heaven, and have themſelves been deify'd.

13. *Varro* maintained that there were Gods known, and Gods unknown, and to theſe two Claſſes he reduced all the Gods of the *Gentiles.* In the firſt were thoſe whoſe Names, Functions, *&c.* were known; as the Sun, the Moon, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the reſt. In the ſecond were placed thoſe, about whom nothing certain was known, and to whom, nevertheleſs, Altars were raiſed, and Sacrifices offer'd. The Philoſopher *Albricus* (2) look'd upon the ſeven Planets, as the ſeven primary Gods of the Pagan World, whom he ranged in this Order, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Luna*, the Moon. *Pauſanias* (*b*), *Cicero*, *Heſychius*, and ſeveral other Authors, ſpeak of Altars raiſed to unknown Gods; and we ſee in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, that St. *Paul* ſays to the *Athenians: As I paſſed by and beheld your Devotions, I found an Altar with this Inſcription, To the unknown God,* ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, *Whom therefore ye ignorantly worſhip, him declare I unto you* (3). *Epimenides*, that great Prophet of the *Cretans*, was he who founded this Superſtition. Being conſulted by the *Athenians* how they might appeaſe the Gods, and put a ſtop to the Plague which was laying their Country waſte, he anſwer'd, that they were to let go into the Fields, black Sheep, and cauſe the Prieſts to go behind them and mark where they ſtopp'd, and there offer them up in Sacrifice; and from that time,

as

(*a*) *Martianus*, ſee *Lylio Gyraldi*, Synt. 10.
(1) De Leg. l. 2. (2) De Imag. Deor.
(*b*) Pauſanias in Eliacis, ἀγνώστων Θεῶν Βωμούς, Deorum ignotorum Aras.
(3) Acts xvii. 23.

as *Diogenes Laertius* remarks, ſeveral Altars were to be ſeen in the Fields, erected to unknown Gods (*a*); that is to ſay, from the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad, according to that Author, or if we take *Suidas*'s Authority, from the forty-ſecond.

14. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (1) thought all the Pagan Gods might be reduced to ſeven Claſſes. In the firſt he reckons the Stars; in the ſecond the Fruits of the Earth, and the Gods who preſide over them, *Ceres*, *Pomona*, *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, &c. The third includes the Gods of Puniſhment and Correction, as the *Furies*, and others. In the fourth he placed the Gods of Paſſions and Affections, ſuch as *Love*, *Shame*, &c. The Gods of Virtues, as Concord, Peace, *&c.* according to him, form'd the fifth Claſs. The Great Gods, whom they term'd *Dii majorum gentium*, had but the ſixth. Laſtly, the ſalutary Gods, as *Æſculapius*, *Hygieia*, *Teleſphorus*, and ſome others, were thoſe of the ſeventh.

15. *Jamblichus* the *Platonick* Philoſopher, divided the Gods into eight Claſſes (2). In the firſt he reckon'd the Great Gods, who, tho' inviſible in their Nature, are preſent in all the parts of the Univerſe, meaning, no doubt, that univerſal Spirit of whom we have already ſpoke. Superior Spirits, whom he named Archangels, poſſeſs'd the ſecond. Other Spirits of an inferior Order, the Angels, made up the third: In the fourth were the Demons. They whom he calls greater Archons, that is, the *Genii* who preſided over the ſublunary World, and over the Elements, were in the fifth; and the leſſer Archons, whoſe Power extended only to groſs terreſtrial Matter, in the ſixth. The Heroes form'd the ſeventh; and laſtly, the Souls of Men rank'd among the Gods, were in the eighth. See for this, the following Chapter.

16. Other Philoſophers of the ſame Sect comprehended all the Gods of the Pagan World, or if you will,

(*a*) Ex eo tempore per agros Atticæ aræ ſine nomine Dei viſebantur. *Diog. Laert.*

(1) In Protrept. (2) De Myſt. Sect. 2. c. 1.

11. Others divided Heaven into ſixteen Manſions, and placed Gods in each (*a*), calling thoſe ἄξονας who were not included in any of theſe Spheres.

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(*a*) *Martianus*, ſee *Lylio Gyraldi*, Synt. 10.
(1) De Leg. l. 2. (2) De Imag. Deor.
(*b*) Pauſanias in Eliacis, ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμούς. Deorum ignotorum Aras.
(3) Acts xvii. 23.

as *Diogenes Laertius* remarks, ſeveral Altars were to be ſeen in the Fields, erected to unknown Gods (*a*); that is to ſay, from the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad, according to that Author, or if we take *Suidas*'s Authority, from the forty-ſecond.

14. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (1) thought all the Pagan Gods might be reduced to ſeven Claſſes. In the firſt he reckons the Stars; in the ſecond the Fruits of the Earth, and the Gods who preſide over them, *Ceres*, *Pomona*, *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, &c. The third includes the Gods of Puniſhment and Correction, as the *Furies*, and others. In the fourth he placed the Gods of Paſſions and Affections, ſuch as *Love*, *Shame*, &c. The Gods of Virtues, as Concord, Peace, *&c.* according to him, form'd the fifth Claſs. The Great Gods, whom they term'd *Dii majorum gentium*, had but the ſixth. Laſtly, the ſalutary Gods, as *Æſculapius*, *Hygieia*, *Teleſphorus*, and ſome others, were thoſe of the ſeventh.

15. *Jamblichus* the *Platonick* Philoſopher, divided the Gods into eight Claſſes (2). In the firſt he reckon'd the Great Gods, who, tho' inviſible in their Nature, are preſent in all the parts of the Univerſe, meaning, no doubt, that univerſal Spirit of whom we have already ſpoke. Superior Spirits, whom he named Archangels, poſſeſs'd the ſecond. Other Spirits of an inferior Order, the Angels, made up the third: In the fourth were the Demons. They whom he calls greater Archons, that is, the *Genii* who preſided over the ſublunary World, and over the Elements, were in the fifth; and the leſſer Archons, whoſe Power extended only to groſs terreſtrial Matter, in the ſixth. The Heroes form'd the ſeventh; and laſtly, the Souls of Men rank'd among the Gods, were in the eighth. See for this, the following Chapter.

16. Other Philoſophers of the ſame Sect comprehended all the Gods of the Pagan World, or if you will,

(*a*) Ex eo tempore per agros Atticæ aræ ſine nomine Dei viſebantur. *Diog. Laert.*

(1) In Protrept. (2) De Myſt. Sect. 2. c. 1.

will, all the *Genii*, under two Claſſes. Thoſe whom they deſignd ἄϋλοι Immaterial, and ὑλαῖοι or Material, occupy'd the firſt; and thoſe whom they called *Mundane*, or *Supramundane*, the ſecond.

17. Some will have it that *Mercury* called *Triſmegiſtus*, allowed three Claſſes of Gods. In the firſt were thoſe whom he named Celeſtial; in the ſecond the Empyreal, and in the third the Etherial. That celebrated Author, 'tis ſaid, had compoſed a thouſand Volumes upon the Gods of the firſt Claſs, and an hundred upon each of the other two.

18. Again, the Gods were divided into publick and private ones. The firſt were thoſe whoſe Worſhip was eſtabliſhed and authorized by the Laws. The ſecond, they whom every one choſe to be the Objects of his own private Worſhip. Such were the Gods *Lares*, the *Penates*, and the Souls of their Anceſtors, whom every private Man was allowed to worſhip, in what way he had a mind.

19. The moſt general Diſtribution of the Gods, is into Natural, and Animated ones. By the former are underſtood, the Stars and other Phyſical Beings; by the latter, Men who by their Heroiſm, won divine Honours. But this, however, does not comprehend all the Gods, ſince the *Genii* of different Orders, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next Chapter, are not included in it.

20. In fine, the laſt, which is what I am to follow in treating of the Deities of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is the Diviſion of the Gods into Celeſtial, Terreſtrial, and Infernal.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nature of the Genii *or Demons.*

IN the firſt Chapter of this Book we have given Sentiments of the Philoſophers about the Nature the Gods; in the ſecond and third, the Opinions of the Poets and Hiſtorians. We have told you in the fourth, who

who they were who paſſed for Children of the Gods. In the fifth, we have ſeen the Diſtribution of the Gods into various Claſſes. We are now to examine what ſome Philoſophers underſtood by the *Genii* or Demons.

The *Platonick* Philoſophers, in the later Ages of Paganiſm, being attach'd to *Theurgick* Magick, which, according to them, raiſed the Soul to the moſt ſublime Speculation, and enabled it to contemplate the Deity himſelf, with whom it brought Man into a moſt intimate Union, as has been ſaid in the preceding Book; they, I ſay, propagated the Doctrine of *Genii* or Demons, whoſe Power extended over this lower World, and in particular over Man. *Porphyry*, the moſt celebrated of theſe Philoſophers, wrote a long Letter to *Anebo*, an *Egyptian* Prieſt, requiring he would give him light into the moſt important Subjects of Religion, and particularly as to that of thoſe *Genii*. *Jamblichus* his Diſciple, under the name of *Abamon*, another *Egyptian* Prieſt, and *Anebo*'s Maſter, anſwer'd this Letter; and this Anſwer is the Subject of that Author's Book of Myſteries.

As *Porphyry*'s Letter is nothing but a Conſultation, that Philoſopher does not always diſcover in it what are his own Sentiments; for having a mind to deal tenderly with the ſcrupulous Conſcience of *Anebo*, who looked upon all the Queſtions which he propoſes to him, as ſo many Myſteries of Religion, he ſeems to lay them before him, only as Doubts in which he wanted to be reſolv'd. At preſent, I have only occaſion for what relates to the *Genii*; thus leaving the other Subjects treated in that Letter, I ſay, *Porphyry*, tho' he has deliver'd himſelf with reſerve, has yet inform'd us in many Particularities about the Nature of thoſe Spirits, and the Effects that are attributed to them. Firſt, ſays he, we are not to ſettle their reſidence in the Æther, or that pure Air which the Gods inhabit, but in an Air more groſs, or even in our earthly Globe. He dares not even aſcribe to the Demons, all the Impoſtures and bad Actions which are laid to their charge, and with which that Philoſopher is juſtly ſhock'd; but being

being unwilling to ſpeak his mind openly againſt a receiv'd Opinion, he owns that there are good *Genii*, tho' at the ſame time he is perſuaded, that in general, all the Demons have a ſhare of Imprudence and Folly.

After having made this Diſtinction between the Demons and the Gods, that thoſe have Bodies, whereas theſe have none, he interrogates *Anebo*, whether the Men who predict future Events, or who produce ſome other wonderful and extraordinary Effect, ought to aſcribe the Cauſe thereof to their own Souls, or to thoſe Intelligences: But he himſelf decides the Queſtion, and ſeems perſuaded that ſuch Effects are to be attributed to the *Genii*; which makes him ſay, that ſome Perſons believe there are a certain Order of them who hear our Prayers, but who after all, are capable only of carrying on Impoſture and Deluſion; that theſe Spirits aſſume all ſorts of Forms, transform themſelves into various Shapes, and imitate the Gods themſelves, the Demons, and Souls departed: That theſe Spirits are they who work all manner of Wickedneſs, without producing any Good; that they give bad Counſels, ſet themſelves in oppoſition with all their might to good Actions, and bear a remarkable hatred to virtuous Perſons; that they love the ſcent of Fleſh, and of the Blood of Animals, and that they delight in being flatter'd. He comes at laſt to mention all the Impoſtures of theſe malignant Spirits who delude Mankind, whether they ſleep or wake.

This Letter is artfully written, and there can be no doubt, but *Porphyry* therein declares himſelf againſt the Exiſtence and Power of theſe *Genii* he ſpeaks of. And yet it would ſeem in ſome places, that he admits them, and that he is not always repreſenting the Sentiment of others, but his own, as St. *Auguſtin* obſerves, who has examin'd the Contents of this Letter (1). "That Men "ſhould menace the Gods, and that theſe Menaces "ſhould terrify them into a Compliance with their D "ſires, theſe are things, ſays that Father of the Church, "which raiſe *Porphyry*'s juſt Admiration; but under "pretext

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 10. c. 2.

" pretext of wondering at them, and of enquiring into " their Cauſes, he plainly enough inſinuates, that they " are the Operations of thoſe Spirits, whoſe Qualities " he before repreſented according to the opinion of " others; ſeducing Spirits, whoſe Vices have made " them ſo, and not their Nature, as he himſelf ſays " and thinks."

Be that as it will, *Jamblichus* anſwers this Letter Article by Article, and ſpeaking in the ninth Section, of what regards the *Genii*, he ſeems equally perſuaded of their Exiſtence and Power. He introduces himſelf with an acknowledgment, that this Subject is very perplexed, and lies under great Difficulties. For, ſays he, 'tis believ'd that every Man may have his Demon, either by the Influence and Aſpect of the Stars which preſide over his Birth, or that is aſſociated to him by *Theurgick* Magick. He adds, that the firſt of thoſe Means has nothing in it but what is natural, but that the ſecond depends upon Cauſes ſupernatural; and he ſeverely cenſures the Author of the Letter, tho' he does not name him, for having mention'd only the firſt of thoſe Means, on which he makes all his Difficulties to turn, without ever touching upon that which is the only true one. Then having prov'd the uncertainty of what is called *Horoſcope*, and all the other Arts of Aſtrology, he ſhews that *Theurgy*, and nothing elſe, can lead to any certain Knowledge. " 'Tis not then, concludes he, " from the poſition of the Stars at the time of our Birth, " that we have the *Genius* ſent to us, who is to preſide " over our Life: He had an Exiſtence before us, and " he it is who at the moment of Conception, makes " himſelf maſter of the Soul, and unites it to the Body. " All our Thoughts proceed from him, and we only " act conformably to the Ideas which he gives us (*a*). " In fine, he governs us intirely, till the Soul train'd " up to Perfection by the Speculations of *Theurgy*, or " of that divine Magick which unites us with God, is " releaſed from the bondage of this *Genius*, who then " either abandons, or becomes a Slave to the Soul in

(*a*) See the VI and VIIth Chapters of the ninth Section.

" its turn. This Demon, continues *Jamblichus* (1), " is not ourſelves, it is a Being independent upon us, " of an Order ſuperiour to our Soul, and not a part of " it, as *Porphyry* ſeem'd to think. As he is not ſent " to us from any particular part of the Univerſe, ſuch " as the Stars, *&c.* but by the Univerſality of Nature, " he preſides over all our Thoughts, over all our Ac- " tions, and over all our Affections: Thus, there is no " occaſion, as the Author of the Letter inſinuates, for " our having ſeveral of them, the one for Health, " the other for Beauty, *&c.* one alone ſuffices, and 'tis " ridiculous to admit one for the Body, and another " for the Soul: In vain therefore it is, that ſome Per- " ſons have inſtituted different Forms of Prayers for " their *Genii*; there is no need of any more than one, " ſince God who ſends to each of us our *Genius*, is one " in his Nature."

Thus reaſoned *Jamblichus* againſt his Maſter *Porphyry*, who did not ſeem ſo fully perſuaded as he, of the Exiſtence of thoſe *Genii*. As this myſterious Philoſophy drawn from *Plato*'s School, and ſupported by ſome Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion ill underſtood, made conſiderable progreſs in the two firſt Ages of the Church, the primitive Fathers apply'd themſelves to combat it, and found it no hard matter to triumph over the vain Reaſonings of the *Sophiſts* who maintain'd it.

Apuleius, in the Work which he compoſed upon the Demon of *Socrates*, which was, according to him, one of thoſe *Genii* we have been now ſpeaking of, after having told us that they were Spirits who had never been united to any Body, thus lays open to us the Opinion of *Plato* upon this Subject. " Of thoſe De- " mons, ſays he, *Plato* reckons that every Man has his " own, who is his Guardian, and the Witneſs not only " of his Actions, but of his very Thoughts; that at " Death, the *Genius* delivers up to Judgment the Per- " ſon who had been committed to his Charge; and if, " when the Perſon is interrogated by the Judge, his " Anſwer is found not agreeable to Truth, the *Genius* " cenſures and reprimands him very ſeverely, as on

(1) Ch. 8.

" the

" the other hand, he pronounces an Encomium upon " him when what he ſays is true; and 'tis upon " the Approbation of the *Genius* that the Doom is pro- " nounc'd; for this Demon knows whatever paſſes in " the Man, even his moſt ſecret Thoughts."

Tho' *Plato* and *Jamblichus* were of opinion that every Individual had but one of thoſe *Genii* to conduct him, and preſide over all his Actions, other Philoſophers, however, of the ſame School, were perſuaded that we had two, the one good, and the other bad; this is what we learn from *Servius*. That learned Commentator, upon this Paſſage in *Virgil*: *Quiſque ſuos patimur Manes* (1), ſays: *Volunt unicuique Genium appoſitum, Dæmonem bonum & malum; hoc eſt, rationem quæ ad meliora ſemper hortatur, & Libidinem quæ ad pejora; hic eſt Larva & Genius malus; ille bonus Genius & Lar.* " They will have it that every one has two *Genii*, the " one good, and the other bad; that is, Reaſon which " always excites Men to Good, and Luſt which " prompts them to Ill: The latter is what they call " *Larva*, or evil *Genius*; the other good *Genius*, or " *Lar*."

The Opinion of the Exiſtence of theſe *Genii* is ancienter than *Plato*, and it would be difficult to trace out its Original. Perhaps it was brought from the ſame Source whence the Author of the Book of *Enoch*, of which we have treated (2), had taken what he relates of the Angels; that is, from the Tradition, tho' corrupted and altered, of the Rebellion of theſe Angels. Be that as it will, it was an Opinion generally received, that there were multitudes of theſe Spirits, inferiour indeed to the Supreme Being, to whom they were a kind of Miniſters and Mediators, but ſuperior to Man, whoſe Guardians they were.

The Gods, ſaid ſome Philoſophers, are removed at too great a diſtance from Men, to be capable of holding any correſpondence or union with them; and it is only thro' the Intervention of thoſe Powers of a middle Nature, between God and Man, that this Cor-

(1) Æn. l. 6. v. 743. (2) L. 2. c. 5.

reſpondence and Union can be eſtabliſh'd. It is they who preſent our Prayers to the Gods, who lay our Vows before them, and who at the ſame time communicate to Men the Bleſſings which theſe ſame Gods vouchſafe to diſpenſe unto them; falſe Divinity in its Principle, ſince however perfect a Creature is conceived to be, there will always remain an infinite Diſtance between God and him; ſad Divinity in its Conſequences, ſince it ſuppoſed recluſe Deities, who being ſhut up in the Heavens, were not every where preſent themſelves by their Immenſity, but had need of the Miniſtration of other Powers, to know and relieve our Exigencies; Divinity, in ſhort, which ſtrangely perverted what the Scripture ſays of the Angels whom God has eſtabliſhed as his Miniſters: *Qui facit Angelos ſuos Spiritus*, &c.

It muſt however be allowed, that for any thing that appears, thoſe Philoſophers did not believe the *Genii* or Demons to have been Gods; but as Idolatry ſet no bounds to Superſtition, thoſe ſame *Genii* were afterwards looked upon as Divinities, and had their ſhare in the Worſhip which was paid to the Gods. Hence the Temples, Chapels, and Altars, which Antiquity informs us to have been conſecrated to them: Hence again thoſe Inſcriptions ſo common: *Genio Loci*, *Genio Auguſti*, *Junonibus*, &c. 'Tis true, thoſe *Genii* were reckon'd in the loweſt Claſs, and among what *Ovid* calls, the *Plebeian Gods* * ; but nevertheleſs they had their Altars and Sacrifices: For the very Reaſon which was given for worſhipping them, was founded upon the Refinements of ſome Philoſophers, who gave out, as ſhall be ſaid in the Reflections upon Idolatry, that God ſupremely happy, was incapable of any degree of Reſentment; but that thoſe intermediate Beings between God and Man, were often peeviſh and out of humour, wherefore it was neceſſary to offer Incenſe and Victims to appeaſe them.

Every Man therefore, according to the Principles of this Theology, had his particular *Genius*, or even two, accord-

* Plebs Deorum.

according to ſome Ancients; and this is what makes *Pliny* ſay, as we have already obſerved in ſpeaking of the Progreſs of Idolatry (1), that the number of the Gods, for he expreſly takes into the number the *Genii*, and *Junones*, who were the *Genii* of the Women, was ſo great, that they were more numerous than Men.

Of this number was the *Genius* of *Socrates*, upon which *Plutarch* and *Apuleius* have each of them compoſed a particular Treatiſe; a *Genius*, who, as he himſelf ſaid, forewarn'd him when his Friends were going to engage in any bad Enterprize, who ſtopp'd him, hinder'd him from Action, but never put him upon it. *Divinum quoddam*, ſays *Cicero*, ſpeaking of this Demon, *quod Dæmonem appellat, cui ſemper paruerit, nunquam impellenti, ſæpe revocanti.* But after all the Reaſonings have been about this pretended Demon, I adopt the Opinion of the late Abbé *Fraguier*, who, in a Diſſertation printed in the fourth Volume of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (2), aſcribes all that has been ſaid about it, to the Wiſdom and Prudence of that Philoſopher, which made him foreſee many Things, which a Man of leſs Diſcernment than he would never have thought of; for Prudence, ſays *Cicero*, is a kind of Divination. "Tis very probable then, concludes that "learned Academick whom I juſt now named (3), that "the Demon of *Socrates*, a Demon, of which ſo many "various Accounts have been given, ſo as even to "make it a queſtion whether it was a good or bad An"gel, meant nothing, after all, but the Prudence and "Wiſdom of *Socrates*, in piercing into Futurity; which "*Socrates*, according to his ironical turn of Mind, re"duced to pure Inſtinct, which, in the Poets and Rhap"ſodiſts is poetical Fury, in the Diviners prophetick "Fury; and which, filling both the one and the other "with an Illumination, which is the Mean between "Knowledge and Ignorance, ſometimes enables them "to hit right."

(1) L. III. (2) P. 360. (3) P. 371.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

General Reflexions upon Idolatry.

WE have ſeen what ſort of Gods they were whom the blinded World adored. What a mortifying Spectacle to human Nature! to ſee, for more than two thouſand Years, the whole Earth filled with Temples raiſed to vain Idols, where innocent Victims were offer'd up to criminal Deities; the richeſt Perfumes ſhed for Idols who had no ſenſation of them. Prayers were put up to Gods who were incapable of hearing their Votaries (*a*). Vain Endeavours were uſed to appeaſe them, who knew not whether they had received any Provocation; and their Aſſiſtance was implored, who all the while knew nothing of our wants. Sure Man, left to his own guidance, is a ſtrange fantaſtical Being!

Such was the forlorn State of the World, when God compaſſionating our Miſeries, ſent his own Son to this Earth. No ſooner did this new Sun ariſe, than the Darkneſs of Idolatry began gradually to diſappear. The ſpotleſs Lamb was ſoon ſeen in poſſeſſion of the Rights which the Devil had uſurp'd; and Jeſus Chriſt crucify'd, appear'd in the Center of the Capitol, inſtead of the infamous *Jupiter*.

But is it to be thought that Men of Parts gave credit to ſo groſs a Theology? Did they not ridicule the popular Fables? And had not the Philoſophers more conſiſtent Notions of the Deity? 'Tis a Queſtion very difficult to determine, what Idea the Philoſophers and Poets had of God. 'Tis certain that moſt of them were Atheiſts, and acknowledg'd no other God but Nature: They believ'd, all of them, that Matter was uncreated, and they allowed God to have no other part in the Formation of the World, but to have diſentangled the Chaos. Nor durſt they even decide, whether it was God who had preſided over that Operation, or Nature herſelf:

Hanc

(*a*) Aures habent & non audiunt, nares habent & non odorabunt. *Pſ.* cxv. 6.

*Hanc Deus, * vel melior litem Natura diremit,*
As it is in *Ovid* (1).

For in ſhort, let the Opinions of the Philoſophers be examin'd, we ſhall find they are reducible to three Claſſes, as has been ſaid in the firſt Chapter of this Book. In the firſt I reckon thoſe who allow'd only a Nature, infinite indeed and eternal, but inanimate; as *Epicurus*, *Strato*, and others. In the ſecond, thoſe who acknowledged an intelligent but material Principle; ſuch as *Zeno*, and the Stoicks his Diſciples. In fine, in the third, I include thoſe who maintain'd, like *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, that there was an Intelligence immaterial and infinite. Thoſe of the two former Claſſes were undeniably Atheiſts; thoſe of the third, more enlightned, and more rational to be ſure, erred at leaſt in not believing a Creation, and were obliged to allow Matter to be independent and eternal, as well as the Intelligence, who thereof formed the World.

A Paſſage of *Seneca*, quoted by St. *Auguſtin* (2), explains all theſe Opinions in two Words: *Ego feram*, ſaid that Philoſopher, *aut Platonem, aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter fecit Deum ſine Corpore; alter ſine Animo:* ſince here is the incorporeal God of *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, *ſine Corpore*; the God of *Strato*, inanimate Matter, *ſine Animo*; and conſequently the God of the Stoicks, who was that of *Seneca* himſelf, the Mean between the other two, Matter and Intelligence both together, or which comes to the ſame, material Intelligence.

As for the Poets, I have ſhewn at the end of the ſecond Book, what we are to think of their Theology. We may alſo add, with the celebrated M. *Boſſuet*, that nothing is more indecent, nor at the ſame time more ſhocking, than the manner in which they ſpeak of the Gods. They make Monſters of them; ſome they repreſent round, ſquare, triangular, lame, blind; they ſpeak in a ſcurrilous manner of the Amours of *Anubis* with

* I ſee 'tis in ſome very good Editions, *& melior Natura*; which is capable of being explain'd in a very juſt Senſe.

(1) Met. l. 1. (2) De Civ. Dei.

with the Moon; they tell us that *Diana* had been drubb'd; they bring in *Jupiter* making his Teſtament at the point of Death; they repreſent the Gods fighting and receiving Wounds from Mortals; they make them fly into *Egypt*, where, to conceal their Flight, they are fain to transform themſelves into Crocodiles and Lizards: *Apollo* mourns the Death of *Æſculapius*, *Cybele* of her beloved *Atys*: One baniſh'd Heaven, is obliged to keep Flocks; another reduced to the hard ſhift of labouring in Maſon-work, has not Influence enough to procure his Wages: One is a Muſician, another a Blackſmith, a third a Midwife. In a word, they have Offices aſſign'd them which are quite indecent; which ſuits better with the Buffoonery of the Stage, than with the Majeſty of the Gods.

In ſhort, what ſhall we think of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in general; of theſe two People, who look'd upon all the World beſides as Barbarians, they who had adopted the Worſhip of all the Gods of the Nations whom they conquer'd? What a monſtrous Syſtem is their Theology! What ſort of Divines are *Heſiod* and *Homer*! *Ogyges*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, *Cecrops*, and in general all the Leaders of Colonies who came from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, introduced into *Greece* the Gods of their Country, and the Ceremonies of their Worſhip. What a ſtrange Medley is their Theology! For, in fine, what kind of Religion could that be which was introduced by Sea-faring People, who came in queſt of Settlements?

Perhaps it will be ſaid, as has been already remark'd, that none but the Vulgar were Idolaters. The Corruption, on the contrary, was ſpread univerſally, and they who contemned the eſtabliſhed Religion, were commonly Atheiſts, and the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe. After all, if we judge from the Conduct of the wiſe Men of Antiquity, we can't but allow that they gave into the very groſſeſt Errors. What would we really ſay of a Man of Parts, whom we ſhould ſee with a Cenſer in his Hand, proſtrating himſelf before an Idol, or with his Eyes intent upon the Entrails of

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a Victim, where he is exploring his Deſtiny? Would we take ſuch an one for an Hypocrite, who laughs in his heart at the Gods, whom, from a political View, he invokes? But if this be the Caſe, what Rule ſhall we have whereby to judge of the Sentiments of others? 'Tis poſſible that the ſame Perſons, at going out of the Temple, might make a jeſt of the Ceremonies in which they had been joining. Does not *Cicero* rally the Augurs? Do not *Lucian* and ſome others make merry with their Gods? *Juvenal* ſays in one of his Satires, that there were none but Children who believ'd all that was ſaid of the infernal Regions, and of *Charon*.

Eſſe aliquos Manes, & ſubterranea regna,
Et Contum, & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque unâ tranſire vadum tot millia Cymbâ,
Nec pueri credunt, niſi qui nondum ære lavantur (1).

Callimachus and *Catullus* ſay much the ſame thing: *Seneca* laughs at *Jupiter*'s Gallantries, as we ſhall ſhew in the Hiſtory of that God. Did not *Dionyſius* the Tyrant order *Apollo* to be ſtripped of his golden Robe, and *Æſculapius* of his Beard, adding even a ſmart piece of Raillery (*a*)? All this is very true, but what Idea did others conceive of ſuch; were they not looked upon as Perſons impious and profane?

In a word, the Syſtem, of which we have been ſpeaking, was the predominant Religion, and few People examined it ſo as to diſcover its Faults. There uſes not to be a great deal of Reaſoning upon the Subject of Religion; the common way is for the Children to follow that of their Fathers, and but few People are converted by Reaſonings. Beſides, the Pagan Religion was not very incommodious: However incumber'd it was with Ceremonies, it allowed an entire Liberty in Morals. When a Religion is thus indulgent to People's Inclinations, they hardly think of examining into it: Would it have been agreeable to them to exchange Gods who were

(1) Juv. Sat. 6.

(*a*) He ſaid, this Habit of *Apollo* was too warm in Summer, and too cold in Winter; and of *Æſculapius*, that it was ridiculous for the Son to have a Beard, while the Father had none.

were themſelves the Models of Vices, for others who would have puniſh'd them with ſeverity? We may conclude then, that all, Philoſophers and People, followed a Religion whoſe Syſtem was ſo groſsly contriv'd.

The Learned may now rack their invention, ſays M. *Boſſuet* (*a*) with great Elegance, to find out the riſe of Idolatry, and when, and by whom it firſt began. 'Tis however certain, that Luſt and Ignorance introduced it; and that Intereſt, the Paſſions, and Voluptuouſneſs maintained it. Thus, we are not to be ſurprized at its having prevail'd ſo long in the World, where even yet it is not deſtroy'd, ſince there are People at this day who groan under the Tyranny of the Devil; nor is that happy Period yet arrived, when all the World is to acknowledge but one God, by Jeſus Chriſt. But what may give us ſurprize, is, how Idolatry has been propagated to the moſt remote Nations, and there continued till now, ſince it is certain that the modern Idolatry of the *Indies*, of *Perſia*, and the *North*, is preciſely the ſame with the ancient *Egyptian* Idolatry. The monſtrous Errors into which Men have been carry'd out, will always be the diſgrace of human Nature. Who would not indeed be ſurprized, to ſee the World, which God had made for the Manifeſtation of his Power, become a Temple of Idols (1); to ſee Man ſo blind as to adore the Work of his own Hands, and offer Incenſe to Beaſts and Reptiles: And after having ſet up theſe Idols of his, to believe there was a neceſſity of ſhedding his own Blood, in order to appeaſe them? For in fact, among every Nation of the World, Men have ſacrificed Victims of their own Species, nor is there a Country upon Earth where this barbarous Cuſtom has not been practiſed.

But if Idolatry be ſo great a Perverſion of the human Mind, ought we not to be leſs aſtoniſhed at its being deſtroy'd, than at its having continued ſo long? Its Extravagance, on the contrary, ſays the eloquent Prelate whom I do little more than copy, ſhews the difficulty there

(*a*) Diſcourſe upon Univerſal Hiſtory.
(1) Id. Ibid.

there was to ſubdue it. The World had grown old in this Error; enchanted by its own Idols, it had become deaf to the Voice of Nature, which cried aloud againſt them. Beſides, every thing was engaged in its behalf, the Senſes, the Paſſions, Luſt, Ignorance, a falſe Veneration for Antiquity, the Intereſt of Particulars, and that of the State. On one hand, nothing was ſo monſtrous as the Syſtem of Idolatry; and at the ſame time, nothing ſo deluſive. And indeed, how were the Paſſions ſoothed, by adoring Gods who had themſelves been ſubject to them, and to find examples in them to authorize and juſtify the greateſt Irregularities? Religion, inſtead of curbing, ſerv'd to deify Vice: The Conduct of the Gods, their Hiſtory renewed in the Feſtivals and Sacrifices, was wholly calculated for inſpiring Men with a fond regard to their Paſſions. Gods revengeful, impure, and debauch'd, were made for a corrupt Nature, which wants to be gratify'd without Remorſe, and with Impunity. We may add, with the ſame Author, that Idolatry was entirely calculated for Pleaſure: Diverſions, Shows, and in ſhort Licentiouſneſs itſelf, were conſecrated by it to be a part of divine Worſhip. The Feſtivals were nothing but Games, and from no Action in human Life, was Modeſty more effectually baniſhed than from the Myſteries of Religion. What Power was requiſite to reſtore the Impreſſions of the true God, which were ſo entirely defaced on the Minds of Men? How ſhall ſuch depraved Hearts be habituated to the ſtrict Rules of the true Religion, which is chaſte, an enemy to Senſuality, and ſolely attach'd to the good Things of an inviſible World?

But if Idolatry was ſo capable of ſupporting itſelf by its own Character, how was it to be overthrown when the whole World was combined in its Intereſt? 'Tis well known what the Emperors did to cruſh Chriſtianity in the bud; thoſe bloody Edicts, thoſe unheard-of Perſecutions, that Fury exerted againſt the primitive Chriſtians, that Hatred of Mankind with which they were loaded; all theſe are noted Facts. But theſe were not the moſt dangerous Weapons with which Hell had ſup-

ply'd

ply'd Idolatry, ſince the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of new Chriſtians, as *Tertullian* ſays; *Sanguis Martyrum, Semen Chriſtianorum.* Here are Enemies more formidable than the Emperors; I mean the Philoſophers, who employed all the ſhrewd Arts of a refined and deluſive Wit, to give ſome Credit to ſo bad a Cauſe. What various means did they uſe to take off the Abſurdities of their Religion? In how many different ſhapes did they repreſent Idolatry? Some, from an affected Reverence towards the Deity, maintained that every thing Divine was unknown; that it was not for Man to reaſon upon things ſo ſublime; that it was his Duty to believe the Ancients, and to follow the eſtabliſhed Religion without Reaſoning (1). And when it was remonſtrated to them that there could be but one God, they reply'd, that the divine Nature was ſo immenſe, that it could neither be expreſſed by one ſingle Name, nor under one ſingle Form; but that after all, *Jupiter* and *Mars*, *Apollo* and *Juno*, and the other Gods, were all at bottom, but one and the ſame God, whoſe infinite Perfections were repreſented by ſo many different Words: That as to the Stories of their Gods, and of their Amours, all theſe were but ſo many Allegories, whoſe deſign was to teach us the Formation of the Worlds: And that this was the Reaſon why *Love*, the moſt powerful of Gods, was ſaid to have formed the Univerſe, becauſe he had united the Elements, of which all things were compoſed.

But as this Reſource of the *Stoick* Philoſophy pav'd the way to Atheiſm, ſince after all, it was found that this God of theirs was nothing but the Univerſe, other Philoſophers (2), ſtill more ſubtile, took another way to reconcile the Unity of the ſupreme Being with the Multiplicity of the vulgar Gods. There was, ſaid they, only one God Supreme; but ſuch was his Greatneſs, that he did not meddle with Things minute; and having contented himſelf with making the Heavens and the heavenly Bodies, he had left to Subalterns the Care of framing and governing the lower World: And as they

(1) M. Boſſuet loc. cit. (2) Jamblichus, Porphyry, Celſus.

they were the Mediators between God and Men, it was neceſſary to offer Sacrifices unto them, and pay them Adoration. And when it was ſhew'd them that this Worſhip was due to none but the ſupreme God, and that it was Idolatry to confer it upon other Gods, the more ingenious among them (1) went the length of ſaying, that Sacrifice was not an Act of ſupreme Worſhip; that every thing material was impure, and therefore ought not to be offered to the Deity; that not ſo much as Language was to be employed in his Worſhip, becauſe the Organs of Speech were material, but that God was only to be adored in ſilent Meditation; all other Worſhip being unworthy ſo exalted a Majeſty. He added, that Victims and Incenſe were to be offered to thoſe malignant Spirits who would needs paſs for Gods, and whom it was neceſſary to appeaſe, for fear they ſhould do us harm.

I don't attempt a refutation of theſe vain Subtilties, which deſtroy themſelves; but all this proves, that it was not eaſy to overthrow an Error ſo univerſal and ſo deluſive. For in fine, tho' Idolatry, conſider'd in itſelf, appears only to have been the effect of brutal Ignorance; yet when traced to its Original, it will be found to be a Work of deep Contrivance, carry'd to the utmoſt exceſſes by malicious Spirits, and whoſe Security lay in the countenance it gave to criminal Paſſions. But what render'd it ſtill more difficult to be extirpated, is, its having been founded in that extravagant fondneſs which we have for our ſelves. To this undoubtedly was owing the invention of Gods like ourſelves; Gods who were nothing but Men, ſubject to our Paſſions and Weakneſſes; inſomuch that under the name of falſe Divinities, it was upon the matter their own Ideas and Pleaſures which Men adored; venerable and ſovereign Deities whom Luſt had formed. Thus the Heart of Man became the firſt Idol-Temple; and for the ſake of thoſe internal Deities, were Altars raiſed to the external ones. For as the ingenious Prelate whom I have already quoted ſeveral times ſays, *Venus* was ador'd becauſe Men ſuffer'd

(1) Porphyry.

themſelves to be enſlaved by the Paſſion of Love, and were pleaſed with their Chains: *Bacchus*, the moſt jovial of all the Gods, had his Altars, becauſe they reſign'd themſelves, and ſacrificed, as I may ſay, to ſenſual Delights, ſweeter and more intoxicating than Wine. Thus before Idols could be overthrown, it was neceſſary to controul the Dominion of Luſt, and throw down the Altar which it had raiſed to them in the Heart, a Work reſerv'd for him whoſe province it was to enlighten the Nations; to prove by his Doctrine that ſolid Joy is that which ſprings from a good Conſcience; for him who by his Death was to diſcipline the Soul of Man, depraved by ſo many Vices, diſſipated by ſo many Paſſions, to Humility, Patience, and every enduring Virtue. Accordingly it appeared by an effect equally admirable and aſtoniſhing, that while the Philoſopher, with all his fine methodical Reaſonings, was unable to overthrow one Idol, ſimple Fiſhermen, the Outcaſts of the World, who preach'd nothing but Croſſes and Mortifications, ſaw them ſink down to the Duſt, tho' ſupported by the Power of Emperors, obſtinately bent upon the Preſervation of their Worſhip.

It cannot be doubted, after the Teſtimony of the Fathers of the Church (*a*), but that the Poets, under the Name of *Jupiter*, frequently meant the ſupreme God, gave him always a Superiority over the other Gods, and looked upon him as their Lord: *Deûm Sator atque Hominum Rex*, ſays *Virgil:* They add, that all things are full of *Jupiter*, the Highways, and Places of publick Reſort, the immenſe Ocean, no leſs than the narrow Pools; his Preſence every where ſurrounds us and penetrates into our Souls. *Plenæ autem Jovis ſunt omnes equidem viæ, plena quoque hominum fora, plenumque mare & ſtagna; ubique omnes Jove repleti ſumus*, as it is in the Poet *Aratus*; and 'tis to the Words of this Poet that St. *Paul* alludes (1), when he ſays, *In ipſo vi-*

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Athenag. S. Auguſt. Euſebius, Origen. Theod. Tertull. Minuc. See Father *Thomaſſin*, *Lecture des Poetes*, tom. 1. l. 2. ch. 1, and 12.

(1) Acts xvii. 28.

vimus, movemur & ſumus, ut quidam veſtrorum Poetarum dixit: But it muſt likewiſe be owned, that for the moſt part, they underſtood by *Jupiter* no other than that ancient King of *Crete*, the Son of *Saturn*, a Prince guilty of Parricide, and defiled with a thouſand other Crimes: That they took pleaſure in recounting his Adventures upon all occaſions; and make this ſovereign Deity who govern'd all the reſt, a Slave to the moſt infamous Paſſions, and in all things neceſſarily ſubjected to the irrevocable Decrees of Deſtiny *. Thus they can by no means be vindicated from an Idolatry, equally groſs and ridiculous. Accordingly, when *Celſus* the Philoſopher would needs inſinuate that it was of ſmall Conſequence whether they gave God the Name of *Jupiter*, *Adonis*, or *Ammon*, provided they affixed to it that Idea of Sovereignty and Independency which belongs to the true God; *Origen* refutes him ſolidly (1), and lets him know, that the Chriſtians abhorred that deteſtable Maxim, of giving the Name of *Jupiter* to the true God, or the Name of God to *Jupiter*; that this was the Badge whereby a Chriſtian was diſtinguiſh'd from an Idolater. *Lactantius* and the other Fathers are of the ſame mind, and refute the vain Sophiſms of thoſe Apologiſts for Idolatry, with relation to this Subject.

But however obſtinately prejudiced the Philoſophers were, it muſt ſtill have been more difficult to change

* Mr. *Pope*, in his Note upon the *Iliad*, B. 16. v. 535. obſerves, that *Homer* aſſigns three Cauſes of all the Good and Evil that happens in this World, which he takes a particular care to diſtinguiſh: Firſt, the Will of God, ſuperior to all.——Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Il. 1. Secondly, Deſtiny or Fate, meaning the Laws and Order of Nature, affecting the Conſtitutions of Men, and diſpoſing them to Good or Evil, Proſperity or Misfortune; which the ſupreme Being, if it be his Pleaſure, may over-rule, but which he generally ſuffers to take effect. Thirdly, our own Free-will, which either by Prudence overcomes thoſe natural Influences and Paſſions, or by Folly ſuffers us to fall under them. *Odyſſ.* 1. v. 32. Ὦ πόποι, &c.

Why charge Mankind on Heav'n their own Offence,
And call their Woes the Crime of Providence?
Blind! who themſelves their Miſeries create,
And periſh by their Folly, not their Fate.

(1) Contra Celſum, l. 2, and l. 5.

their Hearts than to enlighten their Understandings; or, to ſpeak more properly, their Hearts were as oppoſite to the Severity of the Chriſtian Morals, as their Understandings were to the Truth of its Doctrines. A very glaring Inſtance of this is to be ſeen in the Conduct of *Felix* the Governor of *Judea*. St. *Paul* had no ſooner pronounced the word Reformation (1), *Quum autem de justitia, temperantia, & futuro judicio ſermo eſſet, Felix* that *Felix* diſmiſſes his Auditors, ſaying, I will hear you when *Lyſias* the chief Captain ſhall arrive. In another Diſcourſe before the ſame Governor, as Paul *reaſoned of Righteouſneſs, Temperance, and Judgment to come*, Felix *ſaid, Go thy way for this time, I ſhall call for thee at a convenient Seaſon. Quod nunc attinet, vade: Tempore autem opportuno accerſam te* (2).

BOOK VI.

Of the Gods worſhipped in the Eaſtern Countries.

A Preliminary.

AS the Countries that lay neareſt the Plain of *Shinar*, where happen'd the firſt Diſperſion of Mankind after the Deluge, were the firſt peopled, and Idolatry having begun in thoſe Countries, that we may obſerve ſome Order in the Hiſtory of the Gods which I am now to enter upon, 'tis neceſſary to ſpeak of the Deities of the eaſtern Nations, before we come to thoſe of *Greece*, *Italy*, and other weſtern Parts.

'Tis our misfortune that we have no continued Hiſtory

(1) Acts xxiv. 25. (2) Ib. ver. 25.

ſtory of the Religion of thoſe ancient Nations. Some Fragments of their Hiſtorians, ſcatter'd up and down in different Authors, and ſome Paſſages of Scripture, where mention is made of the Gods whom the People in the Neighbourhood of *Paleſtine* worſhipped, are the only helps we have for coming at the knowledge of it. 'Tis true, ſeveral learned Men of the laſt Age and of this, have attempted to reduce the confuſed Accounts of the ancient Deities of the Eaſt into ſome Order; among whom, *Selden*, *Bochart*, *Voſſius*, and in the laſt place, Mr. *Fourmont*, may be conſulted with advantage: But notwithſtanding their Conjectures, which are often extremely ingenious, eſpecially with reſpect to the Names of theſe Gods, this Subject will always remain impenetrably obſcure. We ſhall make the beſt uſe we can of the Labours of thoſe learned Men, and endeavour to give as accurate an account as poſſible of the Divinities we are to treat of in this Book.

The oriental Nations, generally ſpeaking, had hardly any other Gods but the Sun, Moon, and Planets: It was by the Worſhip of the Stars that Idolatry began, as has been already ſaid. This Religion long continued among theſe People, and, except *Egypt*, you ſhall ſcarcely find a Country where they worſhipped any Gods beſides the Sun and Moon. Accordingly, we ſhall ſee, from the whole thread of this Hiſtory I am now to give, that all the Worſhip of the eaſtern Nations was directed to theſe two Luminaries, which were adored under different Names. The Sun was the *Oſiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Hammon* of the *Libyans*, the *Saturn* of the *Carthaginians* (1), the *Adonis* of the *Phenicians*, the *Baal* or *Belus* of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Moloch* of the *Ammonites*, the *Dionyſius* or the *Urotal* of the *Arabians*, the *Mithras* of the *Perſians*, the *Belenus* of the *Gauls*. 'Tis well known, that among the *Greeks*, *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, *Liber* or *Dionyſius*, were the ſame as the Sun; *Macrobius* (2) makes it evident to a Demonſtration. What ſhall I ſay more? This Luminary was the Di-

(1) Servius in 2 Æn. (2) Sat. l. 2. c. 10.

vinity of almoſt every Nation, both in the old World and in the new.

Juſt ſo, the Moon was *Iſis* in *Egypt*, *Aſtarte* in *Phenicia*, *Alilat* among the *Arabians*, *Mylitta* among the *Perſians*; *Artemis*, *Diana*, *Dictynna*, &c. in *Greece*, in the Iſland of *Crete*, in *Delos*, and elſewhere. *Macrobius* goes yet farther (1), ſince he contends, as we have already ſaid, that all the Gods whom Paganiſm adored, owed their Origin to the Sun and Moon.

When *Alexander* made the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, theſe were the principal Gods who were there adored, and as yet they had no knowledge of thoſe of *Greece*; but the *Greeks*, who were fond of being thought a very ancient People, after having introduced thither the Worſhip of their Gods, pretended that moſt of them were the ſame with thoſe of the Nations they had conquered. Two Examples, among many which might be given, will make this evident. Having obſerved ſome Conformity between what was ſaid of *Baal* of the *Phenicians*, and what they themſelves fabled of their *Saturn*, they did not ſcruple to ſay, that the great *Phenician* Divinity was *Saturn*. Having in like manner remark'd what infamous Debauchery was practiſed in the Worſhip of ſome female Deity of that People, they concluded, that this could be no other than their *Venus*.

After theſe Preliminaries, we come to the particular Subject, beginning with the Gods of *Egypt*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Gods of the Egyptians.

THE *Hebrews* having dwelt a long time in *Egypt*, where they ſometimes ſuffered themſelves to be drawn away by the Superſtitions of that idolatrous People, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* upbraids them, and as appears from the Golden Calf which they worſhipped in the Wilderneſs, we might expect to have the Hiſtory of the *Egyptian* Religion delivered in the Books of *Moſes*; but tho' the *Pentateuch* ſeems principally written

(1) Loc. cit.

ten for the Extirpation of Idolatry, and tho' the Author of this Book is every now and then uſing Exhortations, Prayers, and Threatnings; tho' he therein names with Indignation, the Gods of the Nations whom the *Iſraelites* were to conquer, yet he enters not into any particular Account of the *Egyptian* Divinities, contenting himſelf in the Precepts which he preſcribed to the *Jews*, to point at them in general, to inſpire them with all the abhorrence of thoſe falſe Divinities, which they deſerv'd, and to wrap up the whole Hiſtory of the Idolatry of that ancient People, under the general Name of the *Abominations* of *Egypt*. Perhaps he declined to revive ſo unhappy a Remembrance, knowing how dangerous it might have been with reſpect to the fickle and inconſtant Nation he had to do with. He ſpeaks however of thoſe Gods, tho' in a general way; and from what he ſays of them, *Selden* has been able to trace an Affinity between the Words of *Moſes*, and what Antiquity informs us of the *Egyptian* Gods. Accordingly, when that ſacred Legiſlator (1) tells the *Jews*, that they had ſeen no Figure, and no Image, when God ſpake to them in *Horeb*, leſt being corrupted thereby, they ſhould make to themſelves Repreſentations of Man or Woman; *Non vidiſtis aliquam Similitudinem in die qua locutus eſt vobis Dominus in Horeb, de medio ignis, ne forte decepti, faciatis vobis ſculptam Similitudinem aut Imaginem maſculi vel fœminæ*; it would ſeem that this reſpects the Figures of the Gods repreſented by the *Egyptians*, under a human Form. When he ſubjoins, Nor the Similitude of any Animal that is upon the Earth: *Similitudinem omnium jumentorum quæ ſunt ſuper terram*, he ſeems to allude to the Oxen *Apis* & *Mnevis*, to the Goat worſhipped at *Mendes*; to the Cats and Dogs, that is, to the Goddeſs *Buboſtis*, and to the God *Anubis*, repreſented under the Figures of thoſe Animals. By theſe Words, *Vel avium ſub cælo volantium, Or of Birds which fly in the airy Regions*; 'tis obvious that he is alluding to the Birds worſhipped in the ſame Country, ſuch as the *Ibis*, the *Ichneumon*, and ſome others: And

(1) Deut. iv. 16, & ſeq.

by theſe, *Or of Reptiles which crawl upon the Earth, or of Fiſhes which are in the Waters*; *atque Reptilium qui moventur in terra*; *ſive Piſcium qui ſub terrâ moventur in aquis*; he means the Oxyrinchus, the Crocodile, in a word, the Fiſhes and the Inſects which were the Objects of Worſhip to that ſuperſtitious People. In fine, when he ſays to his People, "Leſt thou lift up thine "Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou ſeeſt the Sun and "the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Hoſt of Hea"ven, thou ſhouldſt be enticed to worſhip them, and "ſerve Creatures which God hath created to be beneficial "to all the Nations under Heaven;" *Ne forte elevetis oculos ad cælum, videas Solem & Lunam, & omnia Aſtra cæli, & errore deceptus adores ea, & colas quæ creavit Dominus tuus in Miniſterium cunctis gentibus quæ ſub cælo ſunt*; it would ſeem that he had a mind to point out *Sabiſm*, and guard the *Jews* againſt that ſort of Idolatry, which he mentions laſt, tho' probably it was the firſt Religion of the *Egyptians*, who, as I have remark'd with reſpect to them, and all the idolatrous Nations, offered Adoration to the heavenly Bodies, before they came to worſhip other parts of Nature, and at laſt to deify'd Men, which I take to have been the laſt Exceſs to which Idolatry was carry'd.

Be that as it will, the ancienteſt of the prophane Hiſtorians, and he who ſpeaks in the moſt knowing manner of the Religion of the *Egyptians*, is *Herodotus*; ſo that before we enter into the particular Hiſtory of the Divinities of that ancient People, it is proper to quote all that he ſays of them. The *Egyptians*, according to him (1), are the firſt People in the World who knew the Names of the twelve great Gods, and from them the *Greeks* had learned them. They too are the firſt who erected Altars to the Gods, made Repreſentations of them, raiſed Temples to them, and had Prieſts for their Service, excluding wholly the other Sex from the Prieſthood. Never was any People, continues he, more religious. There are in *Egypt* two ſorts of Writing, the one common, and the other ſacred, and this laſt

(1) Herod. l. 2.

laſt is ſolely ſet apart for the Myſteries of Religion. The Prieſts of this Country ſhave their whole Body every third day. Cloathed in Linnen, with Sandals made of the Plant named *Papyrus*, they are not allowed to wear other Apparel, nor other covering for their Feet. They are obliged to bathe themſelves in cold Water twice a day, and as often by night. So ſcrupulouſly exact muſt they be in the choice of the Victims which they are to offer to their Gods, that they are puniſhed with Death if they offer up any which have not the qualities requiſite. The Victim being led to the Altar, they kindle a Pile, and after having offered a Libation of Wine, they kill the Sacrifice, cut off its Head, and flea the reſt of the Body: As for the Head, after having loaded it with Curſes, they carry it to Market, and ſell it to the *Greek* Merchants; and if none of that Nation are to be found there, they throw it into the River. The Curſe which they pour out upon this part of the Victim, is to this purpoſe: *If there be any Evil to come upon any part of* Egypt, *may it light upon this Head.* Thus it is, continues our Author, that they ſacrifice thro' the whole Kingdom, and hold the Heads of Victims in ſuch deteſtation, that they even abſtain from eating that of any Animal. The Victim being flea'd, and the Prieſts having put up ſome Prayers, they take out the Guts, and leave the reſt of the Entrails and the Fat, cut off the Legs of the Beaſt, the Kidney and the Shoulders; and ſtuff its Body with pure Loaves, of Honey, Raiſins, Figs, Incenſe, Myrrh, and other Odours; and after having poured Oil thereon, they diſtribute the reſt of the Victim for the Feaſt. The Prieſts always offer Sacrifice faſting, and all the Victims muſt be Males, the Females being conſecrated to *Iſis*.

Farther, ſays he, all the *Egyptians* don't adore the ſame Gods, except *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, their great Divinities. They take *Oſiris* to be the ſame with *Bacchus* or *Dionyſius*. They who inhabit *Thebais*, have a great veneration for the Sheep, and offer only Goats in Sacrifice; while thoſe of *Mendes* revere the Goats, and offer

offer to their God none but Sheep. The former give this Reaſon for their having a veneration for Sheep: *Hercules*, ſay they, being paſſionately deſirous to ſee *Jupiter*, this God cloath'd himſelf with the Skin of a Ram, and appeared to him under that Diſguiſe. This, according to the Hiſtorian, is the Reaſon why thoſe of *Thebais* repreſent *Jupiter* with a Ram's Head, look upon that Animal as ſacred, and abſtain from offering any of them in Sacrifice, except once a year, on the day of *Jupiter*'s Feſtival; when, to eternize the Memory of his Appearance to *Hercules*, they ſacrifice one of them, cover with its Skin the Statue of the God, and place by it that of his Son, as if he was appearing to him anew.

I am informed, ſays *Herodotus*, that the *Egyptians* took their *Hercules* into the number of their twelve great Gods: For, as to the *Greek Hercules*, adds he, I have been able to learn nothing of him in the Country. Whence we may conclude, that it was not from the *Greeks* the *Egyptians* received the Name of that God; but that, on the contrary, the *Greeks* had learned it from the *Egyptians*. And what perſuades me of it, *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, whom the *Greeks* give out to be the Father and Mother of *Hercules*, were Natives of *Egypt*. Add to this, that the *Egyptians* have no knowledge of *Neptune*, nor of the *Dioſcuri*; how then ſhould they have learned from the *Greeks* the Name of *Hercules*, without ſo much as having ever heard of their other Gods?

Herodotus, who appears to have been particularly inquiſitive about what concerns this God, tells us, that in order to his better Information, he had gone to *Tyre*, a *Phenician* City, becauſe he had heard that *Hercules* had a famous Temple in that City; that accordingly he found that Temple adorn'd with magnificent Preſents, and that there were two Statues of that God, the one of Gold, and the other of a precious Stone, which caſt a great Luſtre during the Night; that he had ask'd the Prieſts, if this Temple was ancient, to which they anſwer'd, that it was as old as the City, which had ſtood two thouſand three hundred Years; a Date ancienter

cienter than the *Greeks*. He adds, that there was in the ſame City another Temple, dedicated to *Hercules Thaſius*, and that having gone over to *Thaſos*, he had there ſeen a Temple built in honour of that God, by thoſe who carried off *Europa*; an Event prior to the Birth of the *Greek Hercules* by five Generations. Whence he concludes, that *Hercules* is an ancient Divinity, and that the *Greeks* do well to honour two of them; the one as an immortal God (*a*), the other as an Hero (*b*).

The ſame Hiſtorian adds ſeveral things beſides concerning the Religion of the *Egyptians*, their Feſtivals, and their Sacrifices, which I ſhall quote afterwards.

I am fully perſuaded, as I ſaid elſewhere, that Idolatry was not ſo groſs, nor ſo encumber'd with Ceremonies in its beginnings, as it was afterwards; and that the People I ſpeak of, admitted at firſt but a ſmall number of Gods, that is the Stars and the Elements. If we even credit *Plutarch*, we muſt not confound with the reſt of *Egypt*, thoſe of *Thebais*, whoſe Religion was much purer than that of the other *Egyptians*. The Inhabitants of *Thebais*, ſays this Author, according to the Correction of *Voſſius*, *are exempt from thoſe Superſtitions, ſince they acknowledge not any mortal God, admitting for the firſt Principle only the God* Cneph, *who has no beginning, and is not ſubject to death* (*c*). 'Tis even certain, that ſo many monſtrous Figures, under which the *Egyptians* repreſented their Gods, were either the effect of Prieſtcraft, or owing to the Reveries of thoſe of their Philoſophers, who believed the Tranſmigration of Souls, or the Product of the Imagination of Painters and Sculptors. *Cicero* gives this account of the *Roman* Gods: *The Gods exhibit ſuch Figures as Painters and Sculptors have been pleaſed to give them. Nos Deos omnes ea facie novimus, qua Pictores Fictoreſque voluerunt* (1). This Licence does not reſpect the earlier times, when perhaps the *Egyptians* them-

(*a*) Surnam'd *Olympian*. (*b*) See Vol. III. The Article of the Heroes.

(*c*) See what is ſaid of this God afterwards.

(1) De Nat. Deor.

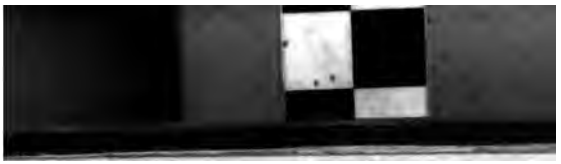
themſelves had not ſo much as dreamed of repreſenting the Gods under the Figures of Men or Animals. I add, that this laſt ſort of Repreſentation owes its Origin to the Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, which taught that the Soul paſſed after Death into the Body of Animals. Hence thoſe monſtrous Figures of ſo many *Egyptian* Divinities, whereof ſome appeared with the Head of a Cat; others with that of an Ape, a Hawk, an Ibis, a Dog, *&c.* ſuch as thoſe to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the Curious. But I ſhall explain this Part of the *Egyptian* Mythology in another Chapter of this Book.

Herodotus ſpeaks in ſeveral places, ſometimes of eight great Gods, then of twelve others worſhipped by the *Egyptians*: but he does not name them exactly.

Tho' *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, according to this Author, and all the Ancients, were the moſt reverenced Gods of *Egypt*, and were honour'd in all the Country, whereas the others were only ſo in particular *Nomes* (*a*); yet I am of opinion, that they were neither the chief, nor the moſt ancient ones. Here is the Order in which they are put by Mythologiſts. At the head of their Liſt, they put *Vulcan* and *Veſta*, that is the Fire; then come *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Ceres*, *Neith*, or *Minerva*, the *Nile*, or rather the Ocean; for that River was ſo called of old; *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mars*, *Hammon*, confounded afterwards with *Jupiter*; and laſtly, a third *Jupiter* ſurnam'd *Uranius*, or the Celeſtial. After theſe twelve great Gods came *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, whom they named likewiſe *Seth*, *Bebon*, or *Smyt*, according to *Plutarch*, *Nepthe* his Wife, *Venus*, *Orus*, the Son of *Iſis*, *Arueris* more ancient than *Orus*, and the Model of the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*: *Canopus*, *Bubaſtis* or *Diana*, *Harpocrates*, *Anubis*, whence came the *Greek Mercury*: *Macedo*, the Son of *Oſiris*, *Pan*, or *Mendes*, *Mars*, *Triptolemus*, *Hercules*, *Mercury Triſmegiſtus*, *Anteus*, *Buſiris* and *Prometheus*: Laſtly, *Serapis*, whom ſome Authors confound with *Oſiris*.

I ſhould have ſet at the head of this Catalogue, *Cneph*,

(*a*) This word ſignifies the different Prefectures of *Egypt*.



Cneph, the God of *Thebais*, a Being eternal and immortal, whom they look'd upon as the Author of all things. It was this firſt Principle whom they repreſented at *Dioſpolis*, under the Figure of a Man, who had a Plume of Feathers upon his Head, and held in his Hand a Scepter and a Girdle. Out of his Mouth came an Egg, whence ſprung forth *Phta*, or the World, as we have explain'd at more length in the Article of the *Egyptian* Theogony. The great Chronicle, cited by M. *Fourmont* (1), gives a different Liſt, and ſeems to confine the number of the *Egyptian* Gods to eight, and their Demi-Gods to nine. The former are *Memnon*, *Vulcan*, the *Sun*, *Agathodæmon*, *Chronos*, *Iſis*, *Oſiris*, another whom it does not name, laſtly *Typhon*. The Demi Gods are *Orus*, *Mars*, *Anubis*, *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Ammon*, *Tithois*, *Seſus*, *Jupiter*; whereupon I ſhall make three Remarks. Firſt, that this Chronicle cannot be of primitive Antiquity; for *Herodotus* ſpeaking of the Gods adored in *Egypt*, makes no mention of their Demi-Gods. He even poſitively ſays, that the *Egyptians* were not acquainted with any Hero, that is, with any Demi-Gods. Secondly, that this Chronicle contradicts ſoundeſt Antiquity, ſince it ranks among the Demi-Gods, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, &c. who certainly were of the number of the Great Gods among the *Egyptians*. But thirdly, 'tis neceſſary in order to underſtand the Hiſtory of all the Religions which were the Offspring of Paganiſm, to obſerve that they underwent many Changes; that new Gods were added to them; and that the Worſhip of the Ancients was ſometimes even entirely aboliſh'd. Thus it is not ſurprizing to find the Liſts which are given of the Gods of ſome Nations, and the Rank which they hold therein, to be ſo different.

* There would be no end were we to add to theſe two Liſts an infinite number of other Gods, whom every one choſe according to his own humour, to be the Objects of his Worſhip; or thoſe whom the Opinion of the Metempſychoſis had hatched, by teaching that the Souls

(1) Rech. Crit.

Souls of great Men paſſed into the Stars, and ſometimes into Animals, or into ſimple Plants. It was upon this Foundation they fabled, that the Soul of *Iſis* dwelt in the Dog-Star, which they named *Sothis*; that of *Orus*, in *Orion*; that of *Oſiris*, in the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*; that of *Typhon*, in the Conſtellation of the Bear; thoſe of *Mercury*, *Diana*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Saturn* or *Chronos*, in the Planets of their Name.

After having thus repreſented the Subſtance of the ancient Religion of the *Egyptians*, we muſt come to ſome more particular Account of the Gods, whom we have now named, and then explain the Nature of that Worſhip which was paid to them. But I would premiſe, that in this Book, I am only to ſpeak of thoſe whoſe Worſhip was always confined to *Egypt*, or which was not admitted till very late into *Greece* and *Italy*. The Hiſtory of the reſt, of whom the Knowledge was introduced among the *Greeks* by the ancient Colonies, and who formed the Religion of that People, ſhall be the Subject of the third and fourth Volumes, where I ſhall take care to mark the time of their Tranſportation.

ARTICLE I.

The Hiſtory of Oſiris *and* Iſis.

According to *Herodotus* and all the Ancients, *Oſiris* and *Iſis* were the two great Divinities of the *Egyptians*, and the moſt generally worſhipped in all the Country; and almoſt the whole Mythology of that ancient People is included in what their Prieſts fabled about them. What throws a great Obſcurity over their Hiſtory, is, that ſometimes they conſidered them as Perſons who had formerly govern'd *Egypt* with a great deal of Wiſdom and Prudence; at other times as Beings of an immortal Nature, who had framed the World, and ranged Matter into the Form which it retains at this very day.

They who make *Oſiris* and *Iſis* to have been human Perſons, are all agreed, that they were Brother and Siſter; but they differ about their Parents. The moſt common Opinion is that which *Diodorus Siculus* reports (1). The Sun, according to this Hiſtorian, was

(1) L. 1.

the first who reigned in *Egypt*; *Vulcan* succeeded him, then *Saturn*, who having married *Rhea* his Sister, had by her *Isis* and *Osiris*.

To give some light to a Subject so perplex'd, I am first to recite the *Egyptian* Mythology concerning *Isis*, *Osiris*, and *Typhon*: 2. Explain the Fables which the *Greeks* have intermix'd with it: 3. Enquire what there may be historical in this Subject: 4. In the last place, speak of the Worship which was paid to those Divinities.

Egyptian *Mythology, in relation to* Isis *and* Osiris.

The *Egyptians* seeing Good and Evil equally prevalent in the World, and not being able to conceive a Being essentially good, to be capable of permitting Evil, far less to be the Author thereof, were the first who invented two Principles, the one good, the other bad, and introduced this Error, which has since made such progress (*a*). They represented the good Principle under the Name of *Osiris*, and the bad one under that of *Typhon*: Hence the Wars and Persecutions of the latter against his Brother, whom he afterwards cut off. As they attributed all the Evil that reign'd in the World to *Typhon*, so they considered *Osiris* as the Author of all the Good. The Creation of the World, a long time disputed and retarded by the Machinations of the evil Principle, the Order and Harmony which there prevail'd, were the Work of *Osiris*: All the Troubles, the Horror, the Wars, and, in a word, all the Evils that ravage the Universe, proceeded from *Typhon*.

Plutarch, who, in his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, has preserv'd to us ancient Traditions which are no where else to be found, says, three Qualities were acknowledged in the good Principle, of whom, the one performed the Office of Father, and this was *Osiris*; the other that of Mother, who was *Isis*; lastly, that of Son, and here is their *Orus*, the first Production of the Father and Mother. The *Egyptians*, according to the same Author, vented a thousand other Fables upon the same Subject, which may be seen in the Treatise now quoted;

(*a*) See what has been said of it in the Treatise of Idolatry.

quoted; but the moſt extravagant of all, in my Opinion, is that notion concerning *Iſis* and *Oſiris* having been conceived in the ſame Womb, and married in their Mother's Belly, by which Marriage, *Iſis*, at her very Birth, was with child of *Arueris*. Their Prieſts related in a thouſand different ways, the Wars and Perſecutions of *Typhon* againſt *Oſiris* his Brother, and *Iſis* his Siſter-in-law: And my ſuppreſſing the particular Account thereof, is only to ſave the Reader the trouble of ſurveying either things contradictory, or an extremely groſs Syſtem of Phyſicks.

All the *Egyptian* Theology was therefore concealed under the Symbols of theſe two Divinities. *Oſiris* among them was the Sun, the firſt Object of their Idolatry, and *Iſis*, the Moon; and their very Names have a reference to thoſe two Planets, ſince in their Language, *Oſiris* denotes, *One who ſees clear*; and *Iſis*, the *Ancient*, an Expreſſion which among them ſignify'd the Moon. All the Learned agree, that the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, conſecrated to *Oſiris* after his Apotheoſis, were the Symbols of the Sun. Thus, whether it was that the *Egyptian* Prieſts, to cover the Hiſtory of this Prince from the eyes of the People, gave out that he was really the Sun, or whether, acknowledging *Oſiris* to have been a mortal Man who had governed *Egypt*, and conferred many Bleſſings upon it, they were willing to paſs it upon the World, that his Soul was gone to reſide in that Orb, ſtill they agreed that he was now become that radiant Luminary, who by the benign Influences of his Beams, diffuſes Fertility and Plenty over all, and that to him, Vows, Prayers, and Sacrifices were to be addreſs'd. Thus was the Worſhip of *Oſiris* confounded with that of the Sun, and that of *Iſis*, with what was paid to the Moon. Thus, the Prieſts had found the art of making Idolatry not ſo groſs, by ſaying, it was not a mortal Man, but an eternal Star, which was the Object of publick Adoration.

The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors extended ſtill farther this *Egyptian* Mythology concerning *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, ſince, according to them, they comprehended all Nature,

ture, and all the Gods of that ancient People. There is in the hands of the Antiquaries, a Monument which had been raiſed by *Arrius Balbinus*, where this Inſcription is to be ſeen. *Goddeſs* Iſis, *who art one and all things*. *Plutarch* (1) ſays, that at *Sais*, in the Temple of *Minerva*, whom he takes to be the ſame with *Iſis*, there was one to this effect: *I am whatever has been, is, and ſhall be; and none among Mortals has ever taken off my Veil.* *Apuleius* (2) puts theſe Words in the mouth of that Goddeſs: *I am Nature, the Mother of all things, the Miſtreſs of the Elements, the Beginning of Ages, the Sovereign of the Gods, the Queen of the Manes . . . . . My Divinity, uniform in itſelf, is worſhipped under different Names, and by different Ceremonies: The* Phrygians *name me* Peſſinuntian, *Mother of the Gods*; *the* Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; *thoſe of* Cyprus, Venus; *thoſe of* Crete, Diana Dictynna; *the* Sicilians, Proſerpine; *the* Eleuſinians, *the ancient* Ceres; *others*, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, Rhamnuſia; *laſtly, the* Egyptians *and their Neighbours*, Iſis, *which is my true Name.*

According to *Herodotus*, the *Egyptians* took *Iſis* for *Ceres*, and believ'd that *Apollo* and *Diana* were her Children, and that *Latona* had only been their Nurſe, contrary to the Opinion of the *Greeks*, who looked upon her as their Mother. According to the ſame Author, *Apollo* and *Orus*, *Diana* and *Bubaſtis*, *Ceres* and *Iſis* are the ſame: Hence it is, continues he, that *Æſchylus* makes *Diana* the Daughter of *Ceres*.

In fine, the Mythologiſts aſſert that *Iſis* and *Oſiris* included under different Names almoſt all the Gods of Paganiſm, ſince, according to them, *Iſis* is *Terra*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, the Moon, *Minerva*, *Cybele*, *Venus*, *Diana*, and in one word, all Nature; and this they give for the Reaſon why that Goddeſs was called *Myrionyma*, that is, who has a thouſand Names. Juſt ſo, in their Opinion, *Oſiris* is *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſius*, *the Sun*, *Serapis*, *Pluto*, *Ammon*, *Pan*, *Apis*, *Adonis*, &c. But 'tis time to come to the hiſtorical Part of this ancient My-

(1) De Iſid. (2) Met.

thology. Let us begin with what we learn thereof from the *Greeks*.

Hiſtory of Iſis *and* Oſiris.

What the Greeks *thought of* Iſis. As they would needs reduce all Antiquity to their Hiſtory, they have not been wanting to give out, that the Fable of *Iſis* was originally from *Greece*; and therefore have confounded that Goddeſs with *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus* King of *Argos*. *Ovid*, who had collected in his *Metamorphoſes*, moſt of the ancient Traditions of the *Greeks*, thus recites this Fable (1).

Jupiter fell in love with *Io*, and to eſcape the Fury of *Juno* who was jealous of this Intrigue, he changed her into a Heifer. *Juno*, who appear'd to be touch'd with the Beauty of this fair Heifer, aſk'd her of him, and *Jupiter* not daring to refuſe her, for fear of increaſing her Suſpicions, ſhe gave her to the Cuſtody of *Argus* who had an hundred Eyes, enjoining him to uſe all his endeavours that ſhe might not be ſtolen from him. But *Jupiter* ſent *Mercury*, who having laid the vigilant Keeper faſt aſleep by the ſoft Muſick of his Flute, cut off his Head, and ſet *Io* at liberty. *Juno* incenſed, ſent a Fury to perſecute that unhappy Princeſs, who was ſo tormented with her Stings, that no where could ſhe be at reſt, ſhe wandered from Place to Place, croſs'd over the Sea, came firſt to *Illyrium*, paſſed Mount *Haemus*, arrived in *Scythia*, and in the Country of the *Cimmerians*; and after having wandered thro' ſeveral other Countries, ſhe ſtopp'd at laſt on the Banks of the *Nile*, where *Jupiter* having appeas'd *Juno*, reſtored her former Figure. Here it was ſhe brought forth *Epaphus*; and having died ſome time after, the *Egyptians* worſhipped her under the Name of *Iſis*.

It is eaſy to ſee that this is a true Hiſtory, diſguiſed by Fictions intermixed with it; but to come to a full diſcovery of its Truth is exceeding difficult. There are three Opinions about the famous *Io*.

The

(1) Met l. 5. Fable of *Io*.

he

The firſt is that of almoſt all the *Greeks (a)*, who to get the honour to themſelves of ſo renowned a Goddeſs, gave out that ſhe was the Daughter of *Inachus* the firſt King of *Argos*; that *Jupiter* raviſh'd her, and carried her into the Iſland of *Crete*; that he had a Son by her named *Epaphus*, King of *Egypt*, Father of *Libya* (1); that ſhe paſſed from thence into *Egypt*, where ſhe married *Oſiris*. The ſame Authors ſay, that this *Oſiris* (2) was the ſame with *Apis* the Son of *Phoroneus*, ſecond King of *Argos*, who having left the Kingdom to *Egialeus* his Brother, came and ſettled in *Egypt*, where he ſo ſignaliz'd himſelf during his Reign, that he was deify'd after his Death, under the Name of *Serapis*.

According to this Account, the Fable of *Ovid* is capable of a good enough Explication, by ſaying that *Io*, the Prieſteſs of *Juno*, was beloved by *Jupiter Apis*, King of *Argos* (3); that *Niobe* his Wife, who was likewiſe called *Juno*, having conceived a jealouſy of her, put her under the guard of her Uncle *Argus*, a Man extremely vigilant, which made the Poets give him ſo many Eyes; that *Apis* put him to death to recover his Miſtreſs, who to ſhun the Reſentment of *Niobe*, embark'd in a Ship which bore the figure of a Cow upon its Forecaſtle, which gave riſe to the Story of her Transformation; and that ſhe was afterwards deliver'd of *Epaphus*: But we muſt not imagine, as ſome Authors have done, that ſhe paſſed into *Egypt*; and that after having changed her Name, the *Egyptians* honour'd her as a Goddeſs, that in a word, ſhe is the ſame with *Iſis*. As little are we to think, that *Serapis* is the ſame with *Oſiris*. I know that St. *Auguſtin*, after *Varro*, derives the Name of *Serapis*, from that of *Apis* King of *Argos*, and the word *Soros*, which imports a Coffin, becauſe that before they had built a Temple to him, they paid him divine Honours in the Tomb where he was put after his Death *(b)*; for 'tis

(a) Apollodorus, l. 1. c. 6. Pauſanias, Strabo, Diodorus, &c.
(1) See the ſecond Volume. (2) See *Diodorus*. (3) Voſſ. de Idol. L. 1.
(b) Voſſius de Idol. l. 6. derives the Name of *Serapis* from *Sava Nepos*, and reckons *Serapis* is the ſame with *Joſeph*. M. *le Clerc* brings it from *Sur Abbir*, which imports Prince.

'tis pretty probable that St. *Auguſtin* is miſtaken, by following, as to this Article, the Traditions of the *Greeks*, adopted long before his time by the *Romans*. Never did *Apis* King of *Argos* come and ſettle in *Egypt*, nor was there among that People another *Apis*, but the Ox which bore that Name, as the learned *Marſham* (1) undeniably proves. It was the ſimilitude of the Names, and the double Meaning of the word *Soros*, that led the *Greeks* to ſay he was the ſame with *Oſiris*, becauſe in fact, the Ox was conſecrated to him.

The ſecond Opinion, with relation to *Io*, is that of *Pauſanias*, who reckons that this Princeſs was really a Native of *Greece*, but that ſhe was leſs ancient than the other, of whom we have been now ſpeaking. She was not the Daughter of *Inachus*, but of *Iaſus*, Son to *Triopas*, ſeventh King of *Argos*; and to be ſure, if *Danaus* and *Egyptus* his Grandſons lived only about the 1420th Year before Jeſus Chriſt, which is the time when the firſt of theſe Princes paſſed into *Greece*, *Io* muſt needs have lived long after *Inachus*. We may add, in confirmation of this Opinion, what *Herodotus* ſays (2), that *Io* was ſtolen away by *Phenician* Merchants to the flouriſhing City *Argos*; for beſides, that this City got its Name only from *Argus* its fourth King, is it likely that it was a flouriſhing City in the time of *Inachus* its Founder?

We grant there was in *Greece* a Princeſs named *Io*, whether ſhe was the Daughter of *Inachus* or of *Iaſus*; that ſhe was beloved by a Prince who bore the Name of *Jupiter*, and that he is the very ſame whom ancient Mythology has called the *Jupiter* of *Argos* (*a*)! We even allow what *Herodotus* ſays in the beginning of his Hiſtory, that this Princeſs was carry'd off by *Phenician* Merchants, in repriſal for the Rape of *Europa* the Daughter of *Argos*, King of *Phenicia*; but ſhe never paſſed into *Egypt*, and cannot be confounded with *Iſis*, who is more ancient than ſhe by ſeveral Ages, without overthrowing all the Traditions of the *Egyptians*. *Io* was

(1) In Chronic. (2) L. 1.
(*a*) See the Hiſtory of *Jupiter*, Vol. 2.

was perſecuted by *Juno*, who made her wander over the whole face of the Earth; *Iſis*, who met with the ſame Treatment from her Brother-in-law *Typhon*, never came out of *Egypt*. The one, after having been Miſtreſs to a King of *Argos*, was carry'd off by Strangers; the other was married to her Brother *Oſiris*, and lived with him in great Concord and Harmony. *Iſis* taught the *Egyptians* ſeveral uſeful Arts of Life; we have no ſuch Account given of *Io*. What then could give the *Greeks* a handle to confound theſe two Perſons? I anſwer, it was the introduction of the Worſhip of *Iſis* into *Greece*, eſpecially into the City *Argos*. For, as *Herodotus* judiciouſly remarks, the introduction of the Worſhip of ſome God into a foreign Country, was conſidered as the Birth of that ſame God in the Place where that Worſhip was eſtabliſhed. *Inachus* taught the *Greeks* to pay honour to *Iſis*, the *Greeks* looked upon her as his Daughter. *Cecrops* afterwards brought into *Attica* the Worſhip of *Minerva*, who was the Goddeſs of *Sais* his Country; and this, in like manner, gave riſe to the Fable, that this Goddeſs, whom the *Greeks* named *Athene*, was that Prince's Daughter. Hence we ſee, how juſt the Reflection of *Herodotus* is, and at the ſame time, that we need ſeek for no other Origin of this Fable.

As for the Perſecutions of *Juno*, which *Ovid* ſo particularly deſcribes, we may ſay with a great deal of probability, that the Poet alludes to the Jealouſy of the King of *Argos*'s Wife, who perhaps cauſed her Rival to ſuffer many Severities; and if the Husband was called *Jupiter*, the Wife might very well paſs under the Name of *Juno*. But 'tis time to relate the Hiſtory of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.

The *Egyptians*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), and *Plutarch* (2), aſſert that this Princeſs was born in their Country; that ſhe match'd with *Oſiris*; that he liv'd with her in perfect Harmony, and that both of them made it their buſineſs to poliſh and civilize their Subjects, to teach them Agriculture, and ſeveral

(1) L. 1. (2) Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.

other neceſſary Arts of Life. *Diodorus* adds, that *Oſiris* having form'd a deſign of making an Expedition to the *Indies*, to conquer them, not ſo much by force of Arms as by gentle Means, raiſed an Army made up of Men and Women; and after having ſettled *Iſis* Regent of his Kingdom, and left about her *Mercury* and *Hercules*, the former to be her chief Counſellor, and the other the Lieutenant of his Provinces, he ſet out upon his Expedition, where he was ſo ſucceſsful, that all the Countries whither he came ſubjected themſelves to his Empire. His Journey was a perpetual Triumph. The ſame Author ſays, he firſt over-run *Æthiopia*, where he raiſed Dykes againſt the Inundations of the *Nile*; that from thence he travers'd *Arabia*, the *Indies*, and came next into *Europe*, invaded *Thrace* and the neighbouring Countries, left every where Marks of his Beneficence, reduced Men, then intirely ſavage, to the ſweets of civil Society, taught them Agriculture, to build Cities and Towns, and returned crown'd with Glory, after having cauſed Columns and other Monuments to be erected in the Places where he had paſs'd, upon which his Exploits were engraved. Here, by the by, are the Conqueſts, ſo much celebrated by the Poets, of the famous *Dionyſius* or *Bacchus*, as we ſhall prove elſewhere.

This Prince being returned to *Egypt*, found that his Brother *Typhon* had formed a Party againſt the Government, and made himſelf formidable; *Julius Firmicus* (1) adds, that he had even debauched his Siſter-in-law *Iſis*. *Oſiris*, who was a pacifick Prince, attempted to calm the ambitious Spirit of *Typhon*; but he inſtead of ſubmitting himſelf to his Brother, thought on nothing but perſecuting him, and laying Ambuſcades for him. *Plutarch* (2) informs us in what manner he at laſt took away his Life. *Typhon*, ſays he, having invited him to a ſumptuous Entertainment, propoſed to the Gueſts after the Repaſt, that they would meaſure themſelves in a Cheſt of an exquiſite Workmanſhip, promiſing to give it to him who was of the ſame ſize. *Oſiris* having enter'd into it in his turn, the Conſpirators roſe up from

(1) De Error. ſal. Rel. (2) De Iſid. & Oſir.

the

the Table, ſhut the Cheſt, and threw it into the *Nile*.

Iſis inform'd of her Husband's tragical End, went about in ſearch of his Corpſe; and being informed that it was in *Phenicia*, hid under a Tamarind-Tree, where the Waves had thrown it out, ſhe went to the Court of *Byblos*, where ſhe enter'd into the ſervice of *Aſtarte*, to have the better Opportunity of diſcovering it. At length, after infinite pains, ſhe found it, and made ſuch heavy Lamentations, that the King of *Byblos*'s Son died thro' grief for her; which affected the King his Father to ſuch a degree, that he allowed *Iſis* to carry off the Body, and repair to *Egypt*. *Typhon* inform'd of the mourning of his Siſter-in-law, opened the Cheſt, divided the Body of *Oſiris* in pieces, and cauſed the ſeveral Members to be carried into different Places of *Egypt*. *Iſis* carefully recollected his diſſipated Members, incloſed them in Coffins, and conſecrated a Repreſentation of the Privities which ſhe could not find: Hence the uſe of the *Phallus*, ſo celebrated in all the religious Ceremonies of the *Egyptians*. In fine, after having ſhed a flood of Tears, ſhe cauſed him to be interr'd at *Abydos*, a Town ſituated to the weſt of the *Nile*. The Ancients, however, place the Tomb of *Oſiris* in other Places, which is owing to *Iſis*'s having cauſed one to be erected for every part of her Husband's Body, in the very Place where ſhe had found it.

In the mean time, *Typhon* was contriving how to ſecure his new Empire; but *Iſis* being recovered ſomewhat from her diſtreſs, drew her Troops together in haſte, and putting them under the Conduct of *Orus* her Son, this young Prince purſued the Tyrant, and vanquiſhed him in two pitch'd Battels.

ARTICLE II.

Hiſtory of Typhon.

The Fable of *Typhon* is one of the darkeſt Myſteries of Mythology. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, who knew not the Origin of it, have only darken'd it more, by endeavouring, according to their Cuſtom, to bring it over to their Hiſtory. Founding upon the Traditions

which they had learned by their commerce with the *Egyptians*, they made of *Typhon* a Monſter equally horrid and fantaſtical, whom the jealous *Juno*, ſaid they, had produced from the Earth, to be avenged of *Latona* her Rival. That Goddeſs, according to a Hymn which is commonly aſcribed to *Homer*, provok'd that *Jupiter* ſhould have become Father of *Minerva* without her, would needs on her ſide be a Mother, without the Aſſiſtance of her Husband. To bring which about, ſhe went to the Aſſembly of the Gods, and complain'd, that while ſhe alone was deem'd worthy to ſhare *Jupiter*'s Bed, this God had ſlighted her ſo far, as to bring into the World, without her Concurrence, the fairſt and wiſeſt Goddeſs of *Olympus*, while, during the whole time of their conjugal State, they had only had a Son ſo ugly, that they were obliged to baniſh him from Heaven. After this Speech, ſhe came down to Earth, whence ſhe cauſed Vapours to ariſe, which formed the tremendous *Typhon*. *Heſiod*, without having recourſe to *Juno*'s Reſentment, ſays (1) only that this Giant was the Son of *Tartarus* and *Terra*. Moſt of the *Latin* Poets have copied the *Greek* ones. *Manilius* expreſſes himſelf thus:

> . . . . . , *merito Typhonis habentur*
> *Horrendæ ſedes, quem Tellus ſæva profudit,*
> *Cum bellum Cælo peperit* (2).

Ovid does not recede much from this Opinion, when he makes the Serpent *Python*, who is the ſame with *Typhon*, as we ſhall prove in the Sequel, ſpring from the Steams of the Mud which the Deluge had left upon the Earth. "The ſlimy Earth being warm'd by the "heat of the Sun, formed not only Animals which "were known before, but Monſters too, till then un- "known. She form'd in ſpight of herſelf, the mon- "ſtrous *Python*, a Serpent of a new Species, who by "the enormous ſize of his Body, became the Terror "of Men."

> *Ergo ubi Diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti*
> *Solibus ætherеis, altoque recanduit æſtu,*
> *Edidit*

(1) Theog. (2) Lib. 2.

Edidit innumeras Species, partimque figuras
Rettulit antiquas, partim nova monſtra creavit;
Illa quidem nollet, ſed te quoque, maxime Python,
Tum genuit (1).

Apollodorus makes *Typhon* the moſt terrible of all Monſters (2). He had, ſays he, an hundred Heads, and from his hundred Mouths iſſued devouring Flames, and Howlings ſo dreadful that he equally terrified Gods and Men. His Body, whoſe upper part was cover'd with Feathers, and the Extremity entwin'd with Serpents, was ſo vaſt that he touched the Skies with his Head. He had to Wife, ſays this Author, *Echidna*, and his Offspring were, the *Gorgon*, *Geryon*, *Cerberus*, the *Hydra of Lerna*, the *Sphinx*, and the Eagle which prey'd upon the unfortunate *Prometheus*; in a word, all the Monſters that were hatch'd in the Country of Fables (*a*). *Typhon*, adds *Hyginus* (3), no ſooner ſprung from the Earth than he reſolved to declare War againſt the Gods, and to revenge the Overthrow of the Giants: For we muſt take care to diſtinguiſh the War of the Giants from that of *Typhon*, which ſome Authors confound, againſt the Opinion of *Apollodorus*, who makes *Typhon* only born after their Defeat (4). Wherefore he advanced againſt Heaven, and ſo affrighted the Gods by his dreadful Figure, that they all fled. *Egypt* appear'd a proper Place to ſkreen them from the Attacks of this formidable Enemy; but as he gave them no reſpite, they were obliged to aſſume the Figure of different Animals. *Jupiter* transformed himſelf into a Ram, *Apollo* into a Raven, *Bacchus* into a Goat, *Diana* into a Cat, *Juno* into a Cow, *Venus* into a Fiſh, and *Mercury* into a Swan *.

Duxque

(1) Met. l. 1. v. 434. (2) L. 2.

(*a*) *Heſiod*, who in his Theogony diſtinguiſhes *Typhöe* from *Typhon*, paints the former much in the ſame way, and ſays, that from him came the boiſterous Winds. Then ſpeaking of *Typhon*, he ſays, that he was married to *Echidna* in the Dens of *Syria*, and had by her the Children I have now named.

(3) Fab. 152. (4) Apol. Heſiod. Ovid. &c.

* Probably it ſhould be read *Cigogne* a Stork, which the *Ibis* is thought to be.

being very exact in Chronology, and having but a confuſed Knowledge of the primitive Hiſtories of the World renew'd after the Deluge, amongſt which this which I am now explaining is undoubtedly one, we muſt be very cautious how we follow their Direction.

Modern Authors have offer'd Conjectures upon this Subject, which don't appear to agree with the true Tradition. Some, among whom is *Gerard Voſſius* (1), are of opinion that *Typhon* was the ſame with *Og*, King of *Baſhan*, a Country which the Scripture calls the Land of Giants (2). *Og* their King, of whom it is ſaid (3), that he alone remain'd of the Race of the Giants, *Solus quippe Og rex Baſan remanſit, ex reliquis Gigantibus*, was ſo bulky that his Bed was nine Cubits in length, and four in breadth. The *Rabbins* have given ſuch extravagant Accounts of the Stature of this Prince, that I am aſhamed to repeat them.

Voſſius founds his Opinion, 1. Upon the reſemblance between the Names of thoſe two Giants; for, ſays he, *Typhon* comes from τύφω, *uro, accendo*, and *Og* ſignifies, *uſſit, uſtulavit*. 2. Upon what the Poets ſay of *Typhon*'s Bed, which looks as if they had been acquainted with that of the King of *Baſhan*, to which, *Virgil*, he thinks, is particularly alluding in the ninth Book of the *Æneid*, in theſe Words, *durumque* cubile*; but 'tis evident that the Poet in this place is only ſpeaking of the manner how this unfortunate Giant was buried under a Mountain, conformably to the Ideas of the other Poets. *Ovid* expreſſes himſelf thus (4):

Vaſta Giganteis ingeſta eſt Inſula membris
Trinacris, & magnis ſubjectum molibus urget
Æthereas auſum ſperare Typhoëa ſedes.

His third Reaſon is fetch'd from the Place where theſe two Giants were overthrown, ſince *Homer* ſays, that it was εἰς Ἀσίην, which is undoubtedly to be underſtood of *Syria*, where the King of *Baſhan* reign'd. But this Reaſon proves nothing, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

Bochart

(1) De Idol. l. 1. c. 26. (2) Deut. iii. 13. (3) Deut. iii. 11.
* Æn. l. 9. v. 715.
(4) Met. l. 5.

Bochart (1) imagines that *Typhon* was the ſame with *Enceladus*, relying upon this, that the Poets name the one indifferently for the other, and make them both periſh in the ſame manner in the Iſland of *Sicily*; but it will ſtill remain a queſtion, who this *Enceladus* was. There are Authors who will have it that *Typhon* was King of *Sicily*; for which you may conſult *Boccace* (2), who quotes for this *Theodontius*, whoſe Writings are loſt. There are likewiſe ſome who take him to be the ſame as *Eſau*, and they have been at pains to find out a Conformity between them.

Huetius, who cannot help thinking that *Moſes* was the ſole Object of all the poetical Fables, inſiſts at very great length, in proving (3), that *Typhon* was the Legiſlator of the *Hebrews*, grown extremely odious to the *Egyptians*, by the deſtruction of their Firſt-born; but without entering into the conſideration of a Parallel, in which moſt of the heads ſeem not very natural, I ſhall only make one Remark, namely, that *Typhon* and *Oſiris* are much more ancient than *Moſes*; and that the idolatrous Worſhip of the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, conſecrated to *Oſiris*, was ſpread thro' *Egypt* before the *Iſraelites* enter'd there, ſince it was upon this Model, according to *Selden*, that *Aaron* made the Golden Calf, which the *Jews* worſhipped in the Wilderneſs.

To eſtabliſh now my own Opinion with relation to *Typhon*, in the firſt place 'tis certain, from the moſt uncontroverted Teſtimonies we have now remaining of prophane Authors, eſpecially from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, that the Fable we are now upon is *Egyptian*, and I am much of Abbé *Sevin*'s mind, as to *Oſiris*, that he is the ſame with *Menes* or *Meſraim*. As the ſolid Reaſons he uſes in proof of this Article, are known to all thoſe who have read his Diſſertation, I need not repeat them here: I ſhall only add one which has eſcaped him. The Ox *Mnevis*, conſecrated to the Sun, whereof *Oſiris* was the Symbol, ſeems to carry an Alluſion to the Name of that ancient King, called either *Menes*, or *Menas*,

(1) Chan. (2) Gen. of the Gods. (3) Demon. Evan. Prop. 4.

Menas, or *Mneus*; *Ælian* even (1) names this Ox, μνεὶς, which leaves no room to doubt of its having been called after the name of the King to whom it was consecrated; and this King being *Osiris*, as all are agreed, it is evident that *Osiris* and *Menes* are but one and the same Person.

But I am not of his opinion as to *Typhon*, whom he would have to be the same with *Chus*; I am rather inclin'd to think that he was the Brother of *Osiris*, whom *Plutarch*, upon the Authority of *Manetho*, calls *Sebon*. This Prince dissatisfied with *Osiris*, who had confined him in the lower *Egypt*, in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*, towards the Extremities of *Delta*, conceived a Hatred against him, which wrought in his Breast till he had taken away his Life, in the manner as *Plutarch* relates.

We are not very certain, as to the Circumstances of *Typhon*'s death; but whether he was drown'd in the Marshes of the Lake *Serbonis*, where *Herodotus* says the *Egyptians* had a Story amongst them, that he lay conceal'd (2); or whether he died in the Battle which he fought with his Nephew *Orus*, as has been said, the *Egyptian* Priests made the People in after-times believe, that the Gods had interested themselves remarkably in avenging *Osiris*, having destroyed with a Thunder-bolt his cruel Persecutor. *Stephanus*, whose Words I quote below, gives this for the reason, why the City *Hieropolis*, near the Lake *Serbonis*, was called *The City of Blood*, because there it was that the Tyrant had been thunder-struck: Hence the mysterious Fable of *Typhon*'s having been swallow'd up in a Whirl of Fire. 'Tis very probable that *Typhon* was only the Surname of the Prince I speak of, and that it was given him afterwards, only in allusion to the Tradition of his having been consumed by Fire; as I shall shew, when I come to consider the most natural Etymology of the Word.

Thus perished the cruel Tyrant of *Egypt*; by his Death he left the Kingdom to young *Orus*, under the Regency of *Isis* his Mother. Without entring here into

(1) *De Animal.* (2) L. 3.

2

into the grounds of the irreconcileable Enmity between the two Brothers, whereof the *Egyptians* relate ſo many Circumſtances, as may be ſeen in *F. Kircher* (1); 'tis probable enough, that the Ambition of a turbulent and haughty Prince had a conſiderable ſhare in it; but Love we muſt know was likewiſe in the play. 'Tis alledged, that *Oſiris* lived in too much familiarity with *Nepthé*, *Typhon*'s Wife, which inflamed his Jealouſy to a high degree; but *Julius Firmicus* aſſerts, that it was *Typhon*, on the contrary, who was enamour'd of *Iſis*: And if the Authority of *Plutarch*, who repreſents to us this Queen as the Model of conjugal Love, which ſhe carried even to the moſt extravagant and unbounded Idolatry, ought to weigh more than that of *Julius Firmicus*, who, without doubt, has not the ſame Credit in affairs of Antiquity; I find, on the other hand, that the *Greek* Hiſtorian will ſupply *Firmicus* with two pretty ſtrong Arguments for his Opinion. The firſt is, his aſſerting, that during the abſence of *Oſiris*, which was very long, *Typhon* raiſed no Commotions in the State. Conſidering how ambitious he was, would he not have improv'd a Circumſtance ſo favourable, if Love had not hinder'd? The ſecond is, what we find alſo in *Plutarch*, that *Typhon*, having been made Priſoner upon the loſs of the Battle (2), was put in chains by *Orus*, who deliver'd him up to his Mother *Iſis*, and that ſhe gave him his Liberty; which ſo highly exaſperated the young Prince, that he ſnatch'd her Diadem from her, inſtead of which *Mercury* her Confident crown'd her with another: Circumſtances which prove two things; firſt, that *Iſis* certainly had an inclination to *Typhon*. Is it to be conceiv'd, that ſhe would have ſet the Murderer of her Huſband at liberty, had ſhe not entertain'd a violent Love to him? The ſecond is, that the title of Confident, to ſay no worſe, which the Poets in later times gave to *Mercury* the Son of *Maia*, agrees to this *Egyptian Mercury*, who was that Queen's Confident, as we learn from *Diodorus*.

But

(1) Oed. Ægypt. (2) Loc. cit.

But whatever be in that, there is no great difficulty to diſcover the principal Grounds of the Fables that are ſuperadded to this Hiſtory. As *Typhon* had perſecuted *Oſiris*, whoſe Reign had made the fine Arts flouriſh, and been a Model of Juſtice and mild Adminiſtration, whereas that of *Typhon* had been nothing but a Series of Crimes and Cruelties; the *Egyptians* took a great deal of pains to bring an odium upon the Memory of the latter, whom they repreſented only as a Monſter. But in vain have they darken'd their ancient Tradition; Truth finds its way through the Fables which they have intermixed with it. In fact, by the hundred Heads of *Typhon*, we learn in what manner he had carried on his pernicious Deſigns, and how many Perſons of Power and Intereſt he had artfully drawn into his Party, that is, the chief and beſt Heads of all *Egypt*. The number of his Hands denoted, no doubt, his Strength, and that of his Troops: The Serpents that were wreathed about his Fingers and Thighs, repreſented his Cunning and Addreſs. His Body cover'd with Feathers and Scales, equally denoted the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, and his invincible Force. By the Enormity of his Stature, and the Length of his Arms, which were ſaid to reach from one end of the world to the other, Poſterity were given to underſtand, that he had puſh'd his Conqueſts to the Extremities of *Egypt*, and that his Power had no bounds: By the Clouds which encompaſſed his Head, that the whole Buſineſs of his Life had been to embroil the State: And by the Fire which iſſued from his Mouth, that he had carried Devaſtation wherever he paſſed. For this reaſon he was repreſented at *Cynopolis*, ſometimes under the figure of a Wolf; and though *Strabo*, who takes notice of the Worſhip which that City paid to that Animal, does not aſſign the reaſon, 'tis however pretty probable, that it was in order to appeaſe *Typhon*, who is ſaid by *Plutarch* (1) to have been transformed into a Wolf; but he was more frequently repreſented under the figure of a Crocodile, becauſe of his

(1) In Iſid.

his resemblance to that Animal, equally formidable for its Wiles and Cruelty: or under that of a Hippopotamus; which makes *Plutarch* say (1), that the *Egyptians* consecrated to *Typhon* the most stupid of Animals, namely the Ass; and the two of the greatest fierceness, the Crocodile and the Hippopotamus (*a*).

This Tradition of the *Egyptians* was not unknown to the *Greeks*, and I insist that all the Fables they have deliver'd about their *Typhon* and *Python*, are to be refer'd to it. For first, what did *Ovid* mean by the Serpent *Python*, sprung from the Slime of the Deluge, and slain by *Apollo*, who drain'd almost his Quiver upon this Monster?

Hunc Deus arcitenens, &c.
Mille gravem telis, exhaustâ pene pharetrâ,
Perdidit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno (2).

Is he not plainly making an allusion to *Typhon*, whose Name is the same by a simple Transposition? If he makes him a monstrous Serpent, was not *Typhon* represented under that figure? without having recourse, with *Bochart*, to the Word *Pethen*, which in the *Hebrew* Language imports a Serpent. If the same Poet makes him spring from the Slime of the Deluge, does he not point out thereby the bad Steams which rise in *Egypt*, after the Waters of the *Nile* are withdrawn? In fine, if he says that *Apollo* slew him with his arrows, does he not conceal under this Emblem the Victory of *Orus* over *Typhon*, or at least the Triumph of the Sun-beams over the bad Steams of *Egypt*?

Secondly, if the *Greek* Poets set *Typhon* at the head of the Giants, in the War which they wage with the Gods, do they not manifestly allude to the Persecutions of that Prince against his Brother, who has always been look'd upon as the great Divinity of *Egypt*? If they make all the Gods to fly into this Kingdom, where, to shelter themselves from the Pursuits of that monstrous

(1) In Isid.

(*a*) We learn from *Ælian*, that *Typhon* was transform'd to a Crocodile: And upon that Tradition was founded the Aversion, which the Inhabitants of Heliopolis had to that Animal. *De An. l.* 10. *c.* 21.

(2) Met. L. 1.

ıs Giant, they are obliged to lie conceal'd under figure of ſeveral Animals, is not this their mean- that the Grandees and Satraps of *Egypt*, who ɛ of *Oſiris*'s party, upon the death of this Prince, themſelves in the moſt remote Caves, or periſhed t of them by the Arms of the Conſpirators? The ıres which the Poets make them aſſume, perhaps ɔte that *Oſiris* having divided his Army into diffe- Corps, had given them for Enſigns the Figures ıoſe Animals, as we learn from *Plutarch* (1).

'hirdly, what other Meaning has *Apollodorus* (2), ın he relates ſo myſteriouſly that *Mercury* and *Pan* ɔred to *Jupiter* his Hands and Feet, which *Typhon* cut off, but that theſe two Princes, whom *Dio-* ɔ (3) acknowledges to have lived under the Reign *)ſiris*, and whom he ſpeaks of as two Perſons ex- ing wiſe, by their prudent Management recover'd Affairs, which were in a very bad ſituation, re- 'd his Troops, which his Brother had debauched ı him, and by ſupplying him with Money, which ıe Sinews of War, fortified his declining Party.

ourthly, although the *Greek* Poets and Hiſtorians ɛe *Typhon* periſh in different places, and out of *pt*, where it is certain he died, yet we ſee by the Cir- ſtances which they join to his Fable, that they follow Traditions of that People, which informs us that was killed with Lightning, or which comes to the ɛ, that he was ſwallow'd up in a fiery Whirlwind. *ıer* (4) ſays, that this Giant was deſtroy'd ἐν Ἀρίμοις: *Ground*, ſays the Poet, *rung under their Feet, as n* Jupiter *incenſed, brandiſhes his Thunder upon the unt which covers* Typhœus *in the Country of the* Ari- *where the Tomb of this Giant is ſaid to be.* Madam *ier* (5) alledges, that by this word ἐν Ἀρίμοις, *Homer* nded the Iſland *Ænaria*, or *Pithecuſa*, in the Sea of *:any*; and this, according to her, is what *Virgil* had ıis eye in theſe Verſes:

. . . *Du-*

) De Iſid. & Oſir. (2) Lib. 1. (3) Lib. 2. (4) Il. 6. Her Note upon this Paſſage.

. . . . . *Durumque cubile*
Inarime, Jovis imperiis impoſta Typhœo (1).

But this Poet was certainly miſtaken by aiming at too ſervile an Imitation of *Homer*, and by making but one word of *Inarime*. The Learned are divided about the Situation of the Country of the *Arimæans*; there are ſome who, as *Strabo* tells us (2), place them in *Phrygia*, others in *Cilicia*; but certain it is that this Country can only be meant of *Syria*; and *Strabo* who is of this opinion, quotes a Fragment of *Poſſidonius* (3), who ſays that it is neither *Cilicia* nor any other Country that *Homer* intends in this place, but *Syria* itſelf, peopled by the *Arimæans*, whom the *Greeks* call *Arimans* or *Arimians*, Ἀρυμάνοι, Ἄριμοι.

This ſame Author adds (4), that *Typhon* was thunderſtruck near *Antioch*, and that his being buried in the Earth was the Cauſe of the River *Orontes* ſpringing from thence, which in former times bore the Name of this Monſter. In fine, *Joſephus* leaves no room to doubt of what *Strabo* ſays, ſince he aſſerts, that *Aramus* was the Father of the *Aramæans*, whom the *Greeks*, ſays he, call *Syrians*.

The other Poets are not agreed as to the Place where *Typhon* periſh'd, but all of them allude to his ſad Cataſtrophe. Accordingly *Pindar* informs us, that *Jupiter* kept him impriſon'd in the Caves of Mount *Ætna* (5), where, according to *Ovid*, he vomited thoſe Torrents of Flames which riſe from the Cavities of that Mountain.

Degravat Ætna caput, ſub qua reſupinus arenas
Ejectat, flammamque ferro vomit ore Typhœus (6).

The ſame Poet ſays much the ſame thing in his Faſts (7):

Ætna jacet vaſti ſuper ora Typhœus Ætna,
Cujus anhelantis ignibus ardet humus.

Silius Italicus gives Mount *Ætna* the very Name of *Typhon*:

Tum Catane ardenti nimium vicina Typhœo (8).

What the other Poets, ſuch as *Virgil* (9), *Statius* (10), *Claudian*,

(1) Æn. l. 9. (2) Lib. 12. (3) Lib. 16. (4) Lib. 5. (5) Pyth. (6) Met. l. 5. (7) Lib. 4. (8) Lib. 14. (9) Æn. l. 3. v. 578, &c. (10) Theb. 3.

Claudian, *Cornelius Severus*, &c. ſay of *Enceladus*, is to be underſtood of *Typhon*, ſince, according to *Philoſtratus* (1) and the more knowing Mythologiſts, *Typhon* and *Enceladus* denote the ſame Perſon.

To the Poets we may join the Mythologiſts, as *Hyginus* (2), and ſeveral others, who unanimouſly agree, that under Mount *Ætna Typhon* was buried.

Thoſe of the Ancients who have not looked upon *Sicily* and Mount *Ætna* as the Tomb of *Typhon*, depart not far at leaſt from the ſame Tradition, ſince they have always choſen for that purpoſe, Places of a ſulphureous quality, diſtinguiſhed by ſubterraneous Fires and Earthquakes, as in *Campania*, or rather near Mount *Veſuvius*, as *Diodorus* alledges (3), or in the *Phlegræan* Plains, as *Strabo* relates (4), or in a place in *Aſia*, whence there ſprings out of the Earth ſometimes Water, and at other times Fire, as *Pauſanias* has it (5). In a word, in all the Mountains, and in every other Place which was remarkable for Exhalations or Eruptions, as is well remark'd by the ancient Scholiaſt on *Pindar*, upon the firſt *Pythick*, after the Hiſtorian *Artemon*, who ſays, *Every Mountain that throws out Fire, buries under it the unhappy* Typhon, *who is there devoured by the Flames*; Circumſtances, which carrying an Alluſion to the Name of *Typhon*, to the account which the *Egyptians* gave of the manner of his Death, and to the Allegories which they draw from it, inform us, that the Poets and Hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, have, amidſt their moſt abſurd Fables, tranſmitted down to us the Traditions of that ancient People.

Fifthly, the Opinion of the ancient Poets, that Thunder was the moſt formidable Inſtrument of divine Vengeance, and that thoſe were impious Perſons who were ſtruck with it, came likewiſe from *Egypt*, where we ſee it was given out, in order to make *Typhon* more odious, that in this manner he had been puniſhed by the Gods; tho' it was well known, that he had loſt his life in the laſt Battel which *Orus* his Nephew fought with him.

(1) Vit. Apollon. (2) Fab. 151. (3) Lib. 4. (4) Lib. 5. (5) In *Arc.*

Virgil has preſerv'd to us this traditionary Opinion about thoſe who had been thunder-ſtruck, in making *Anchiſes* ſay: "Odious as I am to the Immortals, ever "ſince the Father of Gods and Men ſtruck me with "his Thunder, I drag an uſeleſs load of Years (1)."

Jam pridem invisus Divis & inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me Divûm Pater atque Hominum Rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis & contigit igni.

Upon which it is proper to conſult *Servius* and *La Cerda*.

Sixthly, we learn from *Plutarch*, that not only the Opinions of the *Greek* Philoſophers, ſuch as *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and others, about the Formation of the World, but alſo thoſe of the Poets, are borrowed from the Traditions of the *Egyptians* with relation to *Typhon* and *Oſiris*; for what other foundation had *Heſiod* for ſpeaking in the manner he does of the *Chaos*, *Terra*, *Erebus*, and *Love*, but thoſe ſame Traditions, ſince by *Terra* he means *Iſis*; by *Love*, *Oſiris*; and by *Tartarus*, *Typhon*; as *Plutarch* alſo informs us.

Seventhly, *Typhon* was become ſo odious to the *Egyptians*, that they even had an abhorrence to every thing that bore any reſemblance to him; for which reaſon, they had an annual Cuſtom of throwing over a Rock, all the Aſſes that were of a red Colour, becauſe they reſembled that Tyrant, who had been red-hair'd. The Sea was likewiſe an Abomination to them, becauſe they believ'd it was *Typhon*. But as much as they hated the Name of that Tyrant, ſo much did they honour the Memory of the beneficent *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.

ARTICLE III.

The Hiſtory of the Worſhip paid to Iſis *and* Oſiris.

Iſis having died ſome time after her Son's Victory over *Typhon*, the *Egyptians* paid Adoration to her with her Husband *Oſiris*, as to Divinities; and becauſe they had apply'd themſelves, during their Reign, to teach Agriculture, the Ox and the Cow became their Symbols. Feſtivals

(1) Æn. l. 2. 647.

Feſtivals were inſtituted to their Honour, where ſeveral infamous Rites were afterwards introduced. There the infamous Image of the *Phallus* which *Iſis* had conſecrated, was carried in Proceſſion, and it became the Symbol of Fruitfulneſs, tho' in its original Inſtitution it had only been the mark of *Iſis*'s Paſſion for *Oſiris* her Husband.

One of the chief Ceremonies in the Feſtivals of *Oſiris*, was the Appearance of the Ox *Apis*, that was to ſucceed that which the Prieſts had drowned in the ſacred Fountain, or which had died a natural Death. This Ox, whom the Prieſts nouriſh'd with ſo much care, and for whom all *Egypt* had ſuch a veneration, was look'd upon as a God. To gain ſome credit to this Superſtition, they ſaid he repreſented the Soul of *Oſiris*, which after that Prince's death had retired into that Animal, and choſe to dwell there rather than any where elſe, becauſe the Ox was the Symbol of Agriculture, which that Prince had taken ſo much care to improve.

Herodotus tells us, that this Ox was to be black over all the Body, with a ſquare white Mark upon the Forehead: Upon the Back he was to have the figure of an Eagle, a Knot under the Tongue in the figure of a Beetle, the Hairs of the Tail double; and, according to *Pliny*, a white Mark upon the right Side, which, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Ælian*, was to reſemble the Creſcent of the Moon. And then the laſt Qualification was an extraordinary Generation, his Mother having conceived him by a Clap of Thunder *(a)*. *Porphyry* (1), whoſe Deſign was to turn the ancient Theology of the *Egyptians* and other Nations into Allegories, ſays, that all theſe Marks had a reference to the Sun and Moon, to whom the Ox *Apis* was conſecrated: That the black Hair which was to be the Colour of his Body in general, repreſented the ſcorching Influence of the Sun upon Bodies; and that the white Spot which he had in his Forehead, and the Creſcent which he bore upon the Side, were Symbols of the

(a) See *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, &c.
(1) De Abſt.

Moon. This Author might have added, that the Eagle and the Beetle were alſo the Symbols of the Sun.

Without examining into theſe Myſteries, I am of opinion, that the Prieſts imprinted the Marks I have been ſpeaking of, upon ſome young Calves which they brought up ſecretly: And to remove any ſuſpicion of the Impoſture *(a)*, they took care that their God *Apis* ſhould ſometimes be long before he appear'd.

The Feſtival of *Apis* laſted ſeven days: They went in crouds to bring him from the place where he was found; the Prieſts led the Proceſſion, and every one was very deſirous to receive him into his Houſe. They believed that the Children who had ſmell'd his Breath, acquired a prophetick Gift, as *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Lucian* relate.

We learn from *Pliny* (1), that this God had two Stalls, or rather two Temples, *Delubra*; whereas *Herodotus* (2) only ſays, it was a Hall, the Work of *Pſammeticus*, which, inſtead of Columns, was ſupported by Coloſſal Statues, twelve or ſixteen Cubits high *(b)*.

Be that as it will, on the Day of *Oſiris*'s Feſtival, the Prieſts conducted the Ox *Apis* to the Banks of the *Nile*, and drowned him with a great deal of Ceremony, and that preciſely on the Day, beyond which, according to their ſacred Books, he was not to be permitted to live *(c)*. He was embalm'd and interr'd at *Memphis*, and after that, the Prieſts were permitted to enter into the Temple of *Serapis*, a Privilege which they were forbidden as long as the Feſtival laſted. After the Death of the Ox *Apis*, the People mourn'd and made lamentation, as if *Oſiris* had been now dead: The Prieſts cut off their Hair; which in *Egypt* was a ſign of the deepeſt Mourning; and this Mourning laſted till they got another Ox to appear, reſembling the former in the ſame Marks.

(a) St. *Auguſtin* was of opinion, that the Devils ſetting the Marks which we have here mentioned, before the Cows at the time of Conception, they communicated the Impreſſion to their Calves.

(1) Lib. 8. (2) L. 2. c. 46.

(b) See *Strabo*, lib 7.

(c) Stato die, ultra quem vivere fas non erat, aquis mergebant. *Plin.* lib. 8.

Marks. Then they began to make merry, as if the Prince himſelf had ariſen from the dead. This Feſtival was ſtill in continuance at the time of *Cambyſes*, who, arriving at *Memphis* upon his return from *Ethiopia*, an Expedition which proved ſo unhappy to him, found the People taken up in celebrating the Feſtival of *Oſiris* (1), and imagining they were rejoicing at his Diſgrace, ſent for the Prieſts to demand the occaſion of their Joy. They having made anſwer that they were celebrating the Appearance of *Apis*, who had not been ſeen for a great while, *Cambyſes* diſſatisfy'd with the Anſwer, ordered them to bring before him that pretended God of theirs, and gave him a Wound with his Sword, whereof he died, cauſed the Prieſts to be laſh'd, and ordered his Soldiers to maſſacre all whom they found celebrating this Feſtival.

I forgot to take notice, that after having found a Bull proper to repreſent *Apis*, he was left, before they conducted him to *Memphis*, in the City of the *Nile*, where he was fed for forty Days. During which time, the Women only were allowed to ſee him, and they preſented themſelves before him in a very indecent manner. The forty days being expired, he was put into a Barge, where they had a gilded Niche for his Reception; and thus he was carried down the *Nile* as far as *Memphis*.

'Tis not amiſs, before we go farther, to take notice, that beſides the Ox *Apis* worſhipped at *Memphis*, there was another at *Heliopolis*, named *Mnevis*, which was likewiſe the Symbol of *Oſiris*, if we credit *Diodorus* (2); tho' ſeveral Authors will have it, that the firſt was conſecrated to *Oſiris*, and the ſecond to *Iſis*. This much is certain, that the Superſtition of the *Egyptians* in relation to the Ox *Apis*, was carried to the greateſt exceſs. They honour'd him as a God, and conſulted him as an Oracle. When he took what Food was offered to him (3), it was a favourable Reſponſe, and his refuſing it was looked upon as a bad Preſage. *Pliny* obſerves, that he had declined to eat what the unfortu-

(1) Herod. l. 2. (2) Lib. 2. (3) Plin. l. 8. c. 48.

nate *Germanicus* offer'd to him, and this Prince actually died very ſoon after, in the manner which every body knows. In like manner, as to the two Lodges that were built for him; when he enter'd one, it was an auſpicious Omen for *Egypt*, and unlucky when Fancy led him into the other; to ſuch Extremity did that People, ſo fam'd for Politeneſs, carry their Superſtition.

Pauſanias (1) ſays, that they who were to conſult him, burnt Incenſe before-hand upon an Altar, filled with Oil the Lamps that were there lighted, and laid down upon that Altar a piece of Money, at the right ſide of *Apis*'s Statue. Then having applied their Ear to the Mouth of the God, to interrogate him, they withdrew, ſtopp'd both their Ears till they got without the bounds of the Temple, and then whatever they firſt heard, they took for the Reſponſe of the God.

This Bull was almoſt always confined to one of his Lodges, and came but ſeldom abroad except into a Meadow, which was alſo incloſed, and where he was left for ſome time; and there it was that Strangers came to ſee him. When, upon occaſion, he was led thro' the Town, he had Officers to guard him, who kept off the Croud, and Children went before, ſinging Hymns in his praiſe.

We have ſeen in what manner the Prieſts drowned him in a ſacred Fountain, when they judg'd he ought not to live any longer; but when he died a natural Death, they gave him magnificent Obſequies, where they were ſo laviſh in their Expence, that they who were appointed for his Retinue, ruined their Fortunes by it. It once happen'd, in the time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, that fifty Talents were borrowed to defray the charges of his Funeral Rites.

Such, according to ancient Tradition, is the Hiſtory of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and of the Ceremonies of thoſe two Divinities, which the *Greeks* long after adopted into the Hiſtory of their *Bacchus*, who was only a Copy of thoſe ancient *Egyptian* Deities, as we ſhall ſhew upon another occaſion. To

(1) Lib. 8.

To determine now who this *Oſiris* was, and in what time he lived, is a matter of ſome difficulty. Some Authors alledge that he is *Joſeph* (1), that ancient Patriarch, ſo famous in *Egypt* for having ſaved it from being deſtroyed by Famine, and govern'd it with ſo much Wiſdom. Others will have him to be *Moſes:* But how beautiful ſoever the Parallels are, which have been made between thoſe two great Men and *Oſiris*, it ſuffices to take notice, that this King of *Egypt* was ancienter than they, and that his Worſhip was eſtabliſhed in the intime thro' all *Egypt*, ſince the *Iſraelites* imitated the Ceremonies thereof in the adoration of the Golden Calf.

Thus I am of opinion that *Oſiris* is the ſame as *Mizraim* the Son of *Ham*, who peopled *Egypt* ſome time after the Deluge, and who, after his Death, was taken into the number of the Gods, according to the Cuſtom of raiſing to that Dignity thoſe who founded Empires: And the Reaſon why the Ancients call him the Son of *Jupiter*, is, that he was the Son of *Ham*, or *Hammon*, whom he himſelf had acknowledg'd as a God.

Marſham takes *Oſiris* to be *Ham* himſelf, known under the name of *Menis* at the head of the *Dynaſties*, who ſucceeded to the Gods and Demi-Gods; and he confirms his Opinion, by the Remark which *Africanus* had drawn from *Manetho*, concerning the firſt King of *Egypt*, whom a Crocodile had devoured; which agrees perfectly to *Oſiris*, ſlain by *Typhon*, who was repreſented under the figure of that cruel Animal.

Notwithſtanding the Obſcurity which is in the Hiſtory of *Oſiris*, the Learned are obliged to allow, that he was one of the firſt of *Noah*'s Deſcendants by *Ham*, and that he governed *Egypt*, whither his Father had repair'd, and there founded a ſmall Kingdom, a few Years after the Diſperſion which happen'd in the time of *Peleg*. 'Twas unqueſtionably from this Branch of *Noah*'s Sons that *Egypt* got its firſt Inhabitants. This Country is frequently ſtiled in the ſacred Books, the Land of *Mizraim*, or *Meſtraim*, and there mention is made

(1) Voſſ. de Idol. l. 2.

made of the City of *Ammon*. Now there is no doubt but *Ammon* is the ſame with *Ham*, whoſe Name has been ſoften'd by ſuppreſſing the firſt Conſonant.

The *Egyptians*, who believed that firſt the Gods, and then the Demi-Gods had reign'd among them for ſeveral Ages, are all agreed that Men ſucceeded the Demi-Gods in the Kingdom, and that he whom they put at the head of the *Dynaſties* of Men was called *Menes*, or *Mnevis*. The Name of *Oſiris*, however, is not to be found in thoſe *Dynaſties*; but *Diodorus Siculus*, who has tranſmitted down to us with great Care, the moſt ancient Traditions of the *Egyptians*, aſſerts that this Prince is the ſame with *Menes*, the firſt King of *Egypt*, and to this we muſt hold. Perhaps at his Apotheoſis his Name was changed to that of *Oſiris*: For we are well enough aſſured, that the *Greeks* obſerved this Cuſtom towards thoſe whom they deify'd, as appears from the Examples thereof which I quoted at the beginning of this Work.

In fine, I ſhall cloſe the Article of *Oſiris* and *Iſis* with ſome Inſcriptions, found upon ancient Monuments, which ſhew, in a few words, what Sentiments concerning theſe two Divinities were entertained by the People who had adopted their Worſhip.

For Oſiris.

SATVRN, THE YOVNGEST OF ALL THE GODS, WAS MY FATHER. I AM OSIRIS.

Then is this other Legend.

THIS KING CONDVCTED AN ARMY AS FAR AS THE DESARTS OF INDIA, AND FROM THENCE TOWARDS THE NORTH, TO THE SOVRCES OF THE ISTER, AND THEN AS FAR AS THE OCEAN.

I AM THE FIRST BORN SON OF SATVRN, SPRVNG FROM AN ILLVSTRIOUS PEDIGREE, AND FROM NOBLE BLOOD; COVSIN TO THE DAY: THERE IS NO PLACE WHERE I HAVE NOT BEEN, AND I DIFFVSED

FVSFD MY BLESSINGS WITH MVNIFICENCE OVER ALL THE HVMAN RACE.

Tho' there is a great number of theſe Inſcriptions for *Iſis*, I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with quoting three of them; the firſt which we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (1), is conceived in theſe terms.

I ISIS AM THE QVEEN OF THIS COVNTRY, AND I HAD MERCVRY FOR MY PRIME MINISTER. NONE HAD POWER TO HINDER THE EXECVTION OF MY ORDERS, I AM THE ELDEST DAVGHTER OF SATVRN, THE YOUNGEST OF THE GODS.
I AM THE SISTER AND THE WIFE OF KING OSIRIS.
I AM THE MOTHER OF KING ORVS.
I AM SHE WHO RISES IN THE DOG-STAR.
THE CITY OF BVBASTIS WAS BVILT IN HONOVR TO ME.
REIOICE O EGYPT, THOV THAT HAST BEEN TO ME INSTEAD OF A NVRSE, AND MOTHER.

The ſecond, which was upon a Marble found at *Capua*, bore theſe Words, as we ſaid before:

TO THEE, O GODDESS ISIS, WHO ART ONE AND ALL THINGS,
ARRIVS BABINVS MAKES THIS VOW.

The third, according to *Plutarch* (2), was at *Saïs*, engraved upon the Pavement of *Minerva*'s Temple.

I AM ALL THAT HAS BEEN, THAT IS, AND THAT SHALL BE, AND NONE AMONG MORTALS HAS HITHERTO TAKEN OFF MY VEIL.

Tho' we put theſe Inſcriptions in Capital Letters, as Monuments of that ſort are ordinarily written, it will eaſily be underſtood, that we are far from inſinuating that

(1) L. 1. (2) De Iſ. & Oſir.

that theſe Legends are actually in the Form which we have here given them, with the ſame Characters and in our own Language, but we have only given a literal Tranſlation of them. 'Tis very probable that thoſe which we read in *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, were in like manner but Tranſlations which they had made, inſtead of quoting them in the proper Idiom of the Originals. As to the Marble found at *Capua*, 'tis eaſy to ſee that the original Inſcription is *Latin*.

CHAP. II.

Of the other Gods of Egypt.

'TIS not my deſign to treat in this Chapter of all the Gods whom *Egypt* worſhipped, becauſe moſt of them having been known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who have intermix'd with their Hiſtory ſeveral Fables to which the *Egyptians* were intire Strangers, I reſerve what I have to ſay of them for the following Volumes. Thus, tho' *Pluto*, *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, and ſeveral others, have in reality an *Egyptian* Original, yet they ſhall have no place in this Chapter.

ARTICLE I.

Serapis, *or* Sarapis.

The Learned are much divided with reſpect to *Serapis* or *Sarapis*, for his Name is written either way. Some take him for a foreign God, whoſe Worſhip was not known in *Egypt* till the time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*; others, among whom is M. *Cuper* (*a*), will have it, that he had been known and worſhipped there from the earlieſt periods of time; that the *Egyptians* looked upon him as one of their greateſt Gods, and that he was the ſame with *Oſiris*. A ſhort diſplay of the Reaſons of both, will enable the Reader to determine himſelf.

Thoſe of the former appear very plauſible. *Herodotus* (1), who is ſo full upon the *Egyptian* Gods, makes no

(*a*) In his *Harpocrates*, p. 83, &c.
(1) L. 2.

no mention of *Serapis:* Would he have forgot him, had he been, as ſome learned Men pretend, one of the great Divinites of that People? The *Iſiack* Table *(a)*, upon which ſo many *Egyptian* Deities appear, preſents us with nothing that reſembles *Serapis*. There is preſerv'd in the Cabinets of the Curious, and in Books of the Antiquaries, ſeveral Figures of *Oſiris* and *Serapis*; and 'tis eaſy to ſee that thoſe of the former, with whom they would confound him, are as different as their Names. In fine, what *Tacitus* relates (1), ought entirely to decide the queſtion. *Serapis*, ſays that Hiſtorian, appeared in a Dream to *Ptolemy (b)*, under the figure of a young Man exquiſitely beautiful, and order'd him to ſend two of his moſt faithful Friends to *Sinope*, a City of *Pontus*, where he was worſhipped, and to bring his Statue from thence. *Ptolemy* having communicated this Viſion, deputed a ſelect Embaſſy to *Sinope*, and from thence was the Statue of that God brought: Whence 'tis eaſy to conclude, that he was unknown in *Egypt* before this Event.

The illuſtrious M. *Cuper* does not yield to theſe Arguments, but maintains that *Serapis* was one of the great Gods of *Egypt*, where he had been worſhipped long before the *Ptolemys*. The Proofs of his Antagoniſts have not ſhook him, and that which they bring from *Tacitus*, he thinks weak; for before it can have any force, it muſt be proved that *Serapis* was he whom they worſhipped at *Sinope*, which can never be made out; for the God to whom that City paid adoration, was *Pluto*, nor was the name *Serapis* given him till his Statue was brought into *Egypt*. "When that God "came into *Egypt*, ſays the Hiſtorian now named, *Timotheus*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, and *Manethon* the "*Sebennite*, ſeeing his Statue, and obſerving there the "*Cerberus* and a Dragon, judg'd it to be *Dis* or *Pluto*, "and perſuaded *Ptolemy* that it was the ſame with *Sera-*
"*pis.*"

(a) See Chap. VI. of this Book.

(1) Hiſt. l. 4. c. 83.

(b) Tacitus does not tell us who that *Ptolemy* was, who had this Viſion; but *Macrobius* ſays, it was the Son of *Lagus*.

" *pis.*" *Plutarch* gives the ſame Account (1): " He " had not that Name when he came into *Egypt*; but " upon his arrival at *Alexandria*, he took the Name " the *Egyptians* gave to *Pluto*, which was *Serapis*."

When *Pauſanias* (2) relates that the *Alexandrians* received from *Ptolemy* the Worſhip of *Serapis*, he ſays at the ſame time, that there was already at *Alexandria* a very magnificent Temple of that God; and another not ſo grand, but of very great antiquity, in the City of *Memphis*. *Tacitus* himſelf, when he ſays that *Ptolemy*, after *Serapis* was brought into *Egypt*, built a ſtately Temple to him in the place named *Racotis*, aſſerts alſo, that there was another leſſer one, conſecrated to the ſame God, and to *Iſis*; which proves, not that *Serapis* was not worſhipped in *Egypt* till the time of the Embaſſy to *Sinope*, but only that the Worſhip of that God, perhaps neglected a long time, was re-eſtabliſhed there with Solemnity.

As M. *Cuper* takes no notice of thoſe two Objections, the one of them drawn from the Silence of *Herodotus*, the other from the *Iſiack* Table, I ſhall anſwer them for him. 1. Tho''tis true that that Hiſtorian ſet apart his ſecond Book for the Hiſtory of the *Egyptian* Religion, yet we cannot be ſure that he has omitted none of their Gods. Beſides, having ſpoke fully of *Oſiris*, who was perhaps the ſame with *Serapis*, he reckon'd it was not neceſſary to ſay any thing particularly of the latter. 2. The ſame thing may be ſaid as to the *Iſiack* Table: Tho' a great number of the *Egyptian* Gods are there to be found, yet I reckon it cannot be affirm'd that they are all there, far leſs that they can all be diſtinguiſhed by their particular Symbols.

The Proof which is drawn from the diverſity of Repreſentations, is yet leſs concluſive. The *Egyptians* vary'd exceedingly with reſpect to the Figures of their Gods, and the Symbols which they joined to them. The Figures frequently bore even a vaſt number of Attributes, which could not agree to a ſingle Divinity: Theſe were what we call the *Panthean* Figures, which

(1) De Iſid. & Oſir. (2) In Att.

repreſented ſeveral Deities, as one may be convinc'd by viewing ſome of thoſe of *Iſis*, of *Harpocrates*, and others.

M. *Cuper* next refutes the Opinion of *Macrobius*, who ſays, that the *Egyptians* were forced by the *Ptolemys* to embrace the Worſhip of *Serapis*, come from *Sinope*; for he ought to have proved that this was the Name of *Serapis* in that City of *Pontus*; which was not ſo, as has been made out.

'Tis then very probable, whatever ſeveral learned Antiquaries ſay to the contrary, that *Serapis* was an *Egyptian* God, known and worſhipped by that People long before the *Ptolemys*. I add, he was the ſame with *Pluto*; and tho' the Teſtimonies of *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, which we have quoted, were leſs concluſive than they are, yet one of the fineſt Statues of that God, given by *Fabretti* to M. *Cuper*, at whoſe feet we ſee the three-headed *Cerberus*, would leave no room to doubt of it (*a*).

We have in the Antiquaries ſeveral other Figures, always known to be thoſe of *Serapis* by the *Calathus*, or a kind of Bonnet which he wore upon his head. Sometimes he is join'd with *Iſis*, and repreſented like a young Man, and then he is taken for *Oſiris* or the Sun; frequently like a bearded old Man, very much reſembling *Jupiter*, whoſe Name he alſo bore; at leaſt, from the time that the *Greeks* were Maſters of *Egypt*.

ARTICLE II.

Orus.

Orus, according to *Herodotus* (1), was the Son of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and the laſt of the Gods who reigned in *Egypt*. After he had put *Typhon* to death, he mounted the Throne. *Diodorus*, who ſo far follows *Herodotus* (2), ſubjoins, that the *Titans* having put him to death, his Mother who poſſeſſed the moſt rare Secrets of Medicine, even that of making immortal, having found his Body in

(*a*) There is a Print of this Figure in *Montfaucon*'s Antiquity, Tom. II. p. 185.

(1) Lib. 2. c. 144. (2) Lib. 22.

in the *Nile*, whither it had been thrown by the *Titans*, reſtored Life to it, and procured to him Immortality. After this, ſhe taught him Medicine, and the Art of Divination. With theſe Talents, continues *Diodorus*, *Orus* render'd himſelf famous, and multiply'd his Bleſſings upon the World.

We have already given an account in the Hiſtory of *Typhon*, in what manner *Orus*, by the Advice of *Iſis*, reveng'd the Death of his Father, by taking away that Tyrant's Life, whom he deſtroy'd in the lower *Egypt*; this is all that we know of this laſt *Egyptian* God, after whom, the Demi-Gods began to reign. We are not here to enlarge upon that prodigious number of Years the *Egyptians* aſcribe to the Reigns of their Gods, which in *Diodorus*'s reckoning (1) comprehended a ſpace of three and twenty thouſand Years, from the Reign of the Sun to the time of *Alexander*'s conquering the *Indies*. For, whether thoſe Years be taken for lunar Years, or only for the Seaſons, each Year including four, the number of three and twenty thouſand Years is ſtill manifeſtly fabulous, and *Diodorus* vainly uſes his efforts to juſtify the *Egyptians* in this.

The *Greeks*, as the Author has it whom I juſt now cited, pretended that their *Apollo* was the ſame as the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*. *Apollo* was in reality like *Orus*, expert in Medicine, and in the Art of Prediction, and this God among them was the Sun, as *Orus* was in *Egypt*. Accordingly, we find him often called by the Ancients, *Orus Apollo*. It would be to no purpoſe to object, that it was *Oſiris*, who in *Egypt* repreſented the Sun, ſince the Anſwer is eaſy, that this Luminary, the firſt and greateſt of the Gods, had ſeveral Names, not only in the different Countries where he was worſhipped, but frequently even in the ſame. It would alſo be in vain to object, that the Symbols of *Oſiris* were different from thoſe of *Orus*; for 'tis known that the *Egyptian* Mythology confounds Gods who are very different from one another, and that ſometimes it diſtinguiſhes them by particular Attributes. 'Tis certain, for inſtance, as the

(1) Loc. cit.

the moſt learned Antiquaries hold, that *Harpocrates*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the following Article, repreſented the Sun among the *Egyptians*, as well as *Oſiris* and *Orus*, tho' the Figures under which theſe Gods were repreſented, had no manner of reſemblance to one another.

Let that be as it will, *Orus* occurs in the *Iſiack* Table, under the figure of an Infant ſwath'd about, and covered from head to foot in an odd kind of Habit in form of Lozenges. He holds with both hands a Staff, terminating in a Bird's Head, and a Whip *(a)* reſembling that which is to be ſeen on ſome figures of *Oſiris*. In a Manuſcript of M. *de Peireſc*, preſerved in the Library of *S. Victor*, the ſame *Orus* is ſeen in a Group, between *Iſis* and *Oſiris*: There he is repreſented as a young Child, habited in a Tunick. Tho' the Head of *Oſiris* is wanting, that of *Iſis* is there, diſcernible by her Head-dreſs, upon which is the Lotus-Leaf in form of a Creſcent. We may obſerve, before we finiſh this Article, that in all the Figures of *Orus* we have now remaining, he is always repreſented as a Child; doubtleſs, to point out to us that he was but very young when *Typhon* put his Father to death, and that *Iſis* his Mother was obliged to defer the Puniſhment of the Tyrant, till her Son was in a capacity to be the Inſtrument of her Revenge.

ARTICLE III.

Harpocrates.

By ſurveying the Figures of *Harpocrates*, whereof we have a ſufficient quantity remaining, 'tis eaſy to judge that he was the God of Silence, ſince in all of them he is repreſented in an Attitude, holding a Finger upon his Lips; the *Egyptians*, whoſe Mythology was exceedingly myſterious, intending thereby to denote, that the Gods were to be adored with reſpectful Silence; or, as *Plutarch* has it (1), that they who knew thoſe Gods

(a) This Whip, which is frequently to be ſeen in the figures which repreſent *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Harpocrates*, was the Symbol of the God of the Sun.

(1) De Iſ. & Oſ.

were not to ſpeak of them raſhly. There was even a Law, according to *Varro* (1), which forbid under pain of death, to ſay that *Serapis* had been a mortal Man: And, as in the Temples of *Iſis* there was an Idol, that is, an *Harpocrates* putting the Finger to his Mouth, the ſame *Varro* was of opinion, that he was there to recommend Silence as to that Article.

The Ancients agree that *Harpocrates* was the Son of *Iſis* (2), and that his Mother having loſt him when he was very young, ſhe formed a reſolution to ſearch for him over Sea and Land, until ſhe ſhould find him. They tell us that it was upon this occaſion ſhe invented Sails for Ships, inſtead of the Oars that were uſed before; this is what we learn from *Hyginus* (*a*). *Caſſiodorus* ſays the ſame thing (3), and ſeems to have copied *Hyginus*; with this difference, that in place of *Harpocrates* he puts *Harpocras:* And this, to mention it by the by, is what gave that Goddeſs the Epithet of *Pelagia*, which is to be ſeen in an ancient Inſcription quoted by *Gruterus*.

This Circumſtance of ſearching for *Harpocrates* bears too great a reſemblance to what we have reported of *Orus*, from *Diodorus Siculus*, not to make us believe that *Orus* and *Harpocrates* were the ſame Perſon; and this is the Opinion of the moſt knowing Mythologiſts. In *Diodorus*, 'tis true, *Orus* is ſlain by the *Titans*, and *Iſis* reſtored him to life; whereas, according to *Hyginus*, *Harpocrates* had only wander'd; but conſidering what ſurprizing Diverſity there is among Authors, in relation to thoſe ancient pieces of Hiſtory, there is nothing ſtrange in *Diodorus*'s ſaying that *Orus* had been ſlain, and that his Mother finding his dead Body, had reſtored him to life, tho' in reality he had only wander'd.

The illuſtrious M. *Caper*, who has compoſed a Treatiſe upon *Harpocrates*, full of learned Reſearches, doubts not but this was the ſame Adventure, differently related

(1) Apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 5. (2) See Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

(*a*) Velificia primum invenit Iſis; nam dum quærit Harpocratem filium ſuum, rate velificavit. *Fab. ult.*

(3) Var. l. 5. c. 17.

lated by the Ancients, and makes but one Perſon of *Orus* and *Harpocrates*: And as the firſt was among the *Egyptians* the Symbol of the Sun, he concludes, that the ſecond repreſented the ſame Luminary too. Accordingly you ſee him upon ſome Antiques, under the figure of a Child, riſing out of the Flower of Lotus, his Head encompaſſed with Rays, and a Whip in his Hand, to denote the riſing Sun. And tho' this Proof were not ſufficiently convincing, yet this Luminary and the Moon which are drawn in the ſame Antique, would leave no room to doubt of it. The Attitude of the Finger upon the Mouth, evidently proves that it is a *Harpocrates*. This God is repreſented much the ſame way in the Flower of Lotus, upon a Medal of *Antoninus*. Tho' thoſe two Monuments, whereof the one is an *Abraxas* of the *Baſilidians*, the other a Medal of the Emperor now mentioned, are not of ſufficient antiquity to prove, that they were an Expreſſion of the Sentiments of the *Egyptians*. *Plutarch*, in the learned Treatiſe which we have ſo often quoted, aſſerts, that he was thus repreſented in *Egypt*; not that they believed he had been born of the Flower of *Lotus*, as *Triſtan* thought (1); but to inform us that the Sun was nouriſhed by Vapours. The Finger which this God holds to his Mouth, in both thoſe Figures, was always an indication that the Myſteries of Religion and Philoſophy were to be conceal'd from the People.

The learned Author from whom I have borrowed this Article, adds a world of other Reaſons to prove, that *Harpocrates* was the Sun, which the learned Reader may ſee in the Work itſelf. I would only obſerve, before I have done, that there are Figures of this God truly *Egyptian*, where he appears to have his Head covered with Rays or with Horns: Some, where he has Wings; others, where he holds a Whip in his hand; others, in ſhort, where he carries a *Cornucopia*; Symbols, which all denote that he was taken for the Sun, and that he was the ſame as *Orus* or *Apollo*. The Owl too which accompanies him in ſome of thoſe Attributes, and which

(1) Tom. 1. p. 624.

tick. All the Monuments that we have this God, may be ſeen in the Work of M. the ſecond Volume of *Montfaucon*'s Antiquit

Article IV.

Macedo, Anubis.

Oſiris, in his Expedition to the *Indies* with him Perſons of the greateſt diſtinctio and left others to be *Iſis*'s Privy-Council du gency. *Diodorus Siculus* (2), who inſtruc part of *Oſiris*'s Hiſtory, ſays, that *Macedo Pan*, accompany'd him in his Expedition. Author adds, that he appointed *Buſiris* C the Provinces that were upon the ſide of *E Antæus* Governour of thoſe that lay towar and *Libya*.

There are Authors who alledge that *Ma* to *Oſiris*; but *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that one of his Generals, and that he wore fo Attire, a Wolf's Skin, and *Anubis* that of this he gives for the Reaſon why the *E* ſo great a veneration for thoſe Animals.

erved to us. *Plutarch* (1) is of the ſame mind, when e ſays, he was called *Herm-Anubis*, that is to ſay, *Mercury-Anubis*. *Servius*, interpreting the Verſes where *Virgil* terms this God *Latrator Anubis* (2), tells us, hat Prince was ſo named, becauſe he is repreſented with the Head of a Dog, and that he was taken for *Mercury*, becauſe of all Animals the Dog has moſt Sagacity (*a*).

Apuleius calls *Anubis*, "the Interpreter of the Gods of Heaven, and of Hell. His Face, continues that Author, is ſometimes ſwarthy, ſometimes of a golden Complexion. He lifts on high his large Dog's Head, carrying in his left hand a *Caduceus*, and in the right brandiſhing a green Branch of the Palm-Tree." *Ille Superûm Commentor & Inferûm; nunc atrâ, nunc aureâ facie ſublimis attollens canis facies arduas Anubis, ſiniſtrâ Caduceum gerens, dextrâ palmam virentem quatiens.*

Thus it is that the *Greek* Mythology has often confounded every thing. Never was *Anubis* the *Egyptian Mercury*, the famous *Triſmegiſtus*, ſo celebrated in the Hiſtory of that Country for his glorious Diſcoveries, for the Invention of Characters, and for the prodigious number of Books which he compoſed upon all ſorts of Science; which we ſhall have occaſion to examine more fully in the Hiſtory of *Mercury* (3). We ought not to lay much ſtreſs upon the Figures of this God which carry the *Caduceus*; they are inconteſtably *Greek* or *Roman*, as well as the Medals of *Gorlay*, where *Anubis* appears with the Symbol of *Mercury*; the other Repreſentations which are *Egyptian*, give him no ſuch thing. To be ſhort, if *Anubis* is always imaged with a Dog's Head, 'tis either becauſe he wore the Skin of that Animal in the Expedition to the *Indies*, or to repreſent by the Symbol of that Animal, that having been Captain of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*'s Guards, as *Diodorus*

(1) De Iſ. & Oſir. (2) Æn. l. 8. v. 698.

(*a*) Latrator Anubis, quia canino capite fingitur. Hunc volunt eſſe *Mercurium ideo*, quia nihil eſt cane sagacius.

(3) *Vol. II.*

has it (1), he had diſcharg'd that Office with remarkable Fidelity.

Plutarch (2), who has handed down to us ancient Traditions about the Family of *Oſiris*, tells us, that *Anubis* was believ'd to be the Son of *Nephte*, who was deliver'd of him before her time, by the Fright which ſhe got from *Typhon* her Husband; and that it was he, tho' yet very young, who firſt informed *Iſis* his Aunt of the News of *Oſiris*'s Death.

But whatever be in that, *Anubis* was in the number of the great Gods of *Egypt*; this is the Idea of him which *Iſias* had, who dedicated to him the fine Statue which we have ſaid is in *Boiſſard*. This *Iſias*, it would ſeem, was not of *Plutarch*'s opinion, ſince he took *Anubis* for *Oſiris*'s Brother. Accordingly we read in the Inſcription which is over that Statue, Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοὶ, *the Brother Gods*, and you ſee on the left of *Anubis*, who has the Head of a Dog, that of *Oſiris*; and upon his right, that of the Bull *Apis* with its Horns, both of them with the *Calathus* of *Serapis*: Theſe then are the three Brother-Gods, *Serapis* or *Oſiris*, *Apis* and *Anubis*. The Inſcription which is below his Figure, with the Name of the High-Prieſt *Iſias*, calls theſe Gods, *the Synthronian Gods of Egypt*; that is, who ſhared the ſame Throne, or the ſame Honours.

We may take notice by the by, that ſome Mythologiſts take for *Anubis*'s, all the Figures *Cynocephali*, that is, with Dog's Heads; wherein they are miſtaken; for the *Cynocephalus*, of which *Herodotus* (3) and ſome Naturaliſts make mention, was a kind of ſavage Animal, which was believ'd to have Eyes upon the Breaſt.

ARTICLE V.

Canopus.

Canopus had been the Pilot, or rather Admiral of *Oſiris*'s Fleet, in the time of his *Indian* Expedition; and upon his Death having been rank'd among the Gods, they gave out, as *Plutarch* has it (4), that his Soul

(1) Loc. cit. (2) De Iſ. & Oſir. (3) Lib. 4. c. 191. & Oſir.

Soul was removed into the Star which bears his name (*a*). This is what frequently happen'd, as we have remarked before, that the ſame God was both an animated God, that is to ſay a deified Man, and a natural God, whether a Star, or ſome other part of the Univerſe. And this is what we are to think, eſpecially of moſt of the *Egyptian* Gods. Mythologiſts are perſuaded, that *Canopus* was in *Egypt* the God of the Waters, at leaſt of the Waters of the *Nile*; the bare Figures of this God are enough to prove it. For he is always repreſented in the *Egyptian* Monuments that now remain, under the form of one of thoſe Vaſes wherein the *Egyptians* kept the Water of that River till it refined. From theſe Vaſes, whoſe ſurface is full of hieroglyphical Figures, comes out the Head of a Man or Woman, ſometimes with two Hands, and frequently with nothing to be ſeen but the Head. Such are the Repreſentations which we have of *Canopus*, as may be ſeen in *Boiſſard*, and in the Cabinet of M. *de la Chauſſe*.

Ruſinus, in his eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (1), relates a Story, which would be a good proof of what the Mythologiſts alledge, had he given us any Authority for it. The *Chaldeans*, ſays he, who ador'd the Fire, carried their God into ſeveral Countries, to try his Power over the Gods of other Nations. He baffled the Images of Braſs, Gold, Silver, Wood, or whatever other Materials they were of, by reducing them to Duſt; and thus his Worſhip was almoſt every where eſtabliſhed: But the Prieſt of *Canopus* thought upon a Stratagem, which made the God whom he ſerv'd, ſuperior to that of the *Chaldeans*. The Pitchers, in which the *Egyptians* uſed to refine the Water of the *Nile*, having been perforated on all ſides with ſmall imperceptible Holes, he took one of them, and ſtop'd all thoſe ſmall Holes with Wax, painted it of different Colours, and having filled it up with Water, he fitted to the Mouth of it the Head of an Idol. The *Chal-*

(*a*) This is the Star named *Canopus*.
(1) Lib. 2. c. 26.

we have now named. That the Egyptians
ligious Worship to Water in general, or as
of the Nile, is what appears to be out of

nies of well-distinguish'd Years. Between *Hercules* and that Prince they reckon'd a far greater number of years; and consequently a considerably longer period between him and *Pan*, who was much ancienter than the other two. Whereas according to the *Greek* History, there was from *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and the time when *Herodotus* lived, but about sixteen hundred Years; from *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, but nine hundred; and from *Pan*, the Son of *Penelope* and *Mercury*, but about eight hundred.

After so positive a Testimony, we are not to lay much stress upon what the *Greeks* related of the God *Pan*, but 'tis in *Egypt* we are to search into his original.

"The *Egyptians*, says the Author, whom I have "now quoted, sacrifice neither He-goats nor She-"goats, because they represent the God *Pan*, and paint "him with the Face and Legs of a Goat; wherein "the *Greeks* have also imitated them: Not that it "was believ'd in *Egypt* he bore any resemblance to "them, but for reasons which it would not be agree-"able to repeat. Those of *Mendes*, continues the "same Historian, hold the He and She-goats, the for-"mer especially, in singular Veneration, as likewise the "Goat-herds who keep them; among whom there is "one, who is more honour'd than the rest; and his "Death causes great Mourning thro' all the Country. "*Pan* and the He-Goat in the *Egyptian* Language are "called *Mendes*."

Diodorus Siculus (1) says that *Pan* was so much honour'd by the *Egyptians*, that his Statues were to be seen in all the Temples, and that to his honour they had built in *Thebais* the City of *Chemmis*, that is to say, the City of *Pan*. This Author, who takes no notice of *Mendes* in lower *Egypt*, where that God was in high veneration, adds, that he had accompanied *Osiris* in his Expedition to the *Indies*, together with *Anubis* and *Macedo*, which *Herodotus* says nothing of.

'Tis not to be doubted, whatever the *Greeks* may say, but

(1) *L. 1. p. 16.*

but that the *Egyptian Pan* is the moſt ancient of all, and that it was by the Colonies they received the knowledge of him and his Worſhip. They fabled however that he was the Son of *Mercury* and *Penelope*, for whom that God transformed himſelf into a Goat upon Mount *Taygetus*, where ſhe was keeping the Flocks of her Father *Icarius*; and of a God who originally repreſented Nature and Fertility, they made a God of the Woods and Fields, ſolely taken up about the Pleaſures of a Country-Life, dancing continually with the Fauns and Satyrs, and running after the Nymphs, to whom he was a Terror.

It was he, according to them, who invented the Flute with the ſeven Pipes (*a*), and upon this occaſion they deliver'd the Fable, which I am going to relate. That God one day purſuing a Nymph named *Syrinx*, the Daughter of the River *Ladon*, with whom he was in love, the Nymphs of that River transform'd her into a Reed. *Pan* fetch'd many a deep Sigh near thoſe Reeds, and they gently moving by the Zephyrs, repeated his Complaints; which ſuggeſted to him the thought of pulling ſome of them, whereof he made the Flute with the ſeven Pipes, which was called after the name of that Nymph (*1*). But this is a meer Fable invented by the *Greeks*; which may import, that ſome one of thoſe to whom they gave the name of *Pan*, had employed the Reeds of the River *Ladon*, to make that ſort of Flute: I ſay, of thoſe to whom they gave the name of *Pan*, for in reality there were ſeveral of them; *Nonnus* reckons up no leſs than twelve.

Herodotus durſt not tell the reaſon why the *Egyptians* repreſented the God *Pan* under the figure of a Goat; ancient Mythologiſts however aſſure us, that what induc'd them to it, was, that *Pan* having found the Gods in *Egypt*, whither they had fled from the Giants, adviſed them, as a means to prevent their diſcovery,

(*a*) Pan primus calamos cerâ conjungere plures - -
Inſtituit. *Virg. Ecl.* 2.
Fit mihi diſparibus ſeptem compacta cicutis
Fiſtula. *Id. lb.*

(1) Met L. 1. v. 689.

covery, to clothe themſelves with the figures of different Animals; and as an example he himſelf aſſum'd that of a Goat. They tell us, that he even fought very reſolutely in their behalf againſt *Typhon*; and for his reward, theſe ſame Gods, whom he had ſo ſtoutly defended, gave him a place in Heaven, where he forms the Sign of *Capricorn* (1).

Be that as it will, there was no place in all *Greece*, where the Divinity of *Pan* was more honour'd than in *Arcadia*. This is even thought to have been the place where he deliver'd his Oracles. Sacrifices were offer'd to him of Honey and Goat's Milk, and the *Lupercalia* were celebrated to his honour. This Feſtival in later times became very famous in *Italy*, where *Evander* the *Arcadian* had introduced the Worſhip of *Pan*. The *Greeks*, beſides the Fable of *Syrinx*, which I have mention'd, broach'd ſeveral others in relation to this God, as his having diſcover'd to *Jupiter* the place where *Ceres* had concealed herſelf, after the Rape of *Proſerpine*; upon which information they tell us, that *Jupiter* diſpatch'd the Deſtinies to conſole her, and to prevail upon her by their Prayers to put an end to the Barrenneſs, which her Abſence had brought upon the Earth (2).

'Tis the *Greeks* too, who have attributed to their God *Pan*, the original of that ſort of ſudden Conſternation which ſeizes upon People, without knowing whence it proceeds; 'twas by ſuch an unaccountable Terrour, that the Army of *Brennus*, the Leader of the *Gauls*, was put to flight: But *Plutarch* and *Polyenus* refer the ſource of it to the God *Pan* of the *Egyptians*. The firſt of theſe Authors ſays, that the *Pans* and *Satyrs* affrighted with the Death of *Oſiris*, whom *Typhon* had inhumanly murder'd, made the Banks of the *Nile* to reſound with their Howlings and Lamentations; and ever ſince, they have called that vain Fear which ſurprizes People unawares, by the name of *Panick Terrour*. *Polyenus* (3) aſcribes the Origin of thoſe

(1) Hygin. Cœl. Poet. Aſtr. (2) Pauſ. in Arcad.
(3) In his Strat.

thoſe Terrors to the Stratagem which *Pan*, *Oſiris*'s Lieutenant-General, made uſe of to extricate the Army of that Prince, when it was ſurprized in the night-time by the *Barbarians* in a Valley; he order'd them to raiſe Shrieks and terrible Howlings, which put the Enemy into ſuch a conſternation that they fled. But *Bochart* (1) pretends that there is no other reaſon for making *Pan* the Author of thoſe Terrors, but that the *Hebrew* word *Pan* or *Phan* denotes a Man under Conſternation.

Here 'tis proper to remark by the by, that ſeveral learned Men confound *Pan* with *Faunus* or *Sylvanus*, and believe it was but one and the ſame Divinity worſhipped under theſe different Names. Father *Thomaſſin* proves it by ſeveral Authorities, fetch'd from the Ancients; to which he might have joined that of *Probus* in his Commentaries upon *Virgil*, of *Feneſtella*, and ſeveral others. The *Lupercalia* too were equally celebrated in honour of thoſe three Divinities, who were indeed different in their Original, tho' in time they came to be confounded.

It muſt be own'd however, that the Fable of *Pan* came at length to be greatly allegorized; and that this God was look'd upon as the Symbol of Nature. His very Name in *Greek* (2) ſignifies *All*; accordingly he was imaged with Horns on his Head, to repreſent, ſay Mythologiſts, the Rays of the Sun, as the Vivacity and Ruddineſs of his Complexion mark the Brightneſs of the Heavens: the Star which he wears upon his Breaſt, is the Symbol of the Firmament; and his Feet and Legs overgrown with Hair denote the inferior part of the World, the Earth, the Trees, and Plants.

The *Egyptians*, after having look'd the Sun under the name of *Oſiris*, and the Moon under that of *Iſis*, made all Nature the Object of their Adoration under the Symbol of *Pan*, who is to be conſidered as one of the moſt ancient Divinities of the Pagan World. We find him in *Egypt* at the time when the Gods, attack'd by the Giants,

(1) Chan

(2) Πᾶς, *Omne*, according to *Plutarch*, *Perſius*, the word

Giants, fled thither for refuge; and, according to *Plutarch* (1), the *Pans* and *Satyrs* were the firſt who deplored the Death of *Oſiris*. *Diodorus* adds (2), that *Pan* accompanied *Bacchus* in his Conqueſt of the *Indies*, as has been ſaid: now the *Bacchus* who made that Conqueſt was an *Egyptian*, ſince it was *Oſiris* himſelf.

I have been obliged to repeat the *Greek* Fables relative to *Pan*; but at bottom the whole amounts to this, that he was one of the greateſt Gods of *Egypt*; that he was honoured eſpecially at *Mendes*; that his Worſhip was brought into *Greece* by the *Egyptian* Colonies; that he became more remarkably famous in *Arcadia*; that *Evander* made him be known in *Italy*, where he came and ſettled with his Colony ſome Years before the *Trojan* War; and that at laſt the Worſhip of this God was received at *Rome*, with the Feſtivals which were celebrated to his Honour.

I ſhall conclude, after I have briefly taken notice of that extraordinary Voice, which, according to *Plutarch*, was heard towards the *Echinades Iſles*, in the *Ionian Sea*, and which pronounced theſe Words, *The great* Pan *is dead.* The Aſtrologers of that time, conſulted by *Tiberius*, upon the Credit of a Pilot named *Thamus*, who aver'd that he had heard it, told that Prince, that it meant *Pan* the Son of *Penelope*. 'Tis probable, that *Thamus* had been ſuborned to terrify the Emperor; unleſs we will rather chuſe to ſay with *Euſebius*, that this Voice was ſupernatural, and that God was pleaſed by it to intimate to the World the Death of the *Meſſiah*, which happened under the Reign of that Emperor.

The Worſhip paid to the He-Goat, as repreſenting the God *Pan*, leads us naturally to an important Article of the *Egyptian* Religion; I mean, that of Animal Worſhip in general. Here we have two things to examine: 1. What were thoſe Animals for which the *Egyptians* had a particular Veneration. 2. What was the

(1) De Iſ. & Oſ. (2) Lib. 1.

the Nature of that Worſhip which they aſcribed unto them.

CHAP. III.

Of the Worſhip given to Animals by the Egyptians.

THAT the *Egyptians* honour'd Animals with a publick Worſhip, ſuch as was authorized by the Laws of the Country, is a Fact which cannot be called in queſtion; and they have been ſo reproached with it, that the Satire, which they have ſuffered upon that account from *Greeks* and *Romans*, is known to all the World.

Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat (1)?

The ſame Poet rallies them for not daring to eat either Leeks or Onions:

Porrum & cepe nefas violare, & frangere morſu (a);
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina (2)!

Lucian, in his Dialogues, often ridicules this fooliſh Superſtition. And yet were it only Poets and ſatirical Authors who rally them upon this account, it might be thought that they had not ſo much conſulted Truth, as their own ſatyrical Humour; but the graveſt and moſt judicious Hiſtorians have loaded them with the ſame Reproaches. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and ſeveral others ſpeak of the different Animals which the *Egyptians* worſhipped, as ſhall be ſaid afterwards. *Elian* (3) gives ſome particular Inſtances thereof, with no other view but to expoſe ſo fooliſh a Superſtition. *Plutarch* (4), who has endeavour'd to excuſe the *Egyptians*, allows however, that a Worſhip which has meer Animals for its Object, appears at firſt ſight to be quite abſurd and ridiculous. And indeed, what can we think of a People, whoſe Temples were filled with almoſt all the Animals which their Country produc'd? What other

(1) Juv. Sat. 15. ab init.
(a) *Pliny* has the ſame Thought with *Juvenal*. *Allium cepaſque*, ſays he *inter Deos jurè juranda habet Ægyptus*. Lib. 19.
(2) Id. ibid. v. 9. (3) De Anim. L. 12. c. 5. (4) De Iſ. & Oſ.

other Notion could one have but that thoſe Animals were the Objects of a truly religious Worſhip, which he ſaw nouriſhed and lodged with particular care, as were the Ox *Apis* at *Memphis*, the Crocodile at *Arſinoë*, the Cat at *Bubaſtis*, the Goat at *Mendes*, &c. Add to this, that the ſacred Birds and Animals were embalm'd after their Death, in order to be depoſited in the Catacombs, which were ſet apart for them; and we ſhall be conſtrained to ſay with *Cicero*, that the *Egyptians* had more Reſpect and Veneration for Animals, than the *Romans* for their Temples and the Statues of their Gods (*a*).

In fine, when we know that they puniſhed with Death thoſe who killed any of thoſe ſacred Animals, who can help believing that they carried this Superſtition to the greateſt Exceſs? That they did ſo, is certain matter of Fact; and tho' we had not the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus* to depend upon, who tells the Story of a *Roman* Soldier, who for ſlaying a Cat was torn in pieces by the furious Mob, in ſpite of all that *Ptolemy* could do to reſcue him, as he inclined to have done, knowing how much it was his Intereſt to keep in good terms with the Senate; tho' we had not this, I ſay, yet the Teſtimony of *Moſes* would be ſufficient to prove it. That ſacred Legiſlator, asking *Pharaoh*'s permiſſion to go and ſacrifice in the Wilderneſs, tells him, that if they ſacrificed in *Egypt* the Animals which were worſhipped there, they would be ſtoned (*b*).

Thus *Joſephus* diſputing againſt *Apion* (1), had good reaſon to ſay to him, that if the World had embraced the *Egyptian* Religion, *it would ſoon have become deſtitute of human Inhabitants, and wholly peopled by Animals.* But in order to ſet this Article of the *Egyptian* Theology in a better light, 'tis neceſſary that we come to Particulars.

We

(*a*) Firmiores apud Ægyptios opiniones eſſe de beſtiis quibuſdam, quam apud Romanos de ſanctiſſimis Templis & Simulachris Deorum. *De Nat. Deor.* L. 1.

(*b*) Quod ſi mactaverimus ea quæ colunt Ægyptii, coram eis, lapidibus nos obruent. *Ex.* viii. v. 26.

(1) L. 2.

We have already ſeen in what manner the *Egyptians* worſhipped the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, Symbols of their *Oſiris*; *Anubis* with a Dog's Head, and *Pan* under the Figure of a Goat. 'Tis likewiſe known, that at *Arſinoë*, a Town ſituated near the Lake *Mœris*, they had a great Veneration for the Crocodiles, nouriſhed them with care, embalm'd them after their Death, and interr'd them in the ſubterraneous Cells of the Labyrinth; that at *Bubaſtis* in lower *Egypt*, the Cats were in ſuch Veneration, that it was forbid, under pain of Death, to kill them. *Herodotus* (1) remarks upon this occaſion, that when any Fire happens, the Cats are actuated by a divine Commotion, and that the *Egyptians*, who have the keeping of them, neglect the Fire to obſerve what thoſe Animals are then a doing; and he ſubjoins, that in ſpight of all their Efforts to hold them, they get away, and throw themſelves into the fire. Then, continues that Author, the *Egyptians* put on Mourning, and deplore the Loſs which they have now ſuſtained. The ſame Hiſtorian farther remarks, that when a Cat dies a natural Death, all the People of the Houſe where this Accident happens, ſhave their Eye-brows in token of Grief; and if it is a Dog that dies, they ſhave their Head and whole Body. When the Days of Mourning are over, they embalm the Cats, and attend them to their Place of Interment at *Bubaſtis*.

The Dog, the Lion, the Ichneumon, the Hawk, the Monkey, and other Animals, were the Objects of the ſame People's Veneration; which makes *Herodotus* ſay, that the *Egyptians* looked upon all the Animals as ſacred, that their Country brought forth; the number whereof however was not very conſiderable, tho' they were in the Neighbourhood of *Libya*, which produc'd them in ſuch great plenty. Hence ſo many monſtrous Figures of *Egyptian* Divinities, which we meet with in the Antiquaries, with the Heads of a Cat (*a*), a Dog, a Wolf, a Lion, a Monkey, *&c.* One

(1) L. 2. c. 66.

(*a*) Here we ſee what the *Egyptian* God Cat, or *Ælurus* was, whereof

One very infallible Proof of the Reſpect and Veneration which they had for thoſe Animals is, that the Towns which honour'd them, were called by their Names. Such was *Bubaſtis*, *Mendes*, *Crocodilopolis* (*b*), *Leontopolis*, and ſeveral others, which were thus denominated, from their having a ſingular Veneration for the Cats, the Goats, the Crocodiles, the Lions, *&c.* Several *Nomes* in the ſame Country were deſign'd by the Names of the Animals that were worſhip'd there. The *Oxyrinchian* was ſo called upon account of the Fiſh *Oxyrinchus*; the *Lycopolitan*, from the Wolf; the *Cynocephalus*, from the Dog, *&c.* I ſhall not dwell longer upon a Subject ſo well known; but I cannot forbear remarking with *Herodotus* (1), that while one City rank'd certain Animals among their Gods, another held them in Abomination. Thus the Inhabitants of *Mendes*, who worſhip'd the Goat, ſacrificed to him the Sheep, which were the Objects of Veneration to thoſe of *Saïs*, who in their turn offered the Goats in Sacrifice to their *Jupiter Ammon*. Juſt ſo the Crocodiles, ſo highly honour'd at *Arſinoë*, were look'd upon with horror and deteſtation in the reſt of *Egypt*, where they believed the Soul of *Typhon* had paſſed into that amphibious Animal. Hence thoſe religious Wars mentioned by *Plutarch*, of one Province againſt another, which took their riſe at firſt from a political Contrivance of one of their Kings; who, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, ſeeing his People ſomewhat intractable and inclined to revolt, diſtributed them into different Prefectures, in each of which he eſtabliſhed the Worſhip of ſome Animal, and forbid the

whereof ſeveral Repreſentations are to be found in the Antiquaries, ſometimes under the Figure of that Animal, as one of them occurs in *Fabretti*; more frequently under that of a Man, with the Head of that Animal, and the Ornament which ordinarily accompanies that of *Oſiris*; ſometimes with a Scepter in his Hand, which was the Symbol of *Iſis*.

(*b*) This City was called *Arſinoë*. Among the Crocodiles which were honoured there, the Prieſts had always a tame one, which they named *Suchus*. Him they adorned with Gold and Jewels; and they who came to ſee him, made him an Offering of Bread and Wine.

(1) L. 2.

deans having arrived in *Egypt*, kindled Fire near this Vaſe, whoſe Heat having melted the Wax, made way for the Water to run out, which extinguiſh'd the Fire. Thus *Canopus* vanquiſh'd the God of the *Chaldeans*. Among the *Abraxas*, which *Chifflet* gives account of, we find a Vaſe bored with ſeveral Holes; thro' which the Water that is pour'd into it runs out: This is a *Canopus* whoſe Head and Feet riſe out of the two extremities of the Vaſe; which might confirm the ſtory we have now related. That the *Egyptians* paid a religious Worſhip to Water in general, or at leaſt to that of the *Nile*, is what appears to be out of doubt. In their Philoſophy, Water was the Principle of all Beings, as they taught *Thales*, who made this the foundation of his Syſtem. But I ſhall examine this Subject more thoroughly in the Hiſtory of the Sea-Gods.

We have ſeen in the preceding Articles, that among the *Egyptians*, *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Harpocrates*, were the *Sun*, *Iſis* the *Moon*, and *Canopus* the Element of *Water*; we are now going to prove that they honour'd Univerſal Nature, and her fruitful Influence, under the name of *Pan*.

ARTICLE VI.

Pan.

If ever the *Greeks* corrupted ancient Hiſtory, it was eſpecially in the Fable of *Pan*: We ſhall be told by them, as *Herodotus* judiciouſly remarks (1), that *Hercules*, *Liber* or *Bacchus*, and *Pan*, were the laſt of all the Gods: But yet among the *Egyptians*, *Pan* was look'd upon as one of the eight great Gods, who in their Theology form'd the firſt Claſs, and were the moſt powerful, and moſt antient of all. *Hercules* was but in the ſecond, which was made up of twelve Gods, who only came after the other eight whom we now mention'd, and generated thoſe of the third, in which they placed *Bacchus*. From *Bacchus* to *Amaſis*, continues *Herodotus*, the *Egyptians* computed fifteen thouſand Years, and ſupported this Computation by a Se-

ries

(1) Lib. 2. c. 145.

ries of well-diſtinguiſh'd Years. Between *Hercules* and that Prince they reckon'd a far greater number of years; and conſequently a conſiderably longer period between him and *Pan*, who was much ancienter than the other two. Whereas according to the *Greek* Hiſtory, there was from *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and the time when *Herodotus* lived, but about ſixteen hundred Years; from *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, but nine hundred; and from *Pan*, the Son of *Penelope* and *Mercury*, but about eight hundred.

After ſo poſitive a Teſtimony, we are not to lay much ſtreſs upon what the *Greeks* related of the God *Pan*, but 'tis in *Egypt* we are to ſearch into his original.

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Diodorus Siculus (1) ſays that *Pan* was ſo much honour'd by the *Egyptians*, that his Statues were to be ſeen in all the Temples, and that to his honour they had built in *Thebais* the City of *Chemmis*, that is to ſay, the City of *Pan*. This Author, who takes no notice of *Mendes* in lower *Egypt*, where that God was in high veneration, adds, that he had accompanied *Oſiris* in his Expedition to the *Indies*, together with *Anubis* and *Macedo*, which *Herodotus* ſays nothing of.

'Tis not to be doubted, whatever the *Greeks* may ſay, but

(1) L. 1. p. 16.

which baniſh'd or entirely deſtroy'd them. *Cicero* is of the ſame mind with *Herodotus* (1). "The *Egyptians*, ſays he, whom we are apt to ridicule ſo much, "conferred Honours however upon Animals, only in "proportion to the Advantage which they derived "from them; thus their Reaſon for worſhipping the "*Ibis*, was becauſe it deſtroy'd the Serpents. I might "take notice, continues he, of the Advantages they "reap'd from the Ichneumon, from the Crocodiles, "and the Cats; but I have no mind to be tedious." *Ipſi qui irridentur Ægyptii nullam belluam, niſi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperent, conſecrarunt; velut, quod Ibes maximam vim ſerpentium conficiunt: Poſſum de Ichneumonum utilitate, de Crocodilorum, de Felium dicere; ſed nolo eſſe longior.*

I readily grant, that the Progreſs which the Worſhip of Animals made in *Egypt* was owing to this Conſideration; but I don't believe that it was the Foundation of it. I know indeed, that Gratitude and Fear introduc'd Gods into the World. I am far from diſowning the great Advantages that are derived from ſeveral Animals; nor am I ignorant of what *Voſſius*, in his excellent Treatiſe of Idolatry, ſays upon this Subject; but would this ſingle Conſideration have been ſufficient to raiſe Monſters and Inſects to Divinities? Let us not rely too much upon *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, who were not always well inſtructed in the *Egyptian* Myſteries, which the Prieſts concealed from them as from profane Perſons, who came into their Country out of meer Curioſity. They are not perhaps to be more believed upon this Subject, than as to the Calumnies with which they loaded the *Jews*, accuſing them of having worſhipped Swine, from whoſe Fleſh they abſtain'd; and of paying devotion to an Aſs, whoſe Figure, according to them, they preſerved in maſſy Gold, in the Temple of *Jeruſalem* (*a*).

Judæus licet & porcinum numen adoret,
Et cilli ſummas advocet auriculas (2). Let

(1) De Nat. Deor. L. 1.
(*a*) See *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, *Tacitus*, *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, &c.
(2) Petr. Sat.

Let us endeavour to unfold the *Egyptian* Myſteries, and ſee if the odd Figures of their Divinities, which provoked the Railleries and Contempt of *Cambyſes*, will not help us to find out the true Reaſons of the Worſhip which they paid to them. Firſt, I ſuppoſe, that all Worſhip is not a religious Worſhip, and that all religious Worſhip is not a Worſhip of *Latreia*. I don't think it neceſſary here to ſettle that Diſtinction, which is ſufficiently agreed to. This being laid down, I take the Worſhip which the *Egyptian* Prieſts aſcribed to Animals, to have been purely relative, and that it was ultimately directed to the Divinities, of whom they were the Symbols. But to ſhew that I am not advancing this Propoſition without foundation, I ſhall prove it by unqueſtionable Teſtimonies. We know, that the Ox *Apis* was among the *Egyptians* the Symbol of *Oſiris*, and that *Oſiris* himſelf was the Sun. Hence the Adoration of the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*; the firſt of them conſecrated to the Sun, and the other to the Moon (*a*), who were the great Divinities of that Country (1). *Herodotus* enquiring into the Reaſon why the *Egyptians* repreſented *Jupiter* with a Ram's Head, alledges, it was owing to that God's having appear'd under that form to *Hercules*, who was deſirous to ſee him. The ſame Author ſpeaking of the Worſhip which the Inhabitants of *Mendes* paid to *Pan*, ſays, they repreſented him under the figure of a Goat, for myſterious Reaſons, though they well knew that he reſembled the other Gods. *Diodorus Siculus* diſcovers this Myſtery, which *Herodotus* probably had no mind to unfold: That under the Symbol of that Animal, the People adored the prolifick Principle of univerſal Nature, which was repreſented by the God *Pan*. We ſee then it was *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, *Jupiter* and *Pan*, and by no means the Oxen, the Rams, and the Goats that were the true Objects of Worſhip to the Inhabitants of *Memphis*, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes* and *Mendes*.

(*a*) *Porphyry*, *Ælian*, *Amm. Marcel.* and others.
(1) That is, *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.

Plutarch (1) judiciouſly remarks, that Vigilance, a Quality common in Dogs, led the *Egyptians* to conſecrate them to the moſt cunning and vigilant of all the Gods; or, in other words, the only Reaſon why they imaged *Mercury* with a Dog's Head, was, as *Servius* has it, becauſe this is one of the moſt vigilant of Animals (*a*). We ſee from this Example the true Reaſon of the Doctrine of the Conſecration of Animals, and that this ſort of religious Worſhip terminated not in them, but in the Gods they repreſented. *Herodotus* decides the Queſtion, when he ſays (2), "The *Egyptians* offered their Vows to thoſe Animals, when "they addreſſed their Prayers to the Gods to whom "they were conſecrated." And if we would know what were thoſe Vows which were addreſſed to Animals, this judicious Author informs us, that it was an Offering of Money, which was given them for their Maintenance. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays the ſame thing, and explains this Myſtery more clearly (3): "The *Egyptians*, ſays he, offer'd to the Gods Vows for the Cure "of their ſick Children; and when they were out of "danger, they conducted them to the Temple; and "having cut off their Hair, they put it into a Balance with a Sum of Money of the ſame weight, "which they gave to thoſe who had the care of feeding the ſacred Animals."

Lucan, after having rallied the *Egyptians* who ſerved up, ſays he, ſeveral of their Gods upon *Cæſar*'s Table (*b*), ſubjoins however that the Prieſts being interrogated by that Prince about the Worſhip which they paid to thoſe Animals, gave him to underſtand, that in them they worſhipped the Divinity of whom they were the Symbols. Accordingly, when we learn that they placed in their Temples amidſt all their Idols that of *Harpocrates*, with the Finger upon its Mouth, this plainly lets us ſee that therein they included Myſteries, which none were permitted to dive into, but only to meditate upon them in ſilence. But

(1) De Iſide.

(*a*) *Servius* upon the Eighth Book of the *Æneid*. (2) Lib. 2. (3) L. 1.

(*b*) Non mandante ſame, multos volucreſque feraſque
Ægypti poſuere Deos. Pharſ. Lib. 10. v. 168.

But why make choice of Animals in order to repreſent the Gods? For what reaſons were ſome preferr'd to others? *Plutarch* anſwers in general (1), "'Tis "upon account of the Affinity which thoſe Animals "have with the Gods whom they repreſent. For, to "make uſe of his Compariſon, the Image of God ſhines "forth in ſome of them, as that of the Sun is reflected "in the drops of Water which are ſtruck with his "Beams: Thus, the Crocodile having no Tongue, is "conſider'd as the Symbol of the Divinity, who, by "his ſilent Influence, imprints the Laws of Equity and "Wiſdom on the ſilent Receſſes of our Minds. And "indeed, adds this learned Author, if numbers, which "have neither Body nor Soul, were thought by the "*Pythagoreans* to be proper Types of the Deity, is it "not more reaſonable, that Beings which are endued "with both, ſhould be conſidered as Images wherein he "has been pleaſed to make himſelf viſible to our eyes? "And if Nature itſelf be but a Mirror, in which the "Divinity, that glorious Sun, paints himſelf with his "various Attributes, does not this ſtill hold truer of the "animate Creatures; and what Statue, even of the "moſt exquiſite Workmanſhip, was ever capable of re-"preſenting the ſupreme Being to better advantage, "than the ſmalleſt organized Body."

To this excellent Reaſon of *Plutarch*, I ſhall ſubjoin four others, which I fetch from the Aſtrology, Hiſtory, Theology of the *Egyptians*, and from the Benefit which accrued to *Egypt* from certain Animals.

"*Lucian* (*a*), after having ſaid that the *Egyptians* "had calculated the courſe of every Star, and divided "the Year into Months and Seaſons, regulating the one "by the courſe of the Sun, and the other by that of "the Moon, ſubjoins, that having divided the Heavens "into twelve parts, they repreſented each Conſtellation "by the figure of ſome Animal." Here then, in the firſt place, we have the twelve Signs of the Zodiack repreſented by ſo many Animals, ſubſtituted in place of

(1) De Iſid.
(*a*) Treatiſe of Judicial Aſtrology.

the Stars, which were, as I have ſaid, the firſt Divinities of the idolatrous World. The ſame Author after this adds, "that the *Egyptians* revered the Ox *Apis*, "in memory of the Celeſtial Bull, and that in the O-"racle which was conſecrated to him, they drew Pre-"dictions from the nature of that Sign, as the *Africans* "from that of the Ram, in memory of *Jupiter Hammon*, "whom they adored under that Figure." It was then the Stars that they really worſhipped; and if they paid a religious Worſhip to the Animals which repreſented them, this was nothing but a relative Worſhip.

'Tis true, the Vulgar did not always carry their views heaven-ward, there to adore thoſe primary Gods, but frequently terminated their Worſhip in the Symbols themſelves; but the queſtion is not about the Religion of the Vulgar, but about that of the Prieſts and *Egyptian* Sages: And I don't believe there ever was a Religion in the World that was exempt from Reproach, if regard was to be had only to popular Uſages, which are frequently nothing but Superſtition ſomewhat enlightned. The ſecond Reaſon is taken from the ancient Hiſtory of *Egypt*, which informs us, as has been already ſaid, that the Gods having been once purſued by *Typhon*, had concealed themſelves under the figures of different Animals, as we read in *Ovid*, in *Manilius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. Nothing was more proper to found the Worſhip we are ſpeaking of, than this Hiſtory; for whether they believed that in reality the Grandees and Princes of *Oſiris*'s Party, whom his Brother *Typhon* perſecuted, had been in after-times deify'd, or rather, that this myſterious Tranſmigration of the Gods into the Bodies of Animals, was an ingenious Allegory, holding forth that the celeſtial Gods came down ſometimes to dwell in thoſe Symbols which repreſented them, ſtill they were obliged to have a high veneration for the Animals, and a dread of violating the ſacred Shrine of the Divinity itſelf.

The only reaſonable Objection that lies againſt this Conjecture, is, that this Fable is originally *Greek*, and that we have it only from *Greek* and *Latin* Authors: But

But not to inſiſt here upon what I have proved already, that moſt of the Fables of both theſe People came from *Egypt*, and that in particular that of the Combat of the Giants is nothing but a diſtorted Tradition of the Hiſtory of *Typhon* and *Oſiris*, are there not Monuments to be ſeen in *Egypt* ancienter than the Fables of the *Greeks*; Cities founded, a publick Worſhip eſtabliſhed in honour of the very Animals, whoſe Figures, they tell us, the Gods had aſſumed? For in fine, if *Ovid* gives out that *Jupiter* had borrowed that of a Ram (1);

Duxque gregis dixit, ſit Jupiter, unde recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys eſt cum cornibus Ammon:

Was he not adored under that Form, in the famous Temple which he had in *Libya?* That *Diana* put on that of a Cat, *Fele ſoror Phœbi*, was not the City of *Bubaſtis*, whoſe name, according to *Stephanus*, was that of the ſame Goddeſs, and in which Cats were worſhipped, was it not an authentick Monument of this Tradition? That *Bacchus*, or, according to others, *Pan*, took the figure of a He-Goat; *Proles Semeleia Capro:* Does not the Town of *Mendes* give an aſſured Teſtimony thereof? That *Juno* or *Iſis* had aſſumed the Form of a Cow; *Niveâ Saturnia Vaccâ:* Was ſhe not honoured at *Memphis*, under the Symbol of that Animal? That *Venus* diſguiſed herſelf under the Scales of a Fiſh, *Piſce Venus latuit*, or as *Manilius* has it (2).

Inſeruitque ſuos ſquamoſis piſcibus ignes:

Did not the *Syrians* abſtain for this very reaſon, from eating Fiſh? In fine, that *Mercury* had aſſumed the figure of an *Ibis*; *Cyllenius Ibidis Alis:* Is it not well known that the *Egyptians* aſcribed Worſhip to that Bird? Is it credible that the *Egyptians* learn'd both this Fable, and the Worſhip whereof it was the Foundation, from the *Greeks* and *Romans?* That it was upon their Ideas they founded the Syſtem of their Religion, and gave to their Cities Names conformable to the Worſhip which was therein practiſed? Or rather, was it not from thoſe ancient Cities that the Authors I ſpeak of, brought their Religion and Fables?

The

(1) Met. l. 5. v. 327. (2) Aſt. l. 4.

The third Reaſon, which is likewiſe a conſequence of the other, is drawn from the Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or of that eternal circulation of Souls into different Bodies.

Morte carent Animæ, ſemperque priore relictâ
Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ (1).

'Tis not neceſſary to inſiſt upon the Origin of this Doctrine. It ſuffices to ſay, that *Pythagoras* taught it in *Greece* and *Italy*, towards the LXI, and following Olympiads; but whether he inculcated it in the natural ſenſe, or, as M. *Dacier* ingeniouſly thinks, in a moral and allegorical ſenſe, 'tis certain that he was not the Inventor of it. He himſelf had learn'd it from the *Egyptian* Prieſts, among whom, if we credit *Diogenes Laertius* 2), he reſided a long time, in order to be inſtructed in their Myſteries, into which he was initiated. *Herodotus* (3) leaves no room to doubt of what I have advanced. "The *Egyptians*, ſays he, are the firſt who "maintained that the Soul of Man is immortal; that after Death it paſſes ſucceſſively into the Bodies of Animals terreſtrial, aquatick, and aërial, whence it returns to animate the Body of a Man, and finiſhes this "circuit in three thouſand years. There are *Greeks*, "ſays he, who have delivered the ſame Doctrine, ſome "ſooner, ſome later, as if it had been theirs originally; "their Names I know, tho' I forbear to mention them." Hence undoubtedly, their care to embalm the Bodies after Death, and to appropriate to them laſting Monuments for Burial.

'Tis therefore certain, that this Doctrine was originally from *Egypt*; and it was certainly attended with theſe two great Advantages. Firſt, it ſerved as a Foundation for the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul: Secondly, by teaching that Souls paſſed into other Bodies, noble or ignominious, according to the Merit of the Actions that had been done in them, they render'd Vice odious and Virtue amiable; but then it naturally led to the Worſhip and Veneration which was afterwards paid to Animals, ſince it taught to conſider them as

(1) Ov. Metam. l. 5. 158. (2) Life of *Pythagoras*. (3) L. 2.

as the Receptacles not only of great Men, but of the Gods themſelves. Accordingly, *Diodorus Siculus* aſſerts (1), that they were perſuaded in *Egypt* that the Soul of *Oſiris* had paſſed into that of an Ox; and we learn from *Ælian* (2), that the averſion which the Inhabitants of *Heliopolis* had to the Crocodile, was founded upon their Belief that *Typhon* had put on the figure of that Animal.

In fine, the fourth Reaſon is drawn from the Benefit which the *Egyptians* received from certain Animals. Thus they had a veneration for the *Ibis*, becauſe it deſtroy'd the flying Serpents that infeſted *Egypt* at a certain Seaſon of the Year: For the Ichneumon, becauſe it ſought out the Crocodile's Eggs, which it broke without eating them, as if it had been led by its own Inſtinct to deliver *Egypt* from an Animal that was ſo deſtructive to it, *&c.*

After having laid open the Reaſons which induced the *Egyptians* to pay to Animals a religious Worſhip, this would be the proper Place to examine, at what time this ſort of Idolatry began; but all I ſhall ſay, is, that it was in vogue thro' all *Egypt* in *Moſes*'s time, as is proved, 1. From the permiſſion which he ask'd to go to ſacrifice in the Wilderneſs, leſt his offering up Victims for which the *Egyptians* had a veneration, ſhould have cauſed them to ſtone him. 2. From the Idolatry of the golden Calf, which, as we have ſaid, was an Imitation of that of the Ox *Apis*. What happened before the ſojourning of the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, is ſo little known, that I ſhall not carry my Enquiries farther upon this Subject.

CHAP. V.

Of ſome other Egyptian *Gods.*

YOU are not to imagine that we have comprehended in this Treatiſe all the Gods whom *Egypt* adored; this is a thing impoſſible: We have only ſpoke of the principal ones, and ſuch as are moſt known. The

(1) Loc. cit. (2) L. 10. Hiſt. of Ani. c. 21.

The others, whoſe Worſhip was propagated to *Greece* and *Italy*, ſhall be the Subject of the third Volume, ſince, except *Neptune* and ſome others, all the Gods of the *Greeks* and *Romans* came to them from *Egypt*. I muſt take notice however, before we cloſe this Head, that there have been, and daily are diſcover'd, by opening the Pits of the Mummies, a world of Idols, which repreſent the *Egyptian* Gods. Some of thoſe Idols have the Head of a Dog, ſome of a Lion, others of a Wolf, or Cat, and then 'tis eaſy to ſee that they are either *Anubis's*, or *Diana-Bubaſtes*, &c. But then they ſometimes preſent Figures ſo odd, and of ſo extraordinary a nature, that they appear to be rather Monſters than Gods, as they are to be ſeen in the Antiquaries who have given us Repreſentations of ſome of them.

Father *Kircher*, who has diſcourſed of thoſe Idols, in his *Œdipus*, ſays, they were interr'd with the Corpſes, to be Preſervatives againſt the bad *Genii*, who were believed to diſturb the *Manes* of the Dead; and I don't know a more probable Account can be given.

In fine, that nothing might be wanting to the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, they had ſeveral Oracles, which they conſulted upon all Occaſions. *Herodotus* (1) ſpeaks of thoſe of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Latona*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*: Other Authors name thoſe of *Apis*, of the Lion, the Goat, and the Crocodile.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Pageants and publick Ceremonies of the Egyptians, *and ſome other Nations.*

NEver was Religion more encumbered with Ceremonies than that of the *Egyptians*, and nothing was ever accompany'd with more outward Splendor than their Feſtivals and Proceſſions. An infinite Concourſe of People, Licentiouſneſs, Jollity, all combined in the Celebration of their Feſtivals; and if the Prieſts made preparation for them by Faſting, Continence, and other

(1) L. 2.

other burdenſome Ceremonies, the People longed for them, as the moſt proper days of their Life for Riot and Debauchery.

Among thoſe Feſtivals, they reckon'd ſix principal ones. The firſt was celebrated at *Bubaſtis*, in honour of *Diana*; the ſecond, at *Buſiris*, for the Goddeſs *Iſis*; the third, at *Saïs*, for *Minerva*; the fourth, at *Heliopolis*, in honour of the Sun: The fifth, at *Buthos*, was the Feſtival of *Latona*; the ſixth was celebrated at *Papremis*, in honour of *Mars*.

I have already ſaid that the Feſtival of the God *Apis* had this ſingularity, that after the People had paſſed ſome days in Grief and Mourning, to bewail the loſs of this God of theirs, whom they drowned in the *Nile*, they gave themſelves up to intemperate Mirth, ſo ſoon as the Prieſts intimated the Appearance of another, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Marks; and if they appeared to be greatly afflicted before, they were now no leſs elated with ſincere Joy. The Feaſtings, Dancing, and all the other Demonſtrations of publick Feſtivity, ſucceeded to the Tears which they had ſhed, and all *Egypt* joined in this Solemnity.

Nothing was ſo glittering, nothing ſo pompous, as the Proceſſions which they made in honour of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*: There they ſolemnly carried about the Statues of thoſe two Divinities with their Symbols. The Prieſts, to aſſiſt therein, had their Heads ſhaved, while the Prieſteſſes preſerved their Treſſes. White Veſtments made of the fineſt Linnen, Crowns, and Garlands, diſtinguiſh'd theſe Prieſts and Prieſteſſes from the numberleſs Crouds who were preſent at thoſe Proceſſions; and the Sound of Siſtrums or Citterns, Tabrets, and Cymbals, filled the Spectators with a tumultuous Joy, which 'tis difficult to expreſs. *Herodotus* (1) ſpeaks of a Feſtival of *Iſis*, where her Statue was carried upon a four-wheel'd Chariot, drawn by the Prieſts of that Goddeſs: And *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (2) deſcribes another *Egyptian* Proceſſion, wherein were carried about two Dogs of gold, a Hawk, and an Ibis. The ſame Author

(1) *L.* 4. (2) *Strom. l.* 5.

Author reports in another place (3), the Words of *Menander*, who rallied thoſe rambling Divinities, who could never ſettle.

The Feſtival of *Bubaſtis* in lower *Egypt* was ſtill more ſolemn. Thither they came from all parts, and the *Nile* for ſeveral days was overſpread with Barges, which they who filled them had deck'd with all the Ornaments they could deviſe: And as every Barge had its Muſicians and Concert, the Air reſounded on all hands with the Harmony of their Inſtruments. The Banks of the River were crouded on either ſide with Spectators to ſee thoſe Barges as they paſſed: Thoſe who were in them, according to a very antient Cuſtom, and which laſts almoſt every where at this very day, laſhed the ſpectators in Satirical Jeſts, and frequently in ſcurrilous Ribaldry; while the others in their turn paid home their Compliments with large intereſt. The Women who were upon the Water, preſented themſelves to thoſe curious Eyes, in a manner too immodeſt to be here deſcribed. Care was taken to prepare upon the Banks of the River numbers of Inns, where they came to refreſh themſelves, and there great plenty was to be had of every thing conducive to good cheer. The number of Spectators at this Feſtival was computed to be ſeven hundred thouſand, without including Children, who accompanied their Parents. When they arrived at *Bubaſtis*, they abandon'd themſelves intirely to Mirth and Revelling; and more Wine was conſumed in that City during the ſtay they made there upon account of this Solemnity, than thro' the whole Year beſides.

As nothing is more difficult to be aboliſhed than Ceremonies where Rioting is intermixed, this Feſtival laſts at this very day, though the Object thereof be changed; and every Year the *Egyptians*, together with the *Turks* who govern them, fall down the *Nile* at a certain time of the Year, from *Cairo* as far as *Roſetto*, with ſuch a vaſt confluence of People, that the River

(3) Id. Protrep.

River reſembles a floating City (*a*). The muſical Inſtruments, the Inns, and the ſcurrilous Gibes that paſs between thoſe that are on the Water, and the Spectators on the Banks of the *Nile*, all bear a reſemblance there to the ancient Feſtival of *Bubaſtis*. But nothing was ever ſo pompous and magnificent as the ſolemn Proceſſion made by *Ptolemy*'s Orders, whereof we have the Deſcription in *Theocritus* and *Athenæus*, who has taken it from an ancient Author.

At the Feſtival of *Buſiris*, which was celebrated in honour of *Iſis*, the Sacrifices were followed with a Flagellation, from which neither Men nor Women were exempted; but the *Carians* eſpecially, who inhabited *Egypt*, were the Perſons who drubb'd themſelves moſt heartily, and they added even to this Ceremony, that of ſtabbing themſelves in the Forehead with the point of a Sword.

What diſtinguiſhed the Feſtival of *Minerva* at *Saïs*, was the great number of Lamps they burnt there during the Night; and they who could not be preſent at this Feſtival, kept them burning in their own Houſes. The whole Ceremony in the Feſtival of *Heliopolis*, and that of *Buthos*, was to offer Sacrifices upon that occaſion to the *Sun* and to *Latona*.

But that which they celebrated at *Pampremis* in honour of *Mars*, was attended with a remarkable Singularity. The Prieſts bore upon a four-wheel'd Chariot the Statue of that God, which was incloſed in a ſmall Chapel of gilt Wood; and while they endeavoured to force the Chariot and Statue into the Temple of that Divinity, Men armed with Clubs ſtood in the way to hinder it: And as the Prieſts who accompany'd the Proceſſion, had likewiſe Arms, there enſued an Engagement, where naturally many People muſt have loſt their lives. The *Egyptians*, however, maintained that no body died of the Wounds they received upon that occaſion.

That People had beſides, ſeveral ſorts of Proceſſions, but leſs ſolemn than thoſe which I have been deſcribing.

Macrobius

(*a*) See *Paul Lucas*'s third Voyage.

Macrobius (1) informs us, that they led about in a Litter, the *Jupiter* of *Heliopolis*, born upon Men's ſhoulders, much in the ſame manner that the *Romans* carry'd about their Gods in the Pageantry of the *Circenſian* Games, and as we, upon like occaſions, bear about the Shrines of our Saints.

The *Hebrews*, who derived from the *Egyptians* that fatal Propenſity which they had towards Idolatry, imitated them but too often, not only in the Solemnity of the golden Calf, as has been ſaid, but alſo in the Ceremony of their Proceſſions. The Prophet *Amos* upbraids them for having led about in the Wilderneſs the Tabernacle of the God *Moloch*, the Image of their Idol, and the Star of the God *Rempham* (*a*). St. *Stephen*, in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles (2), taxes them with the ſame piece of Idolatry.

Theſe are the Gods carried about in ceremonious Proceſſion, lodged in a Tabernacle; the Figures of a Star, and a Divinity acknowledged to be the King of thoſe who adored him; that is, the Gods of *Egypt*, the Sun or *Oſiris*, and others whom that ſuperſtitious People believed to have reſcu'd them from Bondage, and who ſaid: *Behold thy Gods, who have brought thee out of* Egypt (3).

Several other People practiſed the ſame Ceremonies, whether they had learned them from the *Egyptians*, as is very probable, or had invented them themſelves. *Philo* of *Byblos*, ſpeaking of *Agrotes*, the famous Divinity of the *Phenicians*, relates, according to *Euſebius* (4), that he was carried in proceſſion in a cover'd Niche, upon a Chariot drawn by Animals. *Servius* (5) informs us, that the *Carthaginians* had Gods, repreſented by very ſmall Images, which they bore about in cover'd

(1) Sat. l. 2.

(*a*) The *Hebrew* Text ſays. "You have carried the Tabernacles of your King, and the Baſe of your Figures, the Star of your Gods;" or, according to another Reading, *Chium* your Image, and the Star your God, whom you have made to yourſelves. *Amos*, ch. 5. v. 26.

(2) C. vii. v. 43. (3) Ex. xxxii.. (4) Præp. Evan. l. 1. N. 10. (5) Ad Æn. 6.

covered Chariots, and which gave Oracles by the Motion which they impreſſed upon their Vehicle. *Quintus Curtius* (1) aſſerts, as we have ſaid elſewhere (2), that the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* was deliver'd much in the ſame way. The ancient *Germans*, as we have it in *Tacitus* (3), had a Goddeſs who reſided in a ſacred Grove, in an Iſle of the Ocean, and that Author adds, that there was in the ſame Grove a cover'd Chariot, to which no body durſt approach but her Prieſt. This Prieſt obſerved the time when the Goddeſs enter'd thither, and then with great Reverence he accompany'd the Litter, drawn by two Heifers, in the Proceſſion which was performed upon this occaſion. *Tacitus* ſays farther, that wherever the Chariot paſſed, the Goddeſs was received with Feſtivals and publick Rejoicings; that after the Proceſſion, the Goddeſs re-enter'd into her Grove, as tired with the commerce of Mortals; and that then the Chariot, the Veil that covered her, and the Goddeſs herſelf, were plunged into a Lake, and waſhed by Slaves who were drowned after this Ceremony.

Sulpitius Severus ſays, that the Peaſants of *Gaul* had a Cuſtom of carrying their Gods thro' the Country, covered with a white Veil. *Simulachra Dæmonum candido tuta velamine, miſerâ per agros ſuos circumferre dementiâ.*

CHAP. VII.

Explanation of the Iſiack *Table.*

THO' this Monument belongs more properly to the Antiquaries than Mythologiſts, yet I judge it will be of uſe to give a ſhort Explication of it, becauſe there we have *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and almoſt all the other Gods of *Egypt*, repreſented with their Symbols. Thus the Explanation which I am to give of it, will conduce to our underſtanding what has been ſaid of theſe Deities. The *Iſiack Table*, ſo term'd, becauſe it appears

(1) L. 4. (2) Chap. of Oracles. (3) De Mor. Ger.

appears to contain the Myſteries of *Iſis*, was a Plate of Copper, whereon were engraved only the rough Outlines of Figures, repreſenting moſt of the *Egyptian* Gods; but eſpecially *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, who are there repeated ſeveral times, with all their Symbols.

This Copper or Braſs Ground was overlaid with a black Enamel, artificially intermixed with ſmall Plates of Silver. When, in the Year 1525, the Conſtable of *Bourbon* took the City of *Rome*, a Locksmith bought it from a Soldier, and then ſold it to Cardinal *Bembo*, after whoſe death it came into the hands of the Duke of *Mantua*; and was kept in that Family, till it was loſt at the taking of that City by the *Imperialiſts*, in the Year 1630, nor has it been ever heard of ſince. By good luck it had been engrav'd in its full Proportion, and with all poſſible Exactneſs, by *Æneas Vico* of *Parma*. This Tablet was divided into three horizontal Compartiments, in each of which were different Scenes, which contained different Actions. Thoſe Compartiments are as it were different Cartouches, diſtinguiſhed ſometimes by ſingle ſtrokes only, but oftner by a very large *Faſcia*, which is full of Hieroglyphicks, that is, of that myſterious Writing, conſecrated by the ancient *Egyptians* to the Myſteries of Religion. The four ſides of the Table were incloſed with a Border, fill'd up as the Ground, with ſeveral Figures of the *Egyptian* Gods, and with a great number of Hieroglyphicks.

'Tis a queſtion not eaſy to determine, whether this Table only repreſents the Myſteries of *Iſis*, whoſe Figure, placed in a ſort of Niche, is in the Center; or if it contains the principal Points of the *Egyptian* Theology, ſince all their Gods are there repreſented.

Every thing about it has a myſterious and enigmatical Appearance, according to the Genius of that Nation. *Pignorius* being intreated by his Friends to explain this Monument, yielded, even againſt his own Inclination, to their importunate Sollicitations. Accordingly, there is always to be ſeen an air of Diffidence in all the Conjectures which he offers. His Work, intitled *Menſa Iſiaca*, was printed in 4to at *Amſterdam*, *An.* 1669. F.

Kircher

Kircher followed him pretty near, and treated the ſame Subject in his *Œdipus*, with that air of Aſſurance wherewith he was inſpired from the ſuperiority of his Genius, and that deep knowledge which he had in the Religion of the *Egyptians*. Laſtly, *Chifflet* added new Conjectures to thoſe of the learned Jeſuit (1). A ſhort Sketch of what has been delivered with relation to this Monument, by thoſe three learned Antiquaries whom I have now named, will ſerve for a Supplement to what I have ſaid of the Gods of *Egypt*, and ſhew their Symbols more particularly.

In the upper Partition, beginning at the left*, you ſee *Oſiris*, holding in one hand a Ring, where appears a well-form'd Croſs, and in the other a Staff, or rather a Scepter, terminating in a Bird's Head. That the Croſs is to be found among the Symbols of the *Egyptian* Divinities, is evident, whatever *Juſtus Lipſius* may ſay to the contrary (2), not only from the Figures which we have now remaining, but alſo from Obelisks which time has preſerved to us. The Bird is, without doubt, the Hawk, conſecrated to *Iſis*. After this, you ſee a Prieſt ſacrificing a Roe-Buck to that Goddeſs, who is oppoſite to him, the Altar in the middle. *Iſis* is there repreſented, holding in one hand a Ring, with its Croſs, and in the other her Scepter, terminating in the Flower of Lotus, which was her ordinary Symbol. The Ornament of her Head is ſomewhat different from what ſhe wears in other Figures; we ſhall ſpeak of it afterwards. Next appears *Oſiris*, with the Scepter in his hand, preſenting a Bird to *Iſis*, who in her turn preſents him with a Vaſe, in form of a Goblet. Behind the Goddeſs is a Man, who holds in one hand a Vaſe, like that which *Iſis* has in hers, and in the other a crooked Knife, not unlike a Lopping-Knife. Between *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, in the upper part of the Compartiment, is a He-Goat, and in the lower, a kind of Ape called

(1) In notis ad Mallarium.

* In the Print of it which I have now by me, you begin at the right. *Vid. Monfaucon*, V. 2. B. 2. ch. 1.

(2) *De Cruce.*

Cercopithecus. The Perſonage who comes next, is alſo an *Iſis*; upon her Head a Serpent with a Bird's Head, in one hand ſhe holds a Branch, and in the other a Staff, crooked at the head in form of a Croſier. *Oſiris*, with the Symbols which he wears in the other Figures, comes after, and is fixing his eyes upon another *Iſis*, who holds a Flower in her hand: The Griffin, an Animal conſecrated to the Sun, is in the middle. The Compartiment is terminated by three Figures, one of whom is alſo an *Oſiris*, the other an *Iſis*, and the third, who is in the middle, a Prieſt holding a Staff in one hand, and ſome kind of Offering in the other, which we cannot diſtinguiſh.

The middle Compartiment, which appears to be the principal one, repreſents different Scenes: That in the Center, is the principal Figure. 'Tis firſt *Iſis* upon a Throne, whoſe Cornice is ſupported by two Columns. The Goddeſs wears a ſingular Ornament upon her Head; 'tis a Bird couchant, whoſe Wings diſplay'd, reach as far as her Shoulders. This Bird, which appears all ſpeckled, is, according to *Pignorius*, the *Numidian* Hen, which *Martial* calls, *Numidica guttata* (1). Above the Bird are two Stalks, probably of the Lotus, which inſtead of Flowers, have nothing yet but Buds: The whole is ſurmounted by two great Horns, cloſed by a Line; with a Diſcus in the ſpace which is left between them. The Ornaments of the Head, which the Goddeſs wears in the Statues we have of her, are always very high, and of an extraordinary nature. She appears ſometimes even with an Ox's Head, with large Horns; but more frequently with the Flower of Lotus, forming a Creſcent, with a Globe in the middle. As ſhe repreſented the Moon, 'tis eaſy to ſee, that both the Horns of the Ox, and the Lotus placed as we have now ſaid, were intended to image the Creſcent of that Planet; and by the Globe, the World, round which it revolves.

In the ſame Scene are ſix Figures, three on each ſide of the Throne, with their Faces turned towards the Goddeſs.

(1) L. 3. Epig. 58.

Goddeſs. The two ſtanding with great Staves, may be reckon'd her two Life-Guards; the two that are ſitting are two *Oſiris's*, the one with the ordinary Plume, the other with an *Ibis*'s Head. Below the Seat of him who is on the right, is the Ox *Apis*, and under him who is on the left, is a Crocodile.

The two laſt Figures of this Compartiment, which are placed at the two extremities, are pretty ſingular. They are two Women, who entirely reſemble one another, both in their Apparel, and in the Symbols which they bear. Their Head-Attire is compoſed of a great Plume, with Horns and a Diſcus; they have buſhy Hair, and Wings upon their Haunches. They hold a ſort of Knife, brandiſh'd towards two Vaſes, which are upon two little Pillars, and ſeem to be offering a Sacrifice to *Iſis*, which makes it probable, that they are two of her Prieſteſſes, and not the Goddeſs herſelf, as *Pignorius* reckons.

At the two extremities of this Faſcia, are two Compartiments, ſeparated likewiſe into two, which are entirely ſimilar. Above, is the Ox *Apis*, with two Prieſts, who have their Eyes intently fix'd upon him. *Pignorius* will have it, that they are obſerving if he has the proper Marks that were required in the Repreſentative of *Oſiris*; but as the Prieſt who is before the Ox, holds in the one hand a Vaſe, and in the other, ſome Meat which he preſents to him, 'tis evident, that they are both of them attentively obſerving if he takes what is offered him to eat: For, as has been ſaid, they drew a good Omen from his eating; and a bad one from his rejecting the Food that was offer'd him: Inſomuch that I am ſurprized how *Pignorius*, and after him very able Antiquaries, could miſtake as to this Article. The lower part of thoſe two ſmall Compartiments, repreſents two *Iſis's*, or rather two of her Prieſteſſes, who are offering to her a Sacrifice.

The loweſt Faſcia contains thirteen Perſonages, and may be divided into ſeveral Actions. The firſt, beginning at the left, conſiſts of three Figures. That in the middle is an *Orus*, ſwath'd, yet ſo as to have both his

his hands disengaged, and holding a long Staff which terminates in a Hawk's Head, resembling that of *Osiris*; and another smaller one, which probably is design'd for a Whip. This God represented the Sun, as well as his Father, as has been said in his Article; accordingly, he had the proper Symbols of that Luminary. On each side of *Orus* are two Figures, which some have taken for two *Isis's*; but I am perswaded that they are two Priestesses, with the Habit of that Goddess, offering a Sacrifice. Accordingly, one of them presents a Cup to the young God, and the other a small Tablet, on which are five Vases.

The second Scene of this Fascia represents *Isis* sitting between two *Osiris's*, one of them presenting a Bird to her. The third exhibits an *Osiris* with an Hawk's Head, and two Figures of *Isis*, of whom the one appears to be offering to him a Vase. The fourth contains five Figures, whereof the principal is an *Isis*, with a Lion's Head. Hard by her is an *Anubis*, then an *Osiris*, who holds his Staff in one hand, and in the other the Marks of his Castration. Then comes another *Orus*, swath'd, who has a Cat by him, or the God *Ælurus*, with a Sistrum. Lastly, you see another *Osiris*, with a Spear terminating in the form of a Crosier, having upon his Head a Serpent surmounted with a Sun; which no doubt denotes the Obliquity of the course of that Luminary.

As the Border is full of the same Figures, tho' with some variety, we shall content ourselves with referring to *Pignorius*, who has explained it.

Such is the Description of this Table, upon which I thought fit to enlarge, because of the extraordinary Symbols which are there given to the Gods of *Egypt*. But what the Person had in his view who caused it to be engraved, is not easy to conjecture. F. *Kircher* (1) thought he discovered therein, the darkest Mysteries of the *Egyptian* Theology, and enters into a detail which I have no mind to copy. *Pignorius* seems to have apply'd himself only to the mechanical Descrip-

(1) Oed. Synt. 1. p. 89.

tion

tion of this Table, without attempting to unfold its Deſign. For my part, I am of opinion it was a votive Table, which ſome Prince, or private Perſon had conſecrated to *Iſis*, as an acknowledgment for ſome Benefit which he believed ſhe had conferred upon him. That Goddeſs occupies the principal Place in it, and the deſign of varying her Attitudes and Symbols, muſt have been to point out to us, in how many different manners ſhe was repreſented, as alſo the different Sacrifices that were offered to her. Accordingly, three ſorts of them are there to be obſerved, one of Animals, another of Plants, and a third of Libations: Perhaps he who conſecrated this Table to *Iſis*, had offered to her all thoſe ſorts of Sacrifices, either for having been cured of ſome ſevere Diſeaſe, or for having been delivered from ſome great Danger, to which he had been expoſed by Sea: For that Goddeſs was equally invoked in Diſeaſes, and when People were entering upon a long Voyage; hence the Epithets of *Salutaris*, and *Pelagia*, were added to her Name.

For what remains, nothing was more common than the votive Tables, conſecrated to *Iſis*. All the Temples of this Goddeſs were full of them, and Works of that ſort procured a Living to great numbers of Painters, as it is in *Juvenal*:

Et quam votivâ teſtantur fana tabellâ
Plurima, Pictores quis neſcit ab Iſide paſci (1)?

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Gods of the Arabians.

THE Hiſtory of the *Egyptian* Gods leads us naturally to that of the *Arabians*, their Neighbours. This People, whoſe way of Life was always rambling and unſettled, frequently changed their State and Religion. As they were deſcended from *Iſhmael*, *Abraham*'s Son, 'tis reaſonable to believe, that they had at firſt no other Creed but that of their Founder; but Idolatry,

(1) Juv. Sat. 12.

latry, which diffuſed itſelf at that time over all the Earth, doubtleſs penetrated very ſoon into *Arabia*. We are ignorant, however, as to the time when the *Arabians* embraced the Worſhip of falſe Gods: Only this we know, that as *Sabiſm* was the predominant Religion of thoſe early times, ſo it is probable that this was the Religion which they followed. 'Tis even not to be doubted, but the *Sabeans*, an *Arabian* Nation, had derived their Name from that ſort of Worſhip. But whatever be in that, here is what *Herodotus* ſays of that ancient People (1). "There is no People in the "World that has a ſtricter regard to their plighted "Faith, than the *Arabians*; and they come under En-"gagements in this manner: Some one of them ſets "himſelf between the two Parties who are to make a "Treaty with one another, holding a ſharp Stone, with "which he makes ſome Inciſions in the Palm of their "Hands: Then taking a piece of their Clothes, he "dips it in the Blood which iſſues from thoſe Wounds. "He anoints with it ſeven Stones which he has placed "between them, invoking, in the time of this Opera-"tion, *Dionyſius* or *Bacchus*, and *Urania*. The *Ara-"bians*, continues this Author, believe there are no "other Gods but thoſe two. They ſhave their Tem-"ples, and cut their Hair round, becauſe they believe "*Bacchus* wore it ſo. They call *Dionyſius*, *Uroteal* (*a*); "and *Urania*, *Alilat*." Upon which 'tis proper to make two Remarks. Firſt, that this Author, who here names that Goddeſs *Alilat*, had called her in the ſecond Book, *Mylitta*. Secondly, that tho' he gives in one place the name of *Aphrodite* to this *Venus*, and in another that of *Urania*, yet 'tis evident that he does not diſtinguiſh the one from the other.

Strabo, who likewiſe ſpeaks of the *Arabian* Gods, ſays (2), they adored only *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, without making any mention of *Urania*; and *Arrian*, who gives them no other Divinities but *Uranus* or Heaven,

(1) L. 3 c. 8.
(*a*) See in *Voſſius de Idol.* l. 1. c. 8. the Etymology of this Name.
(2) L. 10.

and *Bacchus*, ſeems to favour the Sentiment of this Author: But 'tis probable that theſe two Authors were not ſo well informed as *Herodotus*, in the Religion of that ancient People, or we muſt allow that it had undergone ſome Alteration; perhaps at bottom they don't contradict one another. *Bacchus* inconteſtably was the Sun; and *Urania*, or the Celeſtial, named by the *Arabians* and ſome other People, *Alilat*, was the Moon; and it was, in reality, thoſe two Stars or Luminaries they adored.

Tho' the only Objects of Idolatry at firſt were the Sun and Moon, yet it did not long continue in that primitive Simplicity, ſo that we need not be ſurprized that other Authors of leſs antiquity than thoſe whom I have now cited, have given the *Arabians* a greater number of Gods. Thus, *Stephen* of *Byzantium* ſays, their God was called *Duſares*, and that it was he who gave his Name to a high Mountain and to its Inhabitants, who were denominated *Duſarenians*. He likewiſe relates a Fact, which, as it ſhews us the Vanity of *Alexander*, ſo it proves at the ſame time, what *Herodotus* ſays of the Religion of the *Arabians:* For that Hero being inform'd that they worſhipped only two Gods, propoſed that they would make himſelf the third; ſince he was comparable to *Bacchus*, whoſe Conqueſts and Expeditions he had equall'd.

'Tis true, that Author ſays, the two Divinities adored by the *Arabians*, were *Uranus* or Heaven, and *Dionyſius* or *Bacchus*; but the Learned juſtly give the preference to *Herodotus*. *Tertullian*, in his *Apologeticks*, and in the XIth Book againſt the *Gentiles*, mentions that *Duſares*, and reckons him in the number of the *Arabian* Gods, with *Obodan*, who was a King of the Country, whoſe Tomb was to be ſeen among the *Nabathæan Arabs*.

Philoſtorgus, in *Photius*, aſſerts that the *Homerites*, a Nation celebrated among the *Arabians*, ſacrificed to the Sun, to the Moon, and to the Demons. *Maximus Tyrius* ſays, they paid a divine Worſhip to a ſquare Stone; and when ſome one of them embraced the

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Religion, he was obliged to anathematize that Stone which had been the Object of his Worſhip. Other Authors alledge, that the Tower named *Acara*, or *Alquibila*, built of old by their Patriarch *Iſhmael*, had become amongſt them an Object of Religion. St. *Jerom*, in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Heſeab*, informs us, that they adored alſo *Baal-Peor*, of whom the ſacred Books ſpeak, and reckons him to have been the ſame as *Priapus*; but as in the beſt Mythologiſts, *Priapus* is the Sun, as we obſerve elſewhere, we muſt ſtill return to the Sentiment of *Herodotus*.

To theſe ancient Authors, it will not be amiſs to add the Authority of ſome Moderns, who had taken their Accounts of the *Arabian* Religion from their own Books; I mean *Herbelot*, who ſpeaks thereof in ſeveral Places of his Dictionary, and *Pocock* in his Hiſtory of *Arabia*. The laſt names ſeven of thoſe celeſtial Gods; *Dzehl*, whom he takes to be *Saturn*; *Dzikara*, or *Venus*; *Moſchtara*, or *Jupiter*; *Atharid*, or *Mercury*; *Abdcharam*, or the Bull's-Eye; *Schail*, or *Canopus*; and *Aichecra*, or *Sirius*. The Reader may conſult the learned Diſſertations of that Author, where he will ſee that he makes the number of the Gods, whom the *Arabians* worſhipped, amount to more than forty.

Beger names five of them, who, he ſays, held the firſt Rank among the Gods of that People; *Vuodd*, among the *Kelibites*; *Saucas*, among the *Hadeilites*; *Neſr*, among the *Dulkalites*; *Jagut* or *Jaug*. 'Tis alſo known, that about the *Kaaba* (*a*) were three hundred and ſixty Statues. But the queſtion is, whether they repreſented the Gods, or only the great Men of the Nation? However this much at leaſt is certain, that ſeveral of thoſe Statues were reſpected, or rather adored. The Teſtimony of *Arabian* Authors, as M. *Fourmont* has it (*b*), ſuffers us not to doubt of it. According to thoſe Authors, adds this ingenious Academick, the Idolatry of the *Arabians* is older than the Deluge.

(*a*) Temple of *Mecca*.
(*b*) Reflexions upon ancient Nations.

Deluge. The five laſt Gods, whom we have named after *Beger*, were, according to *Budauvi*, virtuous Men who had lived before the Deluge, and whoſe Worſhip after that Event, had been eſtabliſhed among the *Arabians*.

I ſhall not dwell any longer upon the Gods of that People; a Liſt of them may be ſeen in *Pocock*, and in M. *Fourmont*, and I am the more willing to ſuppreſs that Catalogue, as it is not very inſtructive. I ſhall only obſerve, that ſuch of thoſe Gods as had no relation to the Stars and Planets, were ſome illuſtrious Men, whom they thought entitled to a religious Worſhip, among whom doubtleſs were *Abraham* and *Iſmael*, from whom the *Arabians* deſcended. But be that as it will, it appears, that the *Arabians* at firſt had only two natural Gods, *Dionyſius* and *Alilat*, that is, the Sun and the Moon, as *Gerard Voſſius* fully proves; but in after-times they join'd to thoſe two Divinities, the animated Gods, their Kings and illuſtrious Men; and at length they adopted the Gods of their Neighbours.

To conclude, none of the Authors, whom I have cited, mention either the form of the *Arabian* Sacrifices, or the Victims which they offered up. *Strabo* only informs us, that they made a daily Offering of Incenſe to the Sun, or to *Dionyſius*, upon an Altar which was in a covered Place: and *Theophraſtus* long before him had ſaid, that the *Sabeans* carefully collected Myrrh and Incenſe, to offer it in the Temple of that God: which was common to them with the *Ethiopians*, as ſhall be ſaid in the following Chapter.

We ſhall not farther inſiſt upon the *Venus Urania*, nor upon *Dionyſius*, who was the ancient *Bacchus*, or rather *Oſiris*, whoſe Worſhip had paſſed from *Egypt* into *Arabia*, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them elſewhere.

The *Arabians* continued Idolaters till the time of *Mahomet*, under whom they abandoned the Worſhip of Idols, and have always been ſince his moſt faithful Diſciples.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Gods of the Ethiopians.

FROM the Gods of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, 'tis natural to proceed to thoſe of the *Ethiopians*. Here then, in the firſt place, is what we learn of them from *Strabo* (1). "The *Ethiopians*, ſays that learned "Geographer, acknowledge an immortal God, who is "the Principle of all things, and a mortal God, who "has no Name; but commonly they look upon their "Benefactors as Gods, and thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed "by their Birth. Among thoſe who inhabit the torrid "Zone, there are ſome who paſs for Atheiſts, becauſe "they actually hate the Sun, and curſe him at his Ri-"ſing, becauſe he ſcorches them with his Heat, to "ſuch a degree, that they are forced to ſhelter them-"ſelves in moiſt and marſhy Places.

"Thoſe of *Meroe* adore *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Iſis*, "with another foreign God. Some among them "throw their dead into the River, while others keep "them in their Houſes in great Glaſs-Veſſels; others "in ſhort put them into Coffins of bak'd Earth, and "interr them about the Temples."

We ſee from this Paſſage, that the *Ethiopians*, after the example of other Nations, had Gods natural, and Gods animated: That they took the laſt from among their great Men, whom they deified; and that they had borrow'd the former from the *Egyptians* their Neighbours, ſince, like them, they worſhipped the Moon under the Name of *Iſis*, and univerſal Nature under that of *Pan*.

As for the Sun, 'tis certain, that they adored him ſo highly as to repute thoſe to be Atheiſts, who did not acknowledge him for a God, as has been now ſaid after *Strabo*. However, they did not ſtile him *Oſiris* as the *Egyptians*, but *Aſſabinus*; and becauſe he was their great Divinity, the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave him the Name

(1) L. 1.

Name of *Ethiopian Jupiter*; and that with ſo much the more reaſon, remarks the learned *Voſſius*, that in all the Eaſt, and among the Nations of *Africk*, *Jupiter* not only repreſented Heaven, but alſo the Sun.

But let that be as it will, the *Ethiopians* conſecrated to the Sun the Cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous Shrub which grew in their Country. The ſingular manner how they gather'd it, is told, tho' with ſome variation, by *Theophraſtus*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; it amounts to this. The Prieſts, and none but they, were allowed to gather that Harveſt, which was always uſhered in with Sacrifices; and they were not to begin this Work till after Sun-riſing, and it was to be finiſhed before his ſetting. The Crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts, with a Spear, which was never uſed but upon that occaſion. They carried away two Portions of it, and left on the ſame place that which fell to the Sun, and forthwith, ſay they, if the Diviſion had been performed with Equity, the Sun's Portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed. *Theophraſtus* juſtly reckons this laſt Circumſtance to be a meer Fable (1); but *Pliny* and *Solinus* ſubjoin no Reflection to their Recital, as is to be ſeen in the two Paſſages of thoſe two Authors, which run thus:

Metitur non niſi permiſerit Deus: Jovem hunc intelligunt aliqui, Aſſabinum illi vocant. Quadraginta quatuor boum caprarumque & arietum cæſis, impetratur venia cædendi; non tamen aut ante ortum Solis, aut poſt occaſum, licet. Sarmenta haſta dividit Sacerdos, Deoque partem ponit; reliquum mercator in naſſas condit. Eſt et alia fama, cum Sole dividi, ternaſque partes fieri: dein ſorte cremia diſcerni; quodque Soli ceſſerit, relinqui, ac ſponte conflagrare (2).

Æthiopes legunt Cinnamum; verum legitur per Sacerdotes, hoſtiis prius cæſis: quæ cum litaverint, obſervatur ut meſſis, nec ortum Solis anticipet, nec egrediatur occaſum. Quiſquis principatum tenet Sacerdotum, acervos haſta dividit, quæ ſacrata eſt in hoc miniſterium: Atque

(1) Οὗτος μὲν οὖν τῷ ὄντι μῦθος. (2) Plin. L. 12. c. 19.

Atque ita portio manipulorum Soli dicatur; quæſi juſte divisa eſt, ſponte incenditur (1).

For my own part, I am apt to believe that the Prieſts ſecretly convey'd ſome Coals under the Heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that thoſe Coals kindled ſome moments after, preciſely at the time of their retiring.

This, in ſhort, is all that we know from the Ancients of the Religion of the *Ethiopians*; nay, we are not able exactly to determine what *Ethiopians* they mean; and in all probability, it was the Orientals, and not thoſe of *Africk*. And indeed what *Theophraſtus* tells us of the care which the *Sabeans*, an *Arabian* Nation, had to gather Incenſe and Cinnamon, to offer it to the Sun, is the ſame with what *Strabo* ſays of the *Ethiopians*.

As the Ancients were unacquainted with the interior Parts of *Africk*, I ſhall ſay nothing of the Idolatry of thoſe Nations. The caſe was quite otherwiſe, as to the maritime Parts of that Continent; theſe were very well known to the Ancients, who make frequent mention of the Religion of the Inhabitants of thoſe places: but this ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. X.

Of the Gods of the Carthaginians, *and ſome other People of* Africk.

THAT the *Carthaginians* were a Colony that came from *Phenicia*, under the Conduct of *Eliſa*, ſurnamed *Dido*, is a Fact to which all are agreed; and conſequently it is not to be denied, but that the firſt Gods of *Carthage* were the ſame as thoſe who were adored at *Tyre* and *Sidon*. *Dido*, no doubt, eſtabliſh'd in her new Colony the Worſhip of the Gods of her Anceſtors: her Subjects would never have been reconciled to a ſudden Change in Religion, it being natural for Mankind to have a ſtrong Attachment to what they have, as I may ſay, drank in with their Mother's Milk.

(1) Solin. c. 31.

Milk. 'Tis our Unhappineſs, that the little we know of the Religion of the *Carthaginians*, is tranſmitted to us by *Greeks* and *Romans*, who have given the Names of their own Gods to thoſe of that People; thus we find at *Carthage Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Hercules*, *Ceres*, *Proſerpina*, *Juno*, and *Eſculapius*; all of them Gods worſhip'd in *Greece* and *Italy*. We are not however to think, that thoſe two Countries had themſelves received them from the *Carthaginians*, ſince the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies, which brought the Knowledge of them into *Greece*, were many Ages before *Dido*'s time. 'Tis more credible, that firſt the *Greeks*, and then the *Romans*, in the time of the *Punick* Wars, communicated their Gods to the *Carthaginians*, a thing by no means improbable. But the queſtion is about the firſt Gods of that People, who unqueſtionably were the ſame with thoſe of the *Phenicians*.

What might then have led the *Greeks* and *Romans* into the Miſtake is this. In the Commerce which they had with the *Carthaginians*, they were informed, that they ſacrificed Children to one of their Gods, and hence they made no doubt but that God was *Saturn*; whereas had they known the Original of their own Gods, they had ſeen that their *Saturn*, as well as that of the *Carthaginians*, was *Moloch*, the great Divinity of the *Ammonites*. In like manner, they underſtood that the *Carthaginians* had a God to whom they addreſſed their Oaths; and as themſelves ſwore by *Jupiter*, ſo they made no doubt but that God was the ſame; whereas at *Carthage* it was the *Baal-Berith* of *Phenicia*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the following Book. The ſame thing may be ſaid of moſt of the other Gods, who were worſhipped at *Carthage*. We now come to particulars.

All Antiquity agrees, that the *Carthaginians* worſhip'd *Saturn*; who, as we have now ſaid, was the ſame with *Moloch*, and that they ſacrificed to him their Children. Was I inclin'd to enlarge upon this Article, I might quote the Paſſages from *Diodorus Siculus* (1), from

(1) L. 10.

from *Plutarch* (1), *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (2), *Quintus Curtius* (3), and ſeveral other Ancients. The deteſtable Cuſtom of ſacrificing every year human Victims to that God, laſted even after the Overthrow of that People, notwithſtanding all that their Conquerors could do to aboliſh it.

Urna reducebat miſerandos annua caſus,
Sacra Thoanteæ rituſque imitata Dianæ (4).

Juſtin relates (5), that *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* had commanded them to lay aſide thoſe barbarous Sacrifices; but his Orders were but ill executed. *Plutarch* adds (6), that *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, did not make peace with them, till he had laid them under the ſame Prohibition, as the firſt Condition of the Treaty; and, according to *Tertullian* (7), *Tiberius* gave Orders to hang all the Prieſts who exacted thoſe barbarous Sacrifices.

We have already ſaid, that the God whom *Carthage* adored was the ſame as *Moloch*; all the Learned, among whom may be conſulted *Bochart*, *Voſſius* and *Selden*, agree to it, and M. *Fourmont* has put this Fact beyond doubt (*a*). The Verſe in *Silius Italicus*, where *Melicus* is mentioned, can, according to him, be underſtood of none but *Moloch*. And indeed he is treating in that Verſe, and in the two others which we have now cited, of the *Carthaginians* and their Religion. The Names of *Amilcar*, of *Bomilcar*, and *Imilco*, according to the ſame Author, carry plain Alluſions to thoſe of *Moloch*, *Milcom*, and *Melech*, *Phœnician* Divinities: but I cannot be of his mind as to this laſt Article. Thoſe three Names belong to three illuſtrious Perſons, whom the *Carthaginians* adopted into the number of their Gods; *Herodotus* expreſſly aſſerts it of the firſt. "*Amilcar*, ſays he (8), "having been vanquiſhed by *Gelon*, vaniſh'd, and could

(1) Treatiſe of Superſtition. (2) Rom. Ant. (3) L. 3. c. 3. (4) Sil. Ital. (5) L. 19. (6) De Sera Num. Vin. (7) In Apol.

(*a*) Critical Reflections upon ancient Nations. Tom. 1. p. 140 & ſequ.

(8) L. 7.

" could never more be found either alive or dead, what-
" ever pains his Vanquiſher was at in cauſing ſearch to be
" made for him. The *Carthaginians*, who have a great
" veneration for him, ſay, that during the Engagement
" between the *Barbarians* aud *Sicilian Greeks*, *Amilcar*
" having ſtaid in the Camp, there offered Sacrifices of
" all ſorts of Animals, and, ſeeing the rout of his
" Army, threw himſelf into the Fire; but whether
" he died in that way, as the *Phenicians* ſay, or in the
" other, as the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans* aſſert, 'tis
" certain that the former offer Sacrifices to him, and
" have erected Monuments to his Honour, wherever
" there is any of their Colonies, and principally in *Car-*
" *thage*."

We may judge the ſame way of *Bomilcar* and *Imilce*, tho' the Ancients tell us nothing of them. For in fine, there is no denying, after what we have now quoted from *Herodotus*, that the *Carthaginians*, like other Nations, rank'd their great Men in the number of the Gods, and joined the animated Gods to thoſe who are called natural: The Example of the two *Phileni*, is a proof of it. Theſe two Brothers, as we have it in *Salluſt* (1), *Pomponius Mela* (2), and *Valerius Maximus* (3), having been ſent by the *Carthaginians* to make peace with the *Cyrenians*, who were at war with them, ſacrificed themſelves for their Country, which in gratitude raiſed Altars to them, and conferred upon them divine Honours.

As to *Neptune*, the *Carthaginians* had received the Worſhip of him from the *Libyans*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*; for that God, as we learn from *Herodotus* (4), from whom we have quoted the Paſſage elſewhere, was originally from *Africa*. *Appian* ſays (5), that the ſame People paid adoration to *Apollo*, who had a Temple at *Carthage*; and *Plutarch* adds (6), that the Statue of that God was brought to *Rome*.

Juno and *Venus* were two of the greateſt *Carthagi-*

(1) De Bel. Jug. c. 79. (2) L. 1. c. 8. (3) L. 5. c. 6.
(4) L. 2. (5) De Bell. Pun. (6) Life of *Flam.*

nian Divinities. St. *Auguſtine* (1) ſpeaking of the laſt of thoſe two Goddeſſes, ſays, *Carthage* was the Place where ſhe had eſtabliſhed her Reign; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that City to all others, even to *Samos* itſelf:

Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Poſthabitâ coluiſſe Samo (2).

As for *Mars*, we have the Teſtimony of *Silius Italicus* (3), who tells us, that *Annibal* invoked him. We know alſo that the *Carthaginians* honoured *Mercury*, under the name of *Sumes*. Would ever that People, who ſupported themſelves chiefly by Commerce, have neglected the Worſhip of the God of Merchants and Thieves? We have two Authorities which prove, that they likewiſe paid Homage to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. The Poet whom I now quoted, tells us (4), that the Statues of thoſe two Goddeſſes were in the Temple of *Dido*, and *Virgil* lets us know, that this Princeſs ſacrificed to *Ceres* (5).

Nothing is more celebrated in ancient Hiſtory than the *Tyrian Hercules*, whoſe Worſhip was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffuſed itſelf afterwards over all the Coaſts of *Africk*, and as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent Temple (6): But as I am to ſpeak of that God fully, in one of the following Volumes, I ſhall ſay nothing of him here.

Silius Italicus (7) reckons likewiſe *Dis*, or *Pluto*, or *Erebus*, among the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, and *Polybius* informs us (8), that he was invoked by them as the God of Hell. *Æſculapius*, as we are told by *Strabo* (9), *Apuleius* (10), and *Appion* (11), was likewiſe in great veneration at *Carthage*, and had there a magnificent Temple. *Voſſius* (12) proves by good Authorities, that the Worſhip of that God came to them from *Tyre*; but I would not aver that they had not likewiſe known the *Greek* or *Meſſenian Eſculapius*.

Such

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 10. (2) Æn. l. 1. (3) Pun. l. 1. (4) Ibid. (5) Æn. l. 4. v. 58. (6) Diod. Sic. l. 4. (7) Loc. cit. (8) L. 7. (9) L. 17. (10) In Flor. (11) In Libycâ. (12) De Idol. l. 1. c. 32.

Such were the Gods, whoſe Worſhip the *Carthaginians* received firſt from the *Phenicians*, then from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Not content with the Religion of their Fathers, they would needs imitate the other Nations in deifying their great Men. *Dido* their Foundreſs, received this Honour, which ſhe herſelf, according to *Ovid* (1), had conferr'd upon *Sicheus* her Huſband, and became one of the great Divinities of *Carthage* (2). *Anna*, according to the ſame Poet, ſhared divine Honours with her Siſter (3), as alſo *Amilcar*, as we have obſerved from *Herodotus* (4): For tho' that Author does not ſay poſitively, that he was ranked among the Gods, yet he tells us, he was honoured at leaſt as a Hero, ſince he ſays, Sacrifices were inſtituted to his Honour, and thoſe ſorts of Monuments which he calls μνήματα, conſecrated to Heroes, as ſhall be ſaid when we come to the Worſhip which was paid to them.

If, after having ſpoke of the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, we proceed to other parts of *Africk*, we ſhall find that *Ammon* was worſhipped by the *Libyans*, in the place where was that famous Oracle, of which we have diſcourſed in the IVth Book. The Learned have enquired who this *Ammon* was, and they all agree that it was *Ham* himſelf, whoſe Name, ſoften'd by cutting off the firſt Letter, was pronounc'd *Am*, or *Ammon*, upon which *Voſſius* may be conſulted (5). *Gods of the* Libyans.

And indeed, 'tis certain that *Ham*, or at leaſt *Mizraim* his Son, came and ſettled in *Egypt*; and as the Scripture calls it almoſt always the Land of *Mizraim*, ſo it ſometimes makes mention of the Name of *Ham*, or *Ammon*, as may be ſeen in thoſe words of the Prophet *Nahum*, who thus makes an Apoſtrophe to the City of *Niniveh*: *Art thou better than the City of Ammon* (6)? The Vulgate, I know, has underſtood this Paſſage of the City of *Alexandria*: *Art thou better than the City Alexandria*? And St. *Jerom* (7) ſays, that his Maſter in the *Hebrew*, told him that this Paſſage might be ſo interpreted;

(1) Heroid. 7. (2) See her Hiſtory. (3) Faſt. l. 3. (4) L. 7. (5) De Idol. l. 1. c. 32. (6) C. 3. v. 8. (7) In 3 c. Nah.

terpreted; but ſtill this is certain, that in the original Text it is *No-Amon.*

The *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), gave to *Ammon* the Name of *Jupiter*: Ἄμμωνα Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία; which ought not to ſurprize us, ſince moſt of the ancient Princes, or Gods, bore the ſame Name. If we take *Diodorus Siculus*'s Authority (2), *Ammon* had been King of a part of *Libya*, and he had married *Rhea*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, and Siſter of *Chronos* or *Saturn*; but as *Voſſius* judiciouſly remarks (3), all this agrees to *Ham*: for if the young *Saturn* is the ſame with *Noah*, his Son's Wives may well enough be called his Siſters, ſince they deſcended, like him, from the old *Saturn*, that is from *Adam*. And if the *Greek* Hiſtorian makes *Ammon* reign only in *Libya*, tho' his Empire comprehended the Country of *Canaan*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Æthiopia*, and a part of *Libya*, the reaſon might be, that he thought he had reign'd only in the Country where his Oracle was eſtabliſhed.

Let us then conclude with *Voſſius*, that *Ammon* was the ſame with *Ham*, who, after his Death, was number'd with the Gods, and adored under the Name of *Jupiter Ammon*.

Gods of the Augilites. The *Augiles*, or rather *Augilites*, People lying between the *Garamantes* and the *Troglodytes*, according to *Pomponius Mela* (4), had no other Gods but the *Manes*. It was by them they ſwore; they conſulted them as their Oracles, and received their Reſponſes by ſleeping near their Tombs: *Augilæ Manes tantum Deos putant*; *per eos dejerant*; *eos ut Oracula conſulunt*; *precatique quæ volunt, ubi tumulis incubuere, pro reſponſis ferunt ſomnia.*

Pliny (5) differs from *Mela*, only in ſo far as he calls thoſe infernal Gods whom the Geographer had called Gods *Manes*: *Augilæ inferos tantum colunt*; and both the one and the other have only copied *Herodotus*, with this difference, that they aſcribe to the *Augilæ*

(1) L. 2. (2) L. 8. (3) Loc. cit. (4) L. 1. (5) L. 5. c. 8.

what the *Greek* Hiſtorian had ſaid of the *Naſamones*; but theſe People were ſo near to one another, that it was eaſy to confound them (*a*); or poſſibly they had both the ſame Gods, that is, the Souls of their Anceſtors. *Pomponius Mela* ſpeaks in the ſame Chapter, of the Religion of the *Catabathmi*, a ſmall Nation lying between *Libya* and *Egypt*; but, as he ſays only that this People adored the Gods of their own Country, after the manner of their Fathers, *Et cultu Deûm quos patrios ſervant ex patrio more venerantur* (1), 'tis not poſſible to divine whether thoſe Gods were the natural Gods, ſuch as the Stars, and other parts of the Univerſe, or the Souls of their Anceſtors, as we have been now ſaying of the *Augilites* and *Naſamones*.

Gods of the Naſamones *and* Catabathmi.

We learn from *Herodotus*, that the Inhabitants of the *Cyrenaica* paid divine Honours to *Battus*, to whom they built Temples. 'Tis known that *Battus* came from the Iſland of *Thera*, had led a Colony into that part of *Africk*, and had there founded the Kingdom of *Cyrene*. *Demonax*, who upon account of an Oracle at *Delphos*, had been ſent to *Cyrene* by the *Mantineans* his Countrymen, was he who there eſtabliſhed the Worſhip of *Battus*.

Gods of the Inhabitants of the Cyrenaica.

The Diviner *Mopſus* was alſo honoured as a God, in *Africk*, properly ſo called, or in the part of that Continent which extends on the weſt Side from *Cyrenaica* to *Mauritania*. There were two of that Name, the one the Son of *Manto*, and Grandſon of *Tireſias*, the other the Son of *Ampycus*. The firſt had an Oracle, and was worſhipped in *Cilicia*; the ſecond was a famous *Argonaut*, who died in *Africk*, and there received divine Honours, as we learn from *Apuleius*, who was born in *Africk*: *Pro Numine poſtea ab hominibus proditi, fanis & ceremoniis vulgo adverſuntur*; *ut in Bœotia Amphiaraus, in Africa Mopſus*, &c.

Gods of ſome other People of Africk.

(*a*) They who are curious to ſee the Error of *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*, in its full light, may conſult the learned Remark of *Abraham Gronovius* upon the 8th Chap. of the 1ſt Book of *Pomponius Mela*.

(1) *Gronovius*'s Edition.

&c. But as I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this *Mopſus*, in the Hiſtory of the *Argonauts*, I ſhall ſay no more of him here.

The Emperor *Severus*, if we credit *Spartian*, received likewiſe divine Honours in that ſame part of *Africk* which had given him birth: *Horum igitur tantorum, & tam illuſtrium virorum Interfector, ab Afris ut Deus habetur.*

The *Africans* had likewiſe *Neptune*, whoſe Worſhip, according to *Herodotus*, had paſſed from *Libya* into *Greece*; *Tritonian Minerva*; *Hercules*, who ſignalized himſelf ſo much in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and was ſo highly honour'd at *Gades*; not to mention the *Titan* Princes, who were deify'd by the ſame People; but we have ſaid enough of theſe laſt in the Theogony of the *Atlantidæ* (1): As for the three former, I ſhall give the Hiſtory of them in the following Volumes.

The *Moors*, if credit may be given to the Ancients, had no other Gods but their Kings; this is what we learn from *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and St. *Cyprian*; and as the two laſt were *Africans*, their Teſtimony ought to be of great weight: The firſt of them thus delivers himſelf upon the Subject. *It was for this reaſon*, ſays he, *that the* Moors *deify'd their Kings*; *hac ſcilicet ratione conſecraverunt, ut Mauri, Reges ſuos* (2). *Tertullian* alledged to the *Pagans*, that every Country and every Town had its particular Gods: *Syria*, ſays he to them, has its *Aſtarte*; *Arabia*, its *Diſares*; the People of *Noricum*, their *Belenus*; the *Africans*, their *Celeſtis*; and the *Moors*, their Kings (*a*). Among thoſe deify'd Kings was the famous *Juba*, as we learn from *Minutius Felix* (*b*).

Tertullian reckons alſo in the number of the Gods of the *Moors*, the Goddeſs *Peritia*, who is quite unknown: She was probably one of their Queens, or ſome

(1) B. 2. (2) Inſt. l. 1. c. 15.

(*a*) Unicuique etiam Provinciæ & Civitati, ſuus Deus eſt: ut Syriæ Aſtarte, ut Arabiæ Diſares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africæ Cœlestis, ut Mauritaniæ Reguli ſui. *Apolog.* c. 24.

(*b*) Nisi forte poſt mortem Deos fingis, & pejerante populo Deus Romulus, & Juba Mauris volentibus Deus eſt. In Octav.

ſome other Woman ſignalized by her glorious Actions. As for that *Cæleſtis* of theirs, of whom that Author takes notice, it was the *Venus Urania* ſo well known in *Syria*; that is, the Planet of that Name: For it is certain that almoſt all Nations worſhipped the Stars, and had Gods natural and Gods animated.

To conclude, If I ſay nothing in this Chapter of the Religion of ſeveral other People of *Africa*, the reaſon is, that they were not known to the Ancients, and 'tis only the ancient Religions we have to do with in this Mythology. The modern Travellers, who ſpeak of the preſent Idolatry of ſome of thoſe People, do it in a manner ſo little inſtructive, that nothing certain can be learned from their Relations, concerning the Origin and true Object of the religious Worſhip of each of the People they give account of. We ſee in general, that there are ſtill a great many Nations in that part of the World, which aſcribe a religious Worſhip to vain Idols of different kinds: But whether thoſe Idols repreſent animated Beings, or the Anceſtors of thoſe Idolaters, as among ſome other People of *Africa*, is what the Travellers don't determine. Thus, after having examined what the Ancients have left us about the Gods of the *Egyptians*, and of the *Africans*, who were known in their time, we ſhall ſee in the following Book, what Account they give of thoſe of the *Aſiatick* Nations.

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